

ARCHÆOLOGIA GRÆCA:
OR THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY JOHN POTTER, D. D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.

VOLUME SECOND.

CONTAINING

I. THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE GRECIANS.—II. SOME OF THEIR
MISCELLANY CUSTOMS.

A NEW EDITION.

Simili frondeſcit virgā metallo. VIRGIL.

*Quis reprehendet noſtrum otium, qui in eo non modo noſmetipſos bebecere & languere nolumus,
ſed etiam, ut plurimis proſimus, nitimur?* CICERO.

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OF THE

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ARCHÆ.

ARCHÆOLOGIA GRÆCA:
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BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the Wars, Valour, Military Glory, &c. of the ancient Grecians.

THE ancient Grecians were a rude and unpolished sort of mortals, wholly unacquainted with the modern, and more refined arts of war and peace. Persons of the highest birth and quality, and whom they fancied to be descended from the race of the immortal gods, had little other business to employ their hours, beside tilling the earth, or feeding their flocks and herds; and the rapine of these, or some other petty concerns, which was looked on as a generous and heroical exploit, occasioned most of the wars so famous in their story. Achilles, in Homer, tells Agamemnon, that it was purely to oblige him he had engaged

Vol. II.

A

engaged

Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

engaged himself in so long and dangerous a war against the Trojans; from whom he had never received any just cause of quarrel, having never been despoiled of his oxen, or horses, or had the fruits of his ground destroyed by them (a).

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων ἵνεκ' ἡλυθοι αἰχμητᾶν
 Διῦρο μαχησόμενος, ἐπεὶ ἔτι μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν.
 Οὐ γὰρ πάποτ' ἐμὰς βῆς ἤλασαν, ἐδὲ μὲν ἵππους,
 Οὐδέ ποτ' ἐν Φθίῃ ἐριβόλακι βωτιανείῃ,
 Καρπὸν ἐδηλῆσαντ', ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
 Οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα, θάλασσά τε ἡχήμεσα.
 Ἀλλὰ σοι, ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδὲς, ἄμ' ἐσπόμεθ', ὄφρα σὺ χαίρης.

For though I here with warlike Trojans fight,
 'Tis not to vindicate my private right;
 Since they by impious theft have ne'er detain'd
 My oxen, horses, or on Phthia's land
 Destroy'd my fruits; secur'd by craggy ways,
 O'er pathless mountains, and tempestuous seas,
 I fear not what invasions they can make:
 But 'tis, ungrateful man, 'tis for thy sake,
 T' advance thy triumphs that I hither come,
 That thou with greater state may'st reign at home.

HUTCHIN.

And the simplicity of their conduct may be sufficiently evinced, as from several other instances, so by those especially where Achilles, Hector, or Ajax are introduced opposing themselves to vast numbers, and, by the force of their own valour, putting to flight whole squadrons of their enemies. Nor is the poet to be thought blameworthy, or to have transgressed the rules of probability in such relations; which, though perhaps strange and incredible in our days, were, no doubt, accommodated to the manners of the times of which he wrote. For even in the sacred story, we find it recorded, that a single Goliath defied all the armies of Israel (b), and with a big look, and a few arrogant words, struck so great terror into them, that they fled before him.

Notwithstanding this, in the revolution of a few ages, Greece became the celebrated mother of the bravest and most experienced soldiers in the world. For being cantoned into a great number of little independent states, all which, though bordering upon one another, were governed by different laws, and prosecuted many interests, it became the seat of continual wars; every hamlet being ambitious of enlarging its territory, by encroaching upon its neighbour-village, and

(a) *Iliad*, *ε.* v. 152.(b) *1 Sam.* XVII. 11, 24.

and contending for the addition of a few lands, with no less heat and fury than if whole kingdoms had been the prize. The consequence whereof was, that the Grecians, being from their childhood inured to martial affairs, and having to their native bravery added long and constant experience, were rendered as well in good order and discipline, as true courage and valour, superior to most other nations. They became a terror to all the countries round about them, and with small numbers often put to flight vast multitudes of the Barbarians: The Persians frequently experienced the sad effects of it in the loss of numerous armies, and at length of the greatest empire in the world. And (to enumerate no more instances in a thing so well known), the Carthaginians, though men of great courage, and excellently skilled in the art of war, being worsted in Sicily by Timoleon the Corinthian, in several encounters, and by unequal numbers of men, were driven into an admiration of the Grecian valour, and forced to confess, that they were the most pugnacious and insupportable of mankind, and forthwith made it their business to entertain as many of them as they could procure, in their service (a).

But though almost all the Grecians had their share in military glory, yet were the rest far inferior to the Lacedemonians, who by the laws of their country were under an obligation to make war their profession; they never applied themselves to any art or employment, or the exercise of trades, which they accounted unworthy of generous and free-born souls; but committing all such cares to the Helots, who were a genteeler sort of slaves, spent their time in manly exercises, to render their bodies strong and active. They were also accustomed by hard diet, by stripes, and other severities, patiently to undergo hardships, to endure wounds, to encounter dangers, and if the honour of their country so required, to throw themselves into the arms of death without fear or regret. Yet were they not so imprudent or foolhardy, as to court dangers or death; but were taught from their childhood to be always prepared either to live or die, and equally willing to do either; as appears from those verses cited by Plutarch (b) to this purpose;

οἱ δὲ θάνον, ἢ ζῆν θύμῳ καλόν, ἐδὲ τὸ θνήσκειν,
 Ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφοτέρῃ ἐκτελεῖσαι.

They died, but not as lavish of their blood,
 Or thinking death itself was simply good,
 Or life; both these the strictest virtue try'd,
 And as that call'd, they gladly liv'd or died.

Nor was this indifferency to life or death only discoursed of amongst them, as a point of mere speculation, but carefully and seriously instilled in their tender years, and always embraced as one of the first principles

A 2

(a) Plutarchus Timoleonte.

(b) Pelopida.

principles of their actions; which begot in them such an undaunted courage, and so firm and unmoveable a resolution, that scarce any other nation was able to stand before them. This extraordinary and unparalleled bravery, being adorned and strengthened with the wisest conduct, and the most perfect skill in all the stratagems of war those times were capable of, has rendered them famous in story, and examples of military virtue to all succeeding ages: "For (these are Plutarch's (a) words), the Lacedemonians were most expert and cunning in the art of war, being trained up and accustomed to nothing more than to keep themselves from confusion, when their order should be broken; to follow any leader, or right-hand man, so rallying themselves into order, and to fight on what part soever dangers press."

It is therefore by no means to be wondered at, that foreign and vastly remote nations should be desirous to entertain the Lacedemonians in their service; that Cyrus the Younger should think it the readiest and most effectual method to advance himself to the empire of Persia; that Croesus, the wealthy king of Lydia, and several of the Egyptian monarchs, though surrounded with numerous forces of their own, should never esteem themselves secure without assistance from Sparta; or that the Sicilians, Thracians, Carthaginians, with the Cyreneans, and many others, were beholden to it for protection, and deliverance from powerful enemies. And for the Grecians themselves, whenever any of their little states were in danger of being swallowed up by their more powerful neighbours, we find them having recourse for aid to the Spartans, who were a common refuge to the oppressed, and restrained the ambitious invaders of other men's rights.

Hence, likewise, it came to pass, that in all confederacies they were looked on as the principal associates; and in all wars carried on by public contributions, they challenged the chief command as their right and peculiar. Nor could any exigency prevail with them to depart from that claim, or resign it to the greatest of princes. Gelon, king of Sicily, though promising to furnish them with large supplies against the Barbarians, on condition he might be declared captain-general of the Grecian forces, was rejected (b). Yet we find, that after the victory over Mardonius at Plataea, Pausanias the Lacedemonian general, having, by his excessive severity, and tyrannical behaviour to the rest of the soldiers, rendered the Spartans very odious, in the end they revolted to the Athenians, the gentle and courteous carriage of whose commanders, Aristides and Cimon, had endeared them to all the rest of the Grecians: And here the magnanimity of the Lacedemonians was wonderful; for when they perceived that their generals were corrupted, and their minds too much elevated and puffed up by the greatness of their authority, they left off sending any more of them to the wars, choosing rather to have citizens of moderation, and that persevered in their ancient manners and customs, than to be honoured with the superiority of all Greece (c). But this misfortune did not put an end to the Lacedemonian

(a) Pelopida.

(b) Herodotus, Lib. VII.

(c) Plutarchus Aristida.

cedemonian greatness; for we find them in a little time reassuming their ancient spirits, and disdaining even Alexander himself (though submitted to by the rest of the Grecians, and declared their general against Persia) for their superior. Which is the reason, that in the monuments erected after the Persian victories, and bearing the names of Alexander and the Grecians, the Lacedemonians were excepted by name, as having no share in that honour (a).

The Athenians alone were able to dispute this prerogative with the Lacedemonians, some few junctures excepted, when some unusual success raised any other of the states beyond their ordinary grandeur, as it happened to the Thebans, who, from a mean and despicable people, were, by the conduct of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, advanced to an equality, if not a superiority, over the most flourishing cities of Greece.

Notwithstanding these, and some other obstacles, the Lacedemonians, for the most part, made good their pretensions, and in most wars carried on by a confederacy, were generals of all the land forces; but were at length constrained to leave the dominion of the sea to the Athenians, who having laid out their whole strength in fitting out a navy against Xerxes, for a long time reigned sole lords of the liquid element; during which season, we find a decree put forth by their senate, wherein it was ordered, That the command of all the naval forces of Greece should belong to Athens; but the land armies should obey a general from Sparta (b). But the rival cities could not be long content with this equal distribution of power, each being jealous of the other's greatness, and thinking herself best able to govern the whole jurisdiction; till at length, the Athenians, having their whole fleet, except twelve trireme galleys, destroyed at once by Lysander the Spartan admiral, in the famous battle at Ægos Potamus, were constrained to own the Lacedemonians for sovereigns both by sea and land (c).

But the Lacedemonians were not long able to maintain this command; for the Athenians, having recruited their naval forces, and engaged Evagoras the king of Cyprus, and Pharnabazus the Persian emperor's lieutenant, to their interest, by their assistance, and the singular conduct of their own admiral, Conon, gave them so great an overthrow at Cnidus (d), that they never after pretended to contest the sovereignty of the seas, but contented themselves with the chief command at land, which the Athenians suffered them to enjoy, without farther molestation, both cities being weary of the contention, and convinced at length of the truth of what had been commonly observed, That fortune was most favourable to the Lacedemonians by land, but in sea engagements sided with the Athenians (e). This seems not to have been without reason, the Athenians, through the commodiousness of their situation, being disposed, and, as it were, invited by nature to apply themselves to naval affairs; whereas the Lacedemonians were placed at
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(d) Isocrates pro Evagora, in Philippum, Panathenaica, Xenophon Ελληνικῶν, Lib. VI.
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Plutarchus Artaxerxe. (e) Xenophon Ελληνικῶν, Lib. VII.

a greater distance from the sea, and more inclined to land service (to which they were inured from their tender years), than to venture themselves on the ocean, to which they had never been accustomed; for Lycurgus, their lawgiver, expressly forbade them (a) to visit foreign countries, out of a well-grounded fear, lest his citizens should be corrupted by the conversation of strangers, and forsake that excellent platform of government he contrived for them. And it happened to them as he had wisely foreseen; for no sooner had Lysander rendered them sovereigns of the sea, but they began by degrees to leave their ancient customs, and to degenerate from the virtue and glory of their ancestors (b).

CHAP. II.

Of their Levies, Pay, &c. of Soldiers.

THE Grecian armies consisted, for the most part, of free denizens whom the laws of their country obliged, when arrived at a certain age, to appear in arms, upon the summons of the magistrate, or commissioned officer. In some places they were more early admitted to the wars, in other later.

The Athenians, when arrived at eighteen years of age, were appointed to guard the city, with the forts belonging to it: from their going about to visit which, they were called *περίπολοι* (c); but were not sent to foreign wars till twenty; the Spartans seldom till thirty. The younger men in both cities, with those who, by reason of their age, were discharged from military service, were left at home to defend their habitations.

Some persons were excused by reason of their age; for having spent their youth and strength in serving their country, it was but reasonable to discharge them from farther service, that they might end their days in peace. After threescore years, it seems to have been usual in most places to allow them liberty of retiring. At Athens, no man above forty was pressed to serve in the wars, except in times of extreme danger (d). Others were exempt on account of their functions; such were at Athens *οἱ τέλος προϊόμενοι*, the farmers of the public customs (e), whose presence was required in the city during the whole time of their employment, and several of the holy orders, as also the persons appointed to dance at Bacchus's festival (f).

Others were excluded from serving in the wars; such were the slaves, and such others as lived amongst them, but were not honoured with the freedom of their cities. These were never admitted, except

(a) Plutarchus Institut. Laconicis.

(c) Ulpianus in Olynthiac. III.

(e) Demosthenes in Negræam.

(b) Demosthenes Orat. in Philip. III.

(d) Ulpianus in Olynthiac. III.

(f) Idem Midiana.

in cases of extreme danger, when there remained no other means of preserving the commonwealth. Of this custom I have already given a large account in one of the foregoing books (a).

All that served were entered into a public roll: Whence the levy was called *καταγραφὴ, κατάλογος, στρατολογία*; and to make a levy, *κατάλθγον*, or *καταγραφὴν ποιεῖν*. Amongst the primitive Grecians, it seems to have been frequently made by lots, every family being obliged to furnish out a certain number, and filling up their proportion by the chance of lots: Whence Mercury, in Homer (b), pretending to be one of the sons of Polyctor the Myrmidon, adds, that he was appointed by lot to follow Achilles to the Trojan war.

Τῶν μετὰ παλλόμενος, κλήρω λάχον ἐνθαδ' ἐπεῖδαι.

'Twas I, who when the lots were drawn,
Was doom'd to follow Peleus's mighty son.

For the appointment of all persons of a certain age to be ready to serve in the wars, seems only to be an institution of later ages; whereas all such like things were formerly managed at the pleasure of the supreme magistrate.

The soldiers were all maintained at their own expences; no name was more opprobrious than that of a mercenary, it being looked upon as a disgrace for any person of ingenuous birth and education to serve for wages. For all this, it was not permitted any person to absent himself, except upon reasons allowed by the law; and whoever was found thus to have transgressed, was at Athens deprived of his voice in all public business, and, in a manner, of all other rights of citizens, and was forbidden to enter into any of the public temples (c). And lest any of the persons appointed to serve should make their escape, we find they were branded with certain marks, called *σηματα*. These are mentioned by Vegetius (d), who, speaking of the military oath, and the muster-roll, wherein the soldiers names were registered, mentions also, that they were *victuris in cute punctis scripti*, branded with lasting marks in their flesh. These marks commonly contained the name or proper ensign of their general. To distinguish soldiers from slaves, who were commonly marked in the forehead, as has been elsewhere observed, they had *σηματα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ*, their characters impressed upon their hands, as we are informed by Ælian. By the same ceremony, it was customary for men to dedicate themselves to certain deities. Whence is that question mentioned in Zechariah (e), where he speaks of the prophets and votaries of the pagan gods: "And one shall say unto him, What are these wounds in thy hands?" And the beast who requires all men to worship him in the book of Revelation (f), is there said to "cause all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads

(a) Lib. I. Cap. X. (b) Iliad. 6. (c) Æschines Ctesiphantea, Demosthenes Timocratea. (d) De re militari, Lib. II. Cap. V. (e) XIII. 6. (f) Cap. XIII. ver. 16.

foreheads (a)." And to the same custom St. Paul is thought to allude in his epistle to the Galatians (b), where, speaking of the wounds he had received in his Christian warfare, he tells us, that he *bore in his body the σηματα, or marks of the Lord Jesus.*

The Carians were the first that served in Greece for pay (c), and have thereby rendered their names infamous to posterity, being represented by all the writers of those times as a base and servile nation; insomuch, that *καρικοι*, and *καρίμοιροι*, are proverbial epithets for persons of abject and pusillanimous tempers, or servile condition (d); and *Πάρα* is a synonymous term for slaves, as in that proclamation at the end of the Athenian festival Anthesteria, whereby the slaves were commanded to be gone out of doors:

Θύραζε, Κάρεις, ἐκ τ᾽ Ἀνθηστήριου.

Begone, ye slaves, the Anthesteria are ended.

Thus the Carians were reproached for introducing a custom, which, in a few ages after, was so far from being looked upon as unworthy their birth or education, that we find it practised by the whole nation of the Greeks, who not only received pay for serving their own commonwealth, but listed themselves under foreign kings, and fought their battles for hire; their chief magistrates not disdaining to accompany them in such expeditions. Several instances of this sort might be produced, were not that famous one of the great Agesilaus's condescending to serve Ptolemy king of Egypt, instead of many others.

The first that introduced the custom of paying soldiers at Athens, was Pericles, who, to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, represented how unreasonable it was that men of small estates, and scarce able to provide for their families, should be obliged to neglect their business, and spend what their industry had laid up, in the public service; and thereupon preferred a decree, that all of them should have subsistence-money out of the exchequer (e); which seems to have been received with general applause. What sum they daily received, cannot easily be determined, it being increased or diminished as occasion required. At first we find the foot-soldiers had two oboli a day, which in a month amounted to ten drachms (f). What we read in Thucydides (g) of the soldiers that garrisoned Potidæa, to every one of which was allotted a drachm a day, with another to a servant for attending upon him, must not be understood as if their ordinary pay was of that value, that being only to the common seamen of Athens. Three oboli to those that manned the sacred vessel, called *Πάραλος*, and the foot-soldiers, four; whence *τετρωβόλος βίος* is a proverbial expression for a soldier's life (h); and *τετρωβολίζειν*, for serving in the

(a) Conf. Archæologiz, hujus Lib. I. Cap. de servis.

(b) Cap. VI. ver. 17.

(c) Strabo, Hesychius, Etymologici Auctor.

(d) Hesychius.

(e) Ulpianus in

Orat. de Syntaxi.

(f) Demosthenes Philipp. I.

(g) Lib. III.

(h) Eustath.

Odyss. α.

the war. The horsemen's pay was for the most part thirty drachms a-month, that is, a drachm a-day; this we find to have been termed *κατάσσις* (a).

The ordinary method of raising this money, was by imposing a tax on the whole commonwealth, whereby all persons were obliged to contribute according to the value of their estates. But this was done only when the public treasury was exhausted, and the constant revenues from tributary cities, public lands, woods, mines, or from fines and amercements, were not sufficient to defray the charges of the war. In cases of great necessity, the richer citizens at Athens were obliged to extraordinary contributions; and there appears to have been a generous and laudable emulation amongst the men of quality in that city, who voluntarily offered more than was required of them, and contended which of them should most largely contribute towards the honour and preservation of their native country.

Confederate wars were maintained at the common charge of all the allies, every one being obliged to send a proportion of men, as we find practised in the Trojan war, which was the first wherein the whole country of Greece united against a foreign enemy. Sometimes they were carried on by public contributions of money, levied by persons delegated by the common consent of the confederates, which was only the practice of later ages; the primitive wars, wherein the soldiers served at their own expence, and supplied their necessities out of the spoils of their enemies, being managed with less charge to the public. The first tax, or tribute of this nature, that we find paid by the Grecians, was after the expulsion of Xerxes out of Greece, when they agreed to make an invasion upon their common enemy, under the conduct of the Athenians; for then Aristides the Athenian, at the general desire of the Greeks, surveyed the whole country and revenue, and assessed all particular persons, town by town, according to every man's ability. Thus he taxed them four hundred talents, to which Pericles added about a third part more; for we find in Thucydides, that in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians had coming in from their confederates, six hundred talents. After Pericles's death, being increased by little and little, it was at length raised to the sum of thirteen hundred talents (b); all which was managed at the discretion of the Athenians.

CHAP. III.

Of the different Sorts of Soldiers.

THE armies were composed of various sorts of soldiers; their gross or main body usually consisted of footmen; the rest rode, some in chariots, some on horseback, others upon elephants.

Vol. II.

B

The

(a) Suidas, V,

(b) Plut. Aristide.

The foot soldiers we find distinguished into three sorts; the first and principal of which were termed *Οπλίται* (a), being such as bore heavy armour, engaging with broad shields and long spears.

2. *Ψιλοί*, were light-armed men, who fought with arrows and darts, or stones and slings, annoying their enemies at a distance, but were unfit for close fight. They were in honour and dignity inferior to the heavy-armed soldiers; and therefore, when Teucer in Sophocles quarrels with Menelaus, he is scoffingly reproved by him in this manner:

Ο τοξότης ἔοικεν ἐ σμικρὰ φρονεῖν (b).

This archer seems to think himself somebody.

It seems to have been frequent for them, having shot their arrows, to retire behind the shield of the heavy-armed for protection; for so we find the same Teucer doing in Homer (c):

Τεῦκερ' δ' ἔνατος ἦλθε, παλίντονα τόξα τιταίνων,
 Στῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' Αἴαντος σάκει Τελαμωνιάδαο.
 Ἐνθ' Αἴας μὲν ὑπεξέφερεν σάκος· αὐτὰρ ὄγ' ἦρας
 Παπλήνας, ἐπεὶ ἄρ' τιν' οἰσούσας ἐν ὀρείῳ
 Βεβλήκει, ὁ μὲν αὖθι πισὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσεν.
 Αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖθις ἰὼν, παῖς ὡς ὑπὸ μητέρα δύσκειν
 Εἰς Αἴανθ', ὁ δὲ μιν σάκει κρύπτιασκε Φαιεῖω.

Teucer, the ninth from these, at length appear'd,
 And all his bows for certain deaths prepar'd;
 Behind the shield of Ajax close he stood,
 Which whensoever the warlike chief remov'd,
 Around on all he casts his angry eyes,
 Threat'ning destruction to his enemies;
 Whom, when his arrows wounded had, or slain,
 Back he betook him to his shield again.
 So tim'rous boys, approaching ills to shun,
 With eager haste to careful mothers run.

H. H.

3. *Πηλτασται* (c), though frequently comprehended under the *Ψιλοί*, as opposed to the *ὀπλίται*, were a middle sort between both, being armed with shields and spears, but far inferior in bigness to those of the heavy-armed men. The name is taken from their narrow shields, called *πίλται*.

The

(a) Suidas, v. *ὀπλίται*.

(d) Suidas loc. cit. *Ælianus*,

(b) Sophocles, *Ajac.* v. 141.

(c) *Iliad.* 8. v. 266.

The horsemen amongst the ancient Grecians were not very numerous, being only such as were possessed of estates, and able to furnish out horses at their own charge. Hence, both at Athens and Sparta we find ἵππεις, or horsemen, to have composed the second order in the commonwealth, being placed above the commonalty, and next to those of the highest quality and fortune: The same is recorded of the Roman Equites, and (to mention no more) we are told by Herodotus (a), that among the Calcidians, none but rich men were admitted into that order. Afterwards, when men of estates began to court ease and pleasure, and thought it more advisable to furnish out a horseman, and maintain him at their proper expences, than to venture their own persons; they retained indeed their former name, but the honour of serving on horseback was lost (b).

Who it was that first instructed mankind in the art of horsemanship, is not agreed by the ancient writers of fables; some attribute it to the Amazons (c), others to the Centaurs (d), others to Bellerophon (e), others, lastly (to trouble you with no more) ascribe the honour of it to Neptune (f), the first creator of this animal; for which reason we find the various epithets ἵππιος (g), ἵππαρχος (h), ἵππηγέτης (i), ἵπποκῆρις, &c. conferred upon him by the poets and mythologists.

Whoever obliged mankind with the first invention of this art, seems to have left it very imperfect; for in those early ages it is probable they understood not the method of governing horses with reins and bits, but managed them only with a rope, or switch, and the accent of their voice; this we find to have been the practice of several other nations, as the Numidians (k), Getulians (l), Libyans (m), and Massylians, of whom Lucan speaks thus (n),

*Et gens quæ nudo residens Massylia dorso
Ora levi flectit frænorum nescia virgâ.*

Without a saddle the Massylians ride,
And with a bending switch their horses guide.

Afterwards bridles came into fashion, of which the most remarkable were those called Lupata, having bits of iron, not unlike wolves teeth, and therefore called in Greek Λύκοι, in Latin Lupi; whence Horace (o),

*Gallica nec lupatis
Temperet ora frænis.*

Nor with the sharper bits
Manage th' unruly horse.

B 2

The

(a) Lib. V. (b) Xenophon *Ἑλληνικῶν*, Lib. VI. (c) Lysias Orator. (d) Pausanias, Lib. I. (e) Plinius, Lib. VII. Cap. LVI. (f) Homer in Hymn. (g) Sophocles Oedipo. (h) Pausanias Achaicis. (i) Pindarus Pyth. (j) Lycophron. (k) Silius, Lib. I. (l) Id. Lib. II. (m) Strabo, Lib. XVII. (n) Lucan. Lib. IV. (o) Lib. I. Od. VIII.

The first invention of them is by Statius attributed to Neptune,

————— *Neptūnus equo, si certa priorum
Fama patet, primus teneris læsisse lupatis
Ora, & litoreo domuisse in pulvere fertur.*

Neptune, if we may credit give to fame,
First taught with bits the gen'rous horse to tame.

By others to the Lapithæ, or Centaurs, who inhabited a town in Thes-
saly, called Pelethronium: Thus Virgil (a),

*Fræna Pelethronii Lapithæ, gyroſque dedere
Impositi dorſo*—————

The Lapithæ of Pelethronium rode
With bridles first, and what their use was show'd.

Though some are of opinion that the poet speaks of bridles, as invent-
ed not by the Lapithæ, but a man of that nation, whose name was Pe-
lethronius, to whom we find Pliny also attributing the invention of
bridles, and harness (b): The last of these the Greeks term *σέματα*,
and *ἵππιον*, which were made of divers sorts of stuffs, as leather, cloth,
or the skin of wild beasts. Parthenopæus's horse is covered with the
skin of a lynx in Statius; Æneas's in Virgil with a lion's (c),

————— *quem fulva leonis
Pellis obit*—————

Cover'd with lion's skin.—————

Sometimes we find them adorned with rich and costly clothing; as in
the same poet (d),

*Omnibus extemplo Teucris jubet ordine duci
Inſtratos oſtro alipedes piſtiſque tapetis,
Aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent.*

For ev'ry Trojan straight it is decreed,
'That sprightly courſers be in order led,
Adorn'd with costly trappings, to whose breasts
The golden poitrels hang,—————

Of the saddles in use amongst us we find no mention in any ancient
writers; as neither of the *ſtapia*, or more properly *ſubex pedaneus*, or
ſtirrup, which does not appear to have been used till these latter ages;
there

(a) Georgic III. 115. (b) Lib. VII. Cap. LVI. (c) Æn. VIII. (d) Æn. VII.

there being no notice taken of any such thing in any author, that I know of, before Eustathius, who flourished five hundred years ago, and, in his commentaries upon Homer, hath mentioned an instrument of this sort. In former ages they supplied the want of such helps by their art or agility of body; being able to leap on horseback, as the heroes in Virgil (a),

—————Corpora saltu
Subjiciunt in equos—————

And by a leap bestride their horses.

Or, for their greater convenience, the horses were taught submissively to bow their bodies to the ground, and receive their riders upon their backs (b), as we find practised as well in Greece as by the ancient Spaniards (c), and other nations. Hence Silius speaks of the horse of Clælius, a Roman knight, in this manner (d),

*Inde inclinatus collum, submissus & armos
De more, inflexis præbebat scandere tergu
Cruribus*—————

Downwards the horse his head and shoulders bent,
To give his rider a more free ascent.

Sometimes we find them leaping up by the help of their spears, or other things. Several other methods were used by men of weak and unactive bodies: Some getting up on the backs of their slaves (e); others by the help of short ladders; both which supports were termed ἀναβολαίς. Lastly, We find the highways filled with stones erected for this purpose; which is said to have been done in Italy by Gracchus (f), and in Greece was always one part of the business of the overseers of the roads (g).

Let us now return to their military affairs, where we shall find it disputed, whether the warriors of primitive ages were carried to the fields in chariots, or on horseback. Lucretius indeed tells us, that the first heroes were mounted upon horses, whereas chariots were only a later invention (h),

*Et prius est repperitum in equi conscendere costas,
Et moderarier hunc frænis dextraque vigere,
Quam bijugo curru belli tentare pericla.*

Mounted on well rein'd steeds in ancient time,
Before the use of chariots was brought in,
The first brave heroes fought.—————

But

(a) Æn. XII.

(b) Pollux, Lib. I. Cap. IX.

(c) Strabo, Lib. III.

(d) Lib. X.

(e) Volaterranus, Epit. Xenophon.

(f) Plutarchus Gracchis.

(g) Xenophon Hipparcho.

(h) Lib. V.

But we are informed by Palæphatus, that chariots were first in use; the Lapithæ, who flourished about Hercules's time, being the first that attempted to ride upon horses, a thing strange and unheard of by the Grecians in those days, who viewed them not without amazement, imagining them to be monsters compounded of the different shapes of men and horses, or bulls, which they frequently backed instead of horses; whence we have the fables of the Centaurs and Hippocentaurs. And it is more than probable, that at the time of the Trojan war the custom of riding and fighting upon horses was not commonly received by the Grecians; since the heroes of Homer, whose authority must in such cases ever be held sacred, are always introduced into the battle in chariots, never on horseback.

The chariots of princes and heroes were not only contrived for service but ornament, being richly embossed with gold and other metals; as we read of Orfines the Persian in Curtius (a), and several of Homer's, as that of Rhesus (b),

Ἄρμα δὲ οἱ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ εὖ ἥσκηται,
Silver and gold his chariot did adorn.

And another of Diomedes (c),

Ἄρμαίά τε χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένα, κασσιτέρῳ τε.
Chariots richly adorned with gold and tin.

They were likewise adorned with curious hangings; whence we read of Lycaon's chariot (d),

————— ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλοι
Πέπλανται.
Like wings its hangings are expanded wide.

And the poet calls that of Achilles ἄρματα ἐν πεπυκασμένα (e).

The chariots in Homer are drawn, for the most part, by two horses coupled together; that of Achilles had no more, the names of his horses being only Xanthus and Balius. So Lycaon's (f),

————— παρὰ δὲ σφιν ἐκάστω δίζυγες ἵπποι
Ἔστασαν —————
Two well pair'd steeds to every chariot stand.

And Æneas's in Virgil (g),

Absenti Æneæ currum, geminosque jugales.

A

(a) Lib. X.

(e) Iliad. x'.

(b) Iliad. x'.

(f) Iliad. ε'.

(c) Iliad. v'

(g) Æneid. VII, v. 280.

(d) Iliad.

A chariot and two sprightly steeds are sent
To absent Æneas—————

To these two they sometimes added a third, which was not coupled with the other two, but governed with reins, and therefore called *σεν-ραῖος*, *σενραφόρος*, *παράσειρος*, &c. but in Homer usually *παρήγος*, and the rein wherewith he was held in *παρηγορία*. The same custom was practised by the Romans, till the time of Dionysius the Halicarnassian (a), though left off in Greece long before. In the eighth Iliad, Hector's chariot seems to be drawn by four horses; for there the hero thus be-speaks them:

Ξάνθε τε, καὶ σὺ Πόδαργε, καὶ Αἴθων, Λάμπε τε δῖε.

And however some ancient critics will have the two former to be no more than epithets of the latter, because Hector afterwards speaks to them in the dual number,

Νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἀποτίνετον—————

Yet it is evident, from other places, that even in Homer's time it was customary to have chariots drawn by four horses; as, when he tells us, the Phæacian ship shaped her course,

—————ὡς ἐν πεδίῳ τέτραρος ἵπποι. (b)

Every chariot carried two men, whence it was termed *δίφρος*, q. *διφ-ρος* (c); though that word does not, in its strict and proper acceptation, denote the whole chariot, but only that part wherein the men were placed. One of these called *ἡνίοχος*, because he governed the reins, which in those days was not a servile or ignoble office, but frequently undertaken by men of quality; for we find Nestor (d), Hector (e), and several others of note employed in it; and that not on extraordinary occasions, but frequently some of them making it their profession. Yet the charioteer was inferior, if not always in dignity, at least in strength and valour to the warrior, who was called *παραστάτης*, and had command of the other, and directed him which way to drive, as Eustathius observes (f). When he came to encounter in close fight, he alighted ought of the chariot, as we find every where in Homer, and the rest of the poets. So Hercules and Cynus, about to engage,

—————ἐνπλακίων δίφρων δόρον αἰψ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν (g).

Leapt from their chariots on the ground.

And Turnus in Virgil (b),

—————Defiliat

(a) Antiquit. Rom. Lib. VII.

(b) Odyss. v.

(c) Eustathius.

(d) Iliad. 8.

(e) Iliad. 9.

(f) Iliad. 8.

(g) Hesiodus Scuto.

(h) Aeneid. X.

——— *Desiluit bijugis, pedes apparat ire,*
Dismounts his horse, and fits himself to walk.

When they were weary, which often happened by reason of their armour, being heavier than any other, they retired into their chariots, and thence annoyed their enemies with darts and missile weapons.

Beside these, we find frequent mention in historians of chariots, called *Currus falcati*, and *δεσπαιοφόροι*, because armed with hooks or scythes, with which whole ranks of soldiers were cut off together. But afterwards, it being considered they were never of any use but in plain open ground, and were frequently turned back by affrighted and ungovernable horses, upon their own party. to its confusion and ruin, several methods also being contrived to defeat or elude their force, these and all other chariots were wholly laid aside. Accordingly, when military discipline was carried to its height, though sometimes they were brought into battles by Barbarians, as may be observed of the Persians in Curtius; yet we never find the Grecians making any use of them, or much damaged by them; but, contemning that old and unskilful method of fighting, they chose rather to ride on horseback; which custom seems to have been received in a short time after the heroic wars.

Of all the Grecians, the Thessalians have the greatest name for horsemanship; and in all wars we find their cavalry most esteemed. The Colophonians had once, by many remarkable actions, arrived to such a pitch of glory as to be esteemed invincible: In all long and tedious wars, their assistance was courted, and the party that obtained supplies from them, was certain of success and victory; insomuch, that *κολοφωνισθῆναι* and in Latin *colophonem imponere*, was used proverbially for putting a conclusion to any affair (a). The Lacedemonians were but meanly furnished with cavalry; and, till the Messenian wars, it does not appear, that either they, or the rest of the Peloponnesians, employed themselves in horsemanship, but reposed their chief confidence in foot (b); Peloponnesus being a mountainous and craggy country, and therefore unfit for horsemen (c), who in such places become almost useless in fight. But the Messenians being subdued, the Spartans, carrying their arms into other countries, soon found the great occasion they had of horses to support and cover their foot; and in a short time supplied that defect, by instructing their youth in horsemanship; to which end, we find they had masters in that art, called *ἵπποχαράται* (d). But the greatest part of their cavalry was furnished from Sciros (e), a town not far distant from Sparta, the inhabitants of which claimed, as their proper post, the left wing in the Lacedemonian armies (f). Attica was likewise a hilly country, and therefore not designed by nature for breeding horses: We find, accordingly, the Athenian cavalry to have been exceeding few in number, consisting only of ninety-six horsemen: For the whole Athenian nation being anciently divided

(a) Strabo. Lib. XIV. (b) Pausanias, Lib. IV. (c) Plato. (d) Hesychius
(e) Xenophon *Κυροπαίδ.* Lib. IV. (f) Thucydides, Lib. V.

divided into forty-eight Naucratiæ, we are told by Pollux, that the number of horses each of these were obliged to furnish to the war, was no more than two. And therefore, it is no wonder if the Medes thought them deprived of reason, when at the battle of Marathon they had courage to encounter a strong and numerous army with so small, and appearingly contemptible a force (*a*). Having afterwards expelled the Medes and Persians out of Greece, and raised themselves to a flourishing condition, they increased the number of their cavalry to three hundred; and not long after, having once more restored peace to their city, and established it in greater power and splendour than before, they augmented them to twelve hundred, and armed, at the same time, an equal number of men with bows and arrows (*b*), of which they had before no greater plenty than of horses; for both then and afterwards the strength of most of the Grecian armies consisted in their heavy armed foot.

The Athenians admitted none to serve on horseback, till they had undergone a strict probation; and if any person was found to have fraudulently insinuated himself into the roll, upon conviction he was declared ἄτιμος, and disfranchised (*c*). This consisted, with respect to the men, in a search after their estates, and observation of their strength and vigour of body; for no persons were entered into the roll, but such as had plentiful possessions, and were in good plight of body. This probation was performed by the ἱππαρχος, *general of the horse*, who, if occasion required, was assisted by the Phylarchi, and senate of five hundred (*d*). In horses they observed their obedience to their riders; and such as they found ungovernable, or fearful, were rejected. This was examined τῇ κωδωνοῦ ψόφῳ, *by the sound of a bell*, or some other instrument of that nature: Whence κωδωνίζειν is expounded πειράζειν, *to try, or prove*, and ἀκωδωνίσειον is the same with ἀπείραστον, *unproved* (*e*). Such horses, likewise, as were beaten out with long service, they branded upon the jaw with a mark, frequently termed τροχός (*f*), being the figure of a wheel or circles; and sometimes τρυσιππιον, whereby the beast was released from farther service. Hence ἐπιβάλλειν τρυσιππιον, is *to excuse*. Thus in the following verse of Eupolis,

Εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοι ἐπιβαλεῖς τρυσιππιον.

Which was thus expressed by Crates in his comedy, intituled, The Samians:

Ἱππῳ γηράσκοντι τὰ μείονα κύκλ' ἐπιβάλλε (*g*).

We meet with several titles and appellations of horsemen, most of which were derived from the variety of their armour, or different manner of fighting, as that of ἀκροβολισταί, who annoyed their enemies with

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C

missive

(*a*) Herodotus. (*b*) Æschines Orat. de falsa Legatione, Andocides Orat. de Pace. (*c*) Lyfias Orat. de Ordine deserto. (*d*) Aristophanis Scholiastes in Ranas. Xenophon Hipparchico, Hesychius, v. Τρυσιππιον. (*e*) Hesychius. (*f*) Conf. Zenobius Cent. IV. Prov. XLI.

missive weapons at some distance, *δαρτοφόροι*, *ξυστοφόροι*, *ὑπακοντισαί*, *ἵπποτοξόται*, *κοντοφόροι*, *θυρεοφόροι*, with others, the distinction of all which is sufficiently intimated in their names.

Αμφίπποι, sometimes by mistake, or corruption, called *ἀνίπποι* (a), were such as for conveniency had two horses, on which they rode by turns. They were sometimes termed *ἵππαυγοί*, *διὰ τὸ ἄγειν ἵππον*, because they led one of their horses, which was not a late contrivance, but practised soon after the heroical times, as appears from Homer's (b) mentioning it.

— — — — —
 ὁ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
 Θρώσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεται, οἱ δὲ πέτονται.

Nor does he ever fall, tho' at full speed
 He leap from one upon the other steed.

Διμάχαι, first instituted by Alexander the Great, were a sort of dragoons, and accommodated with armour something heavier than that of ordinary horsemen, but not quite so weighty as that of the foot soldiers, to the end they might be ready to serve either on horseback or on foot; for which reason they had servants attending to take their horses, whenever the general commanded them to alight (c).

They were also distinguished into *κατάφρακτοι* and *μὴ κατάφρακτοι*, i. e. *heavy* and *light armed*, after the same manner with the footmen. The *κατάφρακτοι*, or *cuirassiers*, were not only fortified with armour themselves, but had their horses guarded with solid plates of brass, or other metals; which, from the members defended by them, received different names, being called *προμετωπίδια*, *παρώτια*, *παρήϊα*, *προσερνίδια*, *παραπλουρίδια*, *παραμυρίδια*, *παρακνημίδια*, &c. (d): Sometimes they were composed of skins, fortified with plates of metal curiously wrought into plumes, or other forms. Thus we find one of Virgil's heroes armed his steed (e);

*Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis ahenis
 In plumam squamis auro conferta tegebat.*

He spurr'd his gen'rous horse, whose clothing was
 A skin beset with plates of gold and brass,
 Made in the fashion of a costly plume.

They were likewise bedecked with various ornaments, viz. with bells, as we find Rhesus's horses in Euripides, with clothing of tapestry, embroidery, and other curious work; with rich collars and trappings, or what the Latins call *phaleræ*, the Greeks *Φάλαρα*, which some will have to be an ornament for the forehead, others for the jaws; nor are there wanting, who think them to signify all the ornaments belonging to horses.

Of

(a) Suidas, Pollux, Lib. I. Cap. X. n. V. (b) Iliad, 6, 684. (c) Pollux, loc. cit.
 (d) Idem, eodem Cap. (e) Æn. XI. v. 770.

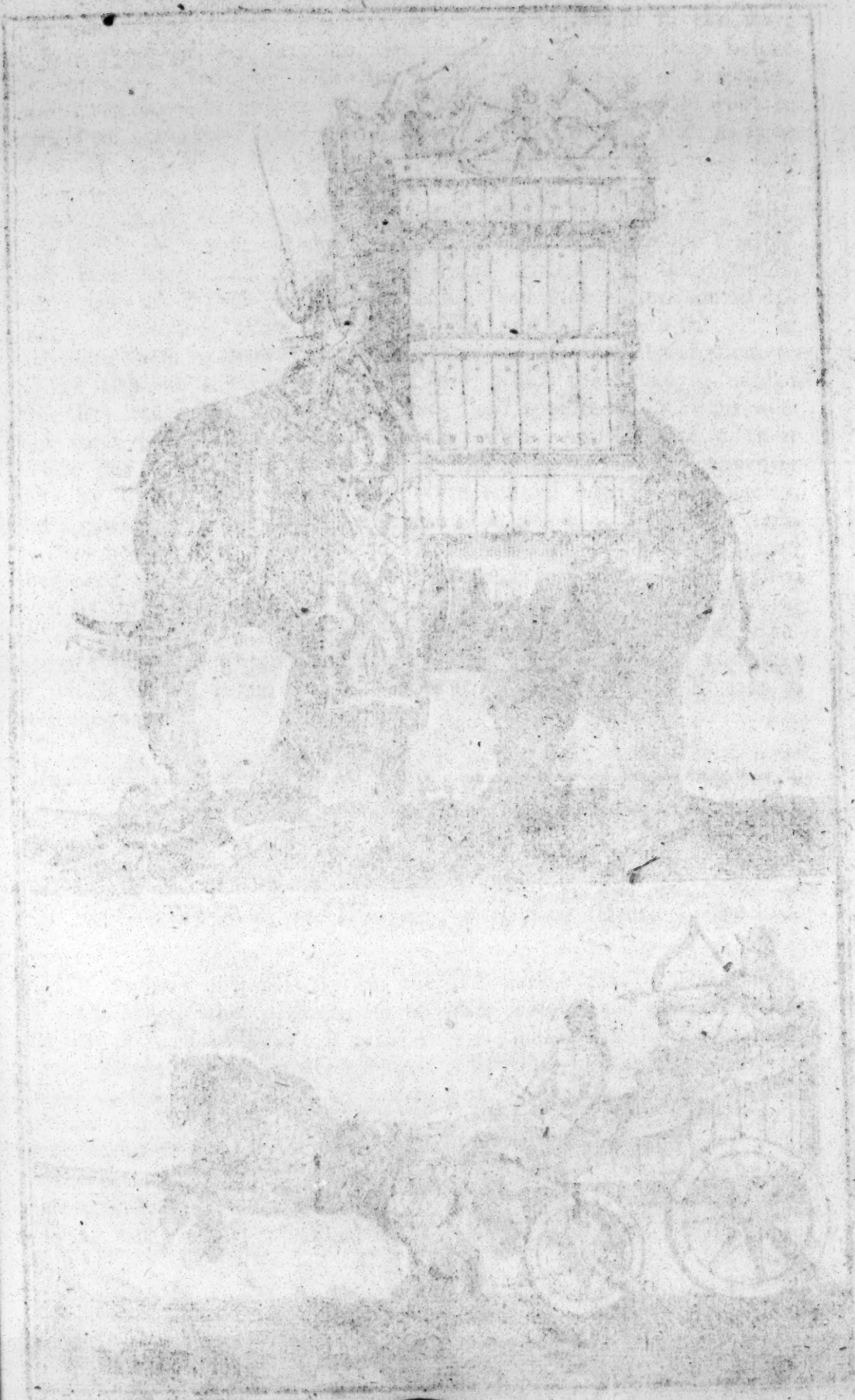
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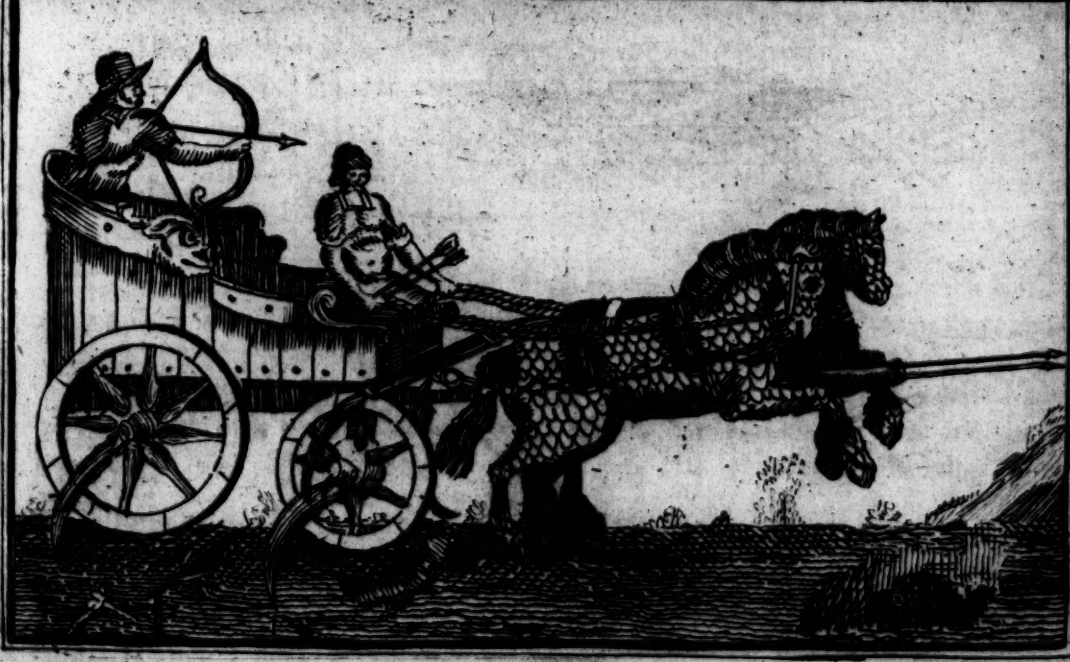
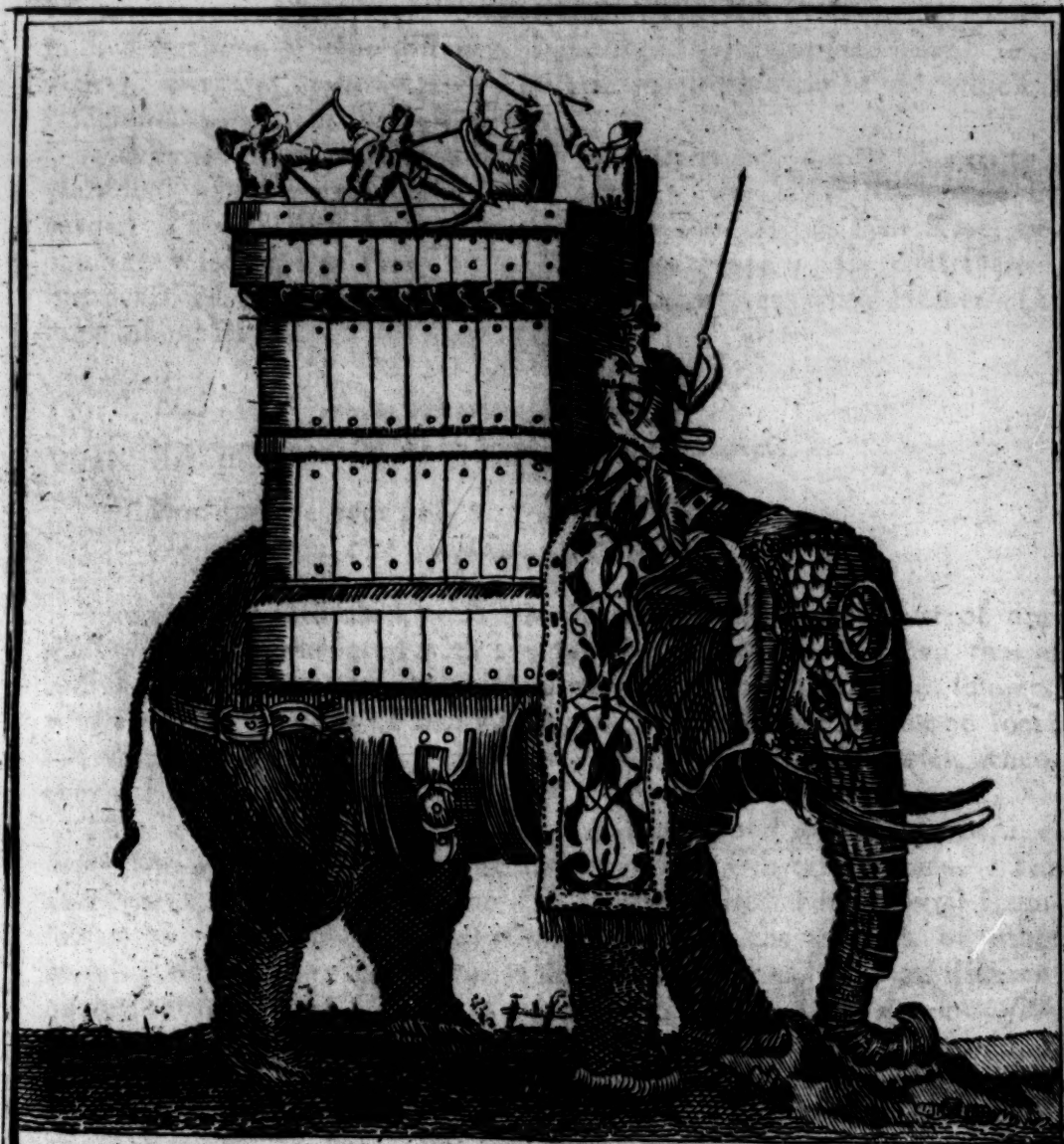
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Of camels and elephants, which are so much talked of in the wars of some countries, we have no mention in the Grecian story before the times of Alexander, when we find a great number of elephants transported from the eastern parts of the world. These were wont to carry into the battle large towers, in which ten, fifteen, and, as some affirm, thirty soldiers were contained, who annoyed their enemies with missive weapons, themselves being secure, and out of danger (a). Nor were the beasts idle or useless in engagements; for beside that, with their smell, their vast and amazing bulk, and their strange and terrible noise, both horses and soldiers were struck with terror and astonishment; they acted their parts courageously, trampling under foot all opposers, or catching them in their trunks, and tossing into the air, or delivering them to their riders (b). Nor was it unusual for them to engage with one another with great fury, which they always doubled after they had received wounds, tearing their adversaries in pieces with their teeth (c). But in a short time they were wholly laid aside, their service not being able to compensate the great mischiefs frequently done by them: For though they were endued with great sagacity, and approached nearer to human reason than any other animal, whereby they became more tractable to their governors, and capable to pay obedience to their instructions; yet being sore wounded, and pressed upon by their enemies, they became ungovernable, and frequently turned all their rage upon their own party, put them into confusion, committed terrible slaughters, and delivered the victory to their enemies; of which several remarkable instances are recorded in the historians of both languages.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Grecian Arms and Weapons, with their Military Apparel.

THE authors of fables tell us, the first person that put on armour was Mars, who, perhaps, for no other reason, was honoured with the title of God of War; it being very frequent with the ancient heathens gratefully to acknowledge their obligations to the first contrivers of any profitable invention, by inserting them into the number of their deities, and decreeing to them the perpetual care and sovereignty of those useful and ingenious arts or contrivances, whereof they were the first authors. The workman employed by Mars was Vulcan, at that time a master smith in the isle of Lemnos, and so eminent in his profession, that posterity advanced him among the gods, and honoured him

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with

(a) Philostratus Vita Apollonii, Lib. I. Cap. VI.
(c) Polybius, Lib. V.

(b) Curtius, Lib. VIII.

with the superintendency and protection of his own trade: But his countrymen, the Lemnians, were not so fortunate; for they stand represented to all ages as common enemies to mankind, and branded with characters of infamy for that execrable and pernicious device. Whence the poets have fixed upon them the name of Σίντιες, to continue the memory of the harm they did to mankind. Thus Homer (a):

Ἐνθά μὲ Σίντιες ἄνδρες ἄφαρ κομίσαντο πεισόντα:

Turn'd out of heav'n, the Lemnians me receiv'd.

Their country likewise was called Σιντήϊς, as we find in Apollonius (b):

Εἰρεσίη κραναὴν Σιντήϊδα Λῆμον ἴκοντο.

To Lemnos, otherwise Sinteis call'd,
They sail'd.

From the same original are derived these common proverbs, Λήμονις πακὰ, great and intolerable evils; Λημόνια χεῖρ, a fatal or mischievous hand; and Λήμονιον βλέπειν, to have a cruel and bloody look (c). Though some will by no means allow this character to have been given to the Lemnians for their invention of arms, but rather for the frequent piracies and outrages committed by them upon foreigners, or for other reasons: Whereas, they tell us, that *Liber*, or Bacchus, was the first that introduced into the world the use of weapons (d).

The arms of all the primitive heroes were composed of brass, as appears from Homer, who is herein followed as well by the ancient poets, both Greek and Latin, as all other writers that give account of those times. Pausanias hath endeavoured to prove this by a great number of instances (e): It is reported in Plutarch (f), that when Cimon, the son of Miltiades, conveyed the bones of Theseus from the isle of Scyros to Athens, he found interred with him a sword of brass, and a spear with an head of the same metal. More examples would be superfluous, since we are expressly told by Hesiod, that there was no such thing as iron in those ages; but their arms, all sorts of instruments, and their very houses, were made of brass (g):

Τοῖς δ' ἦν χαλκεὶ μὲν τούχη, χαλκεοὶ δὲ τε οἶκοι,
Χαλκῷ δ' ἐργάζοντο, μέλας δ' ἔκ' ἔσκε σίδηρος.

Nor yet to men iron discover'd was;
But arms, tools, houses were compos'd of brass.

And

(a) Iliad. ε. prope finem.
Edit. Basil.

(b) Argon. II.

(d) Isidorus, Orig. Lib. IX. Cap. III.

(c) Eustathius, Iliad. ε. p. 119.

(e) Laconicis. (f) Theseus

(g) Oper. & Dieb.

And in latter ages, when the world was acquainted with the use of iron, the artificers and their occupation still retained their old names. Thus we are told by Aristotle (*a*), that χαλκεύς denotes an iron smith. And (to trouble you with no more instances in a thing so commonly known) Plutarch (*b*) applies the word ἐχαλκούσατο to the making of iron helmets.

Some of their arms were composed of tin, especially their boots, as we read of Achilles's in the eighteenth Iliad. This metal was likewise frequently used in other parts of their armour, as appears from Agamemnon's breast-plate (*c*), and Æneas's shield (*d*).

Several other metals were made use of; gold and silver were in great esteem among them, yet the most illustrious heroes used them only as graceful ornaments: They whose whole armour was composed of them, are usually represented as more addicted to effeminate and delicate arts, than manly courage and bravery. Glaucus's arms were indeed made of gold, but the great Diomedes was content with brass. Amphimachus, who entered into the war with golden weapons, is compared by Homer to a trim virgin (*e*).

Νάσσης Ἀμφίμαχος τε, Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ὅς κ' χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἵεν ἥντε κέρη·
Νήπιόν, εἰδὲ τί οἱ τό γ' ἐπήγεσσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,
Ἀλλ' ἐδάμνη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδωκίῃς Αἰακίδαο
Ἐν ποταμῷ, χρυσὸν δ' Ἀχιλοῦς ἐκομίσσε δαΐφρων·

Trick'd up in arms of gold for horrid war,
Like some trim girl, does Nomion's son prepare,
The vain Amphimachus; but not that show,
Nor pomp could ward off the unerring blow;
But by Æacides deprived of life,
His arms were seiz'd by the more skilful chief.

H. H.

In like manner, the Persians, having given themselves over to softness and pleasure, engaged with the rough Grecians, richly adorned with gold and jewels, and became an easy prey to them. The Grecian heroes, though not so unpolished as to debar themselves the use of these ornaments, yet were not so excessively profuse of them, nor applied them to the same ends and purposes: Achilles's shield, so curiously engraved by Vulcan, is a lecture of philosophy, and contains a description of almost all the works of nature. The arms of other valiant princes are frequently adorned with representations of their noble exploits, the history of the actions of their ancestors, or blessings received from the gods; or filled with terrible images of lions or dragons, and rendered

(*a*) Poetica.
(*d*) Iliad. 6.

(*b*) Camillo, ἐχαλκούσατο κράνη τοῖς πλείστοις ὁλοσφύρω.
(*e*) Iliad. 6. prope finem.

(*c*) Iliad. 2.

rendered bright and shining to strike terror and amazement into their enemies, according to that of Homer (a) :

ὅσοι δ' ἄμειδον
 Ἀνὴν χαλκείην.

Th' amazing lustre terrify'd the fight.

So it is reported of our British ancestors, that they painted themselves with divers forms of animals, thinking thereby to appear more terrible to their enemies.

The ancient Grecians were always armed, thinking it unsafe to adventure themselves abroad without a sufficient defence against aggressors. Hence Aristotle hath rationally inferred, that they were a barbarous and uncivilized nation : For being educated in the deepest ignorance, and having very little sense of that justice and honesty, to which all men are obliged by nature's eternal and immutable sanctions, being also in a great measure without the restraint of human laws, all persons thought they had a just title to whatever they could by any means to take into possession, which they had no other method to secure, but that whereby they obtained it, and resigned a claim whenever a more potent adversary exhibited his pretensions. The seas were filled with pirates, the land with robbers, who made a prey of whatever came to their hands, and frequently made incursions into countries, which they spoiled and depopulated, and, if their force was great enough, drove out the inhabitants, and compelled them to seek new seats. By men of this profession, Io, Europa, Ganymedes, and many others, were stolen ; which put Tyndarus in such a fear for his daughter Helen, that he caused all the young princes that made their addresses to her, to bind themselves by a solemn oath to recover her, if ever she should be conveyed away. The sea, we are informed by Thucydides (b), was freed from piracies by Minos king of Crete, who, with a powerful navy, maintained, for many years, the sovereignty of it. But the land was still infested ; and therefore when Theseus designed to make his first journey from Trœzen to Athens, Plutarch tells us, that his relations would have persuaded him to go by sea. " For," says he, " it was at that time very dangerous to travel by land to Athens, no place of the country being free from thieves and murderers : For that age produced a sort of men, for strength of arms, swiftness of feet, and vigour of body, excelling the ordinary rate of men, and in labours and exercises indefatigable ; yet making use of these gifts of nature to nothing good or profitable to mankind ; but rejoicing and taking pride in insolence, and pleasing themselves in the commission of barbarous and inhuman cruelties, in seizing by force whatever fell into their hands, and practising upon strangers all manner of outrages ; who imagined that civility, and justice, and equity, and humanity (which they thought were commended by many, either for want of courage to commit injuries,

or

(a) Iliad I.

(b) Lib. I.

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or fear of receiving them), nothing at all to concern those who were most daring and strong (a)." Of these, indeed, Hercules and Theseus, and other generous and public-spirited princes, in a great measure, freed the country: But, before that, it was not to be wondered if the Grecians always wore arms, standing upon their guard, especially since, in those days, few of them were united into large towns, but lived retiredly in country seats, or, at the best, in small and defenceless hamlets. This custom was first laid aside at Athens, the occasion and necessity thereof being first removed in that city (b): For historians generally agree, that the Athenians entertained the decent rules of civility and humanity, were modelled into a regular form of government, and enjoyed the happiness of wholesome and useful laws before the rest of the Grecians. Afterwards a penalty was laid by Solon upon those who wore arms in the city without necessity (c); that having in former times been the occasion of frequent murders, robberies, and duels. On the same account was made the following law of Zaleucus, *Μηδὲνα φορεῖν ὄπλα ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ*, *That no person should bear arms in the senate.*

Let us now return to the description of the Grecian arms, which are distinguished into two sorts, some of them being contrived for their own defence, others to annoy their enemies. The primitive Grecians, we are told (d), were better furnished with the former, whereas the Barbarians were most industrious in providing the latter; the generals of these being most concerned how to destroy their enemies, whilst the Grecians thought it more agreeable to the dictates of human nature to study how to preserve their friends: For which reason Homer always takes care to introduce his brave and valiant heroes well armed into the battle, and the Grecian lawgivers decreed punishments for those that threw away their shields, but excused those that lost their swords or spears; intimating hereby, that their soldiers ought to be more careful to defend themselves, than to offend their enemies (e).

First, let us take an account of their *defensive* arms, as fitted to the several members of the body, beginning at the head, which was guarded with an helmet, called in Greek *περικεφαλαία*, *κράνος*, *κόρυς*, &c. This was sometimes composed of brass or other metals, as Menelaus's in Homer,

——— αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ σιφάνην κεφαλῇφιν αἶέρας
Θήκατο χαλκείην.———

He put his headpiece on, compos'd of brass.

And very frequently of the skins of beasts, which gave occasion to those different appellations, derived from the names of animals, whereby it is signified in Homer, as *ικτιδὲν*, *ταυρεῖν*, *αἰλωπεκὲν*, *λεοντέν* *αἰγείν*, and others, of which none is more common than *κυνέη*, which was composed

(a) Plutarchus Theseo.
(d) Euripidis Scholiastes.

(b) Thucydides, Lib. I.

(e) Plutarchus Pelopida.

(c) Lucianus Anacharside.

posed of a dog's skin : Eustathius tells us it was ποτάμιος κύων, a water-dog, and was so frequently used by the ancients, that we find it sometimes taken for the name of an helmet, though consisting of another sort of matter. Thus Homer (a),

— ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε
Ταυρέην —

He put on's helmet of a bull's hide made.

These skins were always worn with their hair on ; and, to render them more terrible and frightful, the teeth were frequently placed grinning on their enemies. Thus the soldier in Virgil (b),

*Ipse pedes tegmen torquens immane leonis,
Terribili impexum seta cum dentibus albis,
Indutus capitis sic regia tecta subibat.*

He shakes his lion's skin, whose grizzly hair
And dreadful teeth create in all a fear :
Thus having fortify'd his martial head,
The royal roof he enters.

Homer likewise arms Ulysses in the same manner (c) ;

— ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε
Ρινῆ ποιητήν, πολέσιν δ' ἔντοσθεν ἱμάσιν
Ἐντέτατο σερεῶς, ἔκτοσθε δὲ λουκοὶ ὀδόντες
Ἄργι ὀδοντος ὕος θαμέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
Εἰ καὶ ἐπισαμένως μίσση δ' ἐνὶ πῖλος ἀρήρει.

His leathern helmet on his head he plac'd,
Whose inside with the strongest thongs was lac'd ;
But all the outward parts were fortify'd
With the white teeth of boars.

The fore part of the helmet was open, for the heroes all entered into the battle with faces uncovered ; to the side was fixed a string, whereby it was tied to the warrior's neck. This was termed ὀχὺς, whence Homer speaks of Paris thus (d) ;

Ἄρχε δὲ μιν πολέεσος ἱμάς ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρὴν,
Ὅς οἱ ὑπ' ἀνδρεῶνος ὀχὺς τέτατο τρυφαλείης,

The well-wrought string, which ty'd his helmet on
Under his chin, now chok'd the champion.

Some

(a) Iliad. x'.

(d) Iliad, γ'. v. 371.

(b) Æneid. VII. v. 666.

(c) Iliad. x'. v. 261.

Some of its parts received their names from the members guarded by them, as ὀφρύς, that part which covered the eye-brows, and the rest in like manner. The little lappet erected over the brow was by a metaphorical term called γῆσσον, *the pent-house*. But the most remarkable of all the parts in the helmet was its crest, termed φάλος, and λόφος (a), which was first used by the Carians (b), and thence called by Alcæus Καρικὸς λόφος;

Λόφον τε σείων Καρικόν.

Shaking his Carian crest:

For the Carians were once famous for military exploits, and obliged the world with this and several other inventions: Hence we are told by Thucydides (c), that it was customary for them to reposit a little shield and an helmet in the graves of their dead. Some will have φάλος to be distinguished from λόφος, that signifying the *conus*, this the *plume* fixed to it (d); but others allow no difference between them. The former of these was composed of various materials, most of which were rich and chargeable, being designed as an ornament to the helmet. The other likewise was adorned with divers sorts of paint; whence Pollux gives it the epithets of ἐυανθής, ὑακινθινόβαφής (e). Homer has enriched it with gold (f):

Τούτῃς δὲ οἱ κορυθα βριαρὴν κροτάφοις ἀραρῦϊαν
Καλὴν, δαιδαλέην, ἐπὶ δὲ χρύσειον λόφον ἤκει.

A strong and trusty helmet next he made,
Which, when he'd rightly seated on his head,
The curious party-colour'd golden crest
In beauteous form he o'er the helmet plac'd.

One of Virgil's heroes has his whole helmet of gold, and his crest painted with red (g):

———— maculis quem Thracius albis
Portat equus, cristaque tegit galea aurea rubra.

Streak'd with large spots of white the Thracian steed
Carry'd the hero, who had arm'd his head
With golden helmet, and crest painted red. }

The crest was for the most part of feathers, or the hair of horses tails, or manes; whence we read of λόφος ἵπποχαίτης, κόρυς ἵπποδάσεια, ἵππευς. Thus Homer (h):

Vol. II.

D

(a) Hesych. &c.

(b) Herodot. Clio, Strabo, Lib. XIV.

(c) Lib. I.

(d) Suidas, Ic.

(e) Lib. I. Cap. X

(f) Iliad. ε'. 610.

(g) Æneid. IX. 49.

(h) Iliad. ε'. v. 382.

— ἥδ' αἶσῃ ὥς ἀπείλαμπεν
 Ἰππυρις τρυφάλεια, περισσείοντο δ' ἰδυραὶ
 Χρύσαι, ὥς Ἡφαιστος ἱεὶ λόφον ἀμφὶ θαρμιάς.

Like some bright star the crested helmet shone ;
 The gilded hairs, which Vulcan round the cone
 Had plac'd, were all in sportful order mov'd.

The common soldiers had only small crests ; the great officers, and all persons of quality, were distinguished by plumes of a larger size, and frequently took a pride in wearing two, three, or four together. Suidas will have Geryon to have been famous in poetry for three heads, on no other account but because his helmet was adorned with three crests. Virgil describes Turnus's head-piece after the same manner (a), adding also to it the figure of a chimera :

*Cui triplici crinita juba galea alta chimæram
 Sustinet* — — —

Whose triple-crested helmet did sustain
 A terrible chimera.

This helmet was called τρυφάλεια ; when it was surrounded with plumes, ἀμφίφαλος ; and when adorned with four, τετράφαλος. Thus Appoloni-
 nus (b) :

Τετράφαλος φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπιλάμπεται πλήλῃ.
 A four-fold plume with dazzling lustre shone,
 Whose nodding top o'erlook'd the dreadful cone.

The design of these was to strike terror into the enemies ; whence that of Homer (c) :

— δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν.

For the same reason, Pyrrhus king of Epirus, beside a lofty crest, wore goats horns upon his helmet (d). We are told indeed by Suidas, that the τείχισις, or crest itself, was sometimes termed κίρας. Nevertheless, some of the ancient helmets had no crest or cone at all. This sort was called καταίτυξ, as we learn from Homer (e) :

— ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε
 Ταυρέην, ἀφαλὸν τε, καὶ ἄλοφον, ἣ τε καταῖτ
 Κέκληται — — —

His bull-skin helmet on his head he plac'd,
 Καταίτυξ called, 'cause without cone or crest.

Other sorts of ornaments were used in helmets, as in that called σεφάνη

(a) Æneid. VII. v. 785.

(b) Lib. III.

(c) Iliad. III.

(d) Plut. Pyrrho.

(e) Iliad. x.

σεφάνη, which name signifies the ridge of a mountain, and on that account is applied to helmets, having several ἑξοχαί, *eminences*, or parts jutting out (a). Homer has taken notice of this fort also (b),

—ὅδ' ἐπεφάνη δόρυ οἱ στήθε χαλκοδάρεα.

Nor could his helmet made of solid brass

Ward off the blow——

Of all the Grecian helmets, the Boeotian is said to have been the best (c). The Macedonians had a peculiar one, termed *καυσίνη*, which was composed of hides, and served instead of a cap to defend them from the cold, according to the epigram in Suidas,

Καυσίνη, ἡ τοπάρειδε Μακεδόσιν εὐκόλον ὄπλον,

Καὶ σκέπας ἐν νιφετῷ, καὶ κόρυς ἐν πολέμῳ.

Were I to choose what armour I would have,
No helmet forg'd in brawny Vulcan's cave,
Nor bear's or lion's grizly skin I'd crave;
But an old broad-brim'd Macedonian cap,
Whose spacious sides should round my shoulders wrap.
Thus all attacks with greatest ease I'd bear,
As well the storms of weather, as of war.

H. H.

Pliny attributes the first invention of helmets to the Lacedemonians (d), as likewise of the sword and spear: But this must be understood only of the peculiar sorts of those weapons used at Sparta; other kinds of them being known before the first foundation of the Spartan government, or nation.

The heroes prided themselves in wearing for their defence the skins of wild beasts, which they esteemed badges of their prowess. Instances of this kind are every where to be met with in the poets. Hence Theocritus (e):

Αὐτὰρ ὑπὲρ νώτοιο καὶ αὐχένος ἠωρεῖτο
Ἀκρων δέρμα λέοντος ἀφ' ἡμ' ἔκον ἐκ ποδῶνων.

Over his neck and back a lion's skin was thrown,
Held up by 't's feet——

Hercules's lion's skin is very famous in story, and Homer's great princes are frequently introduced in the same habit; in imitation of whom the other Greek and Latin poets have armed their heroes. Thus Aeneas in Virgil (f),

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——occurrit

(a) Hesychius. (b) Iliad λ'. v. 96. (c) Pollux, Lib. I. Cap. X. (d) Lib. VII. Cap. LVI. (e) Διοσκώριδος. (f) Æneid, V. v. 36.

—occurrit Acestes
Horridus in jaculis, & pelle Libyflidos urfa.

Acestes, dreadful for his horrid darts,
And for the Libyan bear-skin that he wears,
Met them.——

But we find they were not ashamed of using better and stronger armour for their defence, the ordinary sorts of which were these that follow :

Μίτην, made of brass, but lined with wool, and worn next to the skin, underneath the coat of mail. This we learn from Homer, speaking of a dart that pierced through the rest of the hero's armour, but was so blunted by the *μίτην* (a), that it only ras'd his skin ;

Αὐτὴ δ' αὖτ' ἴθυνεν ὅθι ζωστῆρος ὀχῆες
Χρῦσοι σὺνεχον, καὶ διπλὸς ἦν τετο θάρηξ,
Ὡς δ' ἔπεισε ζωστῆρι ἀρηρότι πικρὸς οἶσός·
Διὰ μὲν ἄρ' ζωστῆρος ἐλήλατο δαιδαλέοιο,
Καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαίδαλας ἠήρειστο,
Μίτην θ', ἣν ἐφόρει ἔρυμα χρῆος, ἔρκος ἀκόντων,
Ἡ οἱ πλείστον ἐρυτο.

She to that part the deadly shaft convey'd,
Where meeting clasps a double breast-plate made ;
Straight on his belt it fell, nor there could stay,
But through both belt and breast-plate forc'd its way :
And now his last best hopes, the well lin'd brass,
Which against darts his surest refuge was,
It ras'd, but could not thro' it make a perfect pass.

H. H.

Ζῶμα, or *ζωστήρ*, reached from the knees to the belly, where it was joined to the brigandine (b). But the latter of these names is more frequently taken for the belt surrounding the rest of the armour : Thus Homer (c) ;

Λῦσε δὲ οἱ ζωστῆρα παναίολον, ἣδ' ἐπένευθε
Ζῶμά τε, καὶ μίτην, ἣν χαλκῆες κάμον ἄνδρες.

His rich embroider'd belt he then unbrac'd,
And all his armour underneath it plac'd,
Which by the hands of skilful smiths were made.

This was so essential to a warrior, that *ζώννυσθαι* came to be a general name for putting on armour (d) : Whence Homer introduces Agamemnon commanding the Grecians to arm themselves thus (e) ;

Ἀτρεΐδης

(a) Iliad, γ. & Eustathius, ibid. p. 345. Edit. Basil.

(b) Eustathius, ibid.

(c) Iliad, γ.

(d) Pausanias Bœoticis.

(e) Iliad, α'.

Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ βόησεν, ἰδὲ ζώνουσαι ἄνωγεν

Atrides straight commands them all to arm.

The same poet, when he makes that hero resemble the god of war in his ζώνη, is supposed (as Pausanias (a) tells us) to mean his whole armour. The Romans had the same custom, as appears from Plutarch, (b): And it prevailed also amongst the Persians, whence Herodotus relates, how Xerxes, having reached Abdera, when he fled from Athens, and thinking himself out of danger, did λύειν τὴν ζώνην, or disarm himself (c). But ζώνη is a more general name than ζώση, and signifies the μίτηρ.

Θώραξ consisted of two parts, one of which was a defence to the back, the other to the belly; the extreme parts of it were termed πτερυγες, the middle γυαλα (d). The sides were coupled together with a sort of buttons (e). The same may be observed in Silius (f) of the Roman lorica, which differed not much from the Grecian thorax, whence Θώραξ is by Hesychius expounded Λωρίκιον.

— qua fibula morfus
Lorica crebro laxata resolverat ictu.

Ἡμιθωράκιον was an half thorax, or breast-plate, which Pollux tells us was first invented by Jason; and we find it very much esteemed by Alexander, who, as Polyænus (g) reports, considering that the entire Θώραξ might be a temptation to his soldiers to turn their backs upon their enemies, those being equally guarded by it with their breasts, commanded them to lay aside their back-pieces, and arm themselves with ἡμιθωράκια, breast-plates; that so whenever they were put to flight, their backs might be exposed naked to their enemies. The thoraces were not all composed of the same stuff; some were made of line, or hemp twisted into small cords, and close set together; whence we read of Thoraces bilices, and trilices, from the number of cords fixed one upon another. These were frequently used in hunting, because the teeth of lions, and other wild beasts, were unable to pierce through them, sticking in the cords; but not so often carried into battles, as Pausanias observes (h): Yet there are not wanting instances of this sort; for Ajax the son of Oileus has the epithet of λινοδάρεξ in Homer (i);

— ὀλίγος μὲν ἔην λινοδάρεξ

Ajax the less a linen breast-plate had.

Alexander likewise is reported by Plutarch to have worn Θώρακα λινοδάρεα,

(a) Loco citato. (b) Coriolano. (c) Urania. Cap. CXX. (d) Pollux, Pausanias Atticis. (e) Pausanias ibid. (f) Lib. VII. (g) Strateg. Lib. IV. (h) Atticis. (i) Iliad. ε'

διπλῶν, or a double-twisted linen thorax: And Iphicrates caused his soldiers to lay aside their heavy and unwieldy brigandines of iron, and go to the field in hempen armour, as Cornelius Nepos hath informed us in his life of that captain. The ordinary matter the *thoraces* were made of, was brass, iron, or other metals, which were sometimes so exquisitely hardened, as to be proof against the greatest force. Plutarch (a) reports, that Zoilus an artificer having made a present of two iron brigandines to Demetrius Poliorcetes, for an experiment of their hardness, caused an arrow to be shot out of an engine called catapultæ, placed about twenty-six paces off; which was so far from piercing the iron, that it scarcely rased, or made the least impression on it. This armour was of two sorts; one of which, because it consisted of one or two continued pieces of metal, and was inflexible, and able to stand upright, was termed θώραξ σάδιος, or σάτος (b). The other was composed of a beast's hide, according to the poet,

—— τῷ δὲ θώρακος σκύτει.

Whence the Latin word *lorica* is thought to be derived from *lorum*. This was set with plates of metal in various forms; sometimes in hooks, or rings, not unlike a chain; sometimes resembling feathers, or the scales of serpents, or fishes; to which plates or studs of gold were often added; whence we read of θώρακις ἀλυσιδωτοί, λιπιδωτοί, φολιδωτοί, &c. And the Greek and Latin poets frequently mention them. Thus Silius (c), speaking of the consul Flaminius:

*Loricam induitur, tortos huic nexilis bamos
Ferro squama rudi, permistoque asperat auro.*

Virgil arms his heroes after the same manner (d):

—— *Rutulum thoraca indutus, aenis
Horrebat squamis*——

Dress'd in his glitt'ring breast-plate, he appear'd
Frightful with scales of brass.

The single plates being sometimes pierced through by spears, and missive weapons, it was customary to strengthen them by setting two, three, or more, upon one another. Thus Statius (e),

—— *ter insuto servant ingentia ferro
Pectora*——

With triple plates of iron they defend
Their breasts.

And

(a) Demetrio. (b) Eustathius. (c) Lib. V. (d) Æneid. XI. (e) Theb. VII.

And in another place (a)

Multiplicem tenues iterant thoraca catenæ.

The little chains a mighty breastplate join!

Whence, in the same manner, as from the number of cords, they were termed *bilices*, or *trilices*; in Greek, διπλοῖ, and τριπλοῖ. Virgil (b).

Loricam confertam hamis, auroque trilicem.

The threefold coat of mail, beset with hooks and gold.

Κνημίδες, ορεα, were greaves of brass, copper, or other metals, to defend the legs. Whence Hesiod (c),

————— κνημίδας ὄρει χαλκοῖο φαεινῆ,
Ἡφαίστου κλυτὰ δῶρα, περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκεν.

The greaves of shining brass, which Vulcan gave,
He round his ancles plac'd —————

Homer frequently composeth them of tin (d);

Τεῦξε δὲ οἱ κνημίδας ἱανῆ κασσιτέρειο.

He made his greaves of beaten tin.

The sides were generally closed about the ancles with buttons, which were sometimes of solid gold or silver, as we have it in the same poet (e);

Κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε
Καλὰς, ἀργυρεῖοισιν ἐπισφυρίαις ἀραρυίας.

The curious greaves he round his ancles clos'd
With silver buttons.

It is probable that this piece of armour was at first either peculiar to the Grecians, or at least more generally used by them than other nations; because we find them so perpetually called by the poet,

————— εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί.

Χεῖρες were guards for their hands, which we find also to have been used by some of them, with other defences for their arms.

Ἀσπίς,

(a) Theb. XII.
(e) Iliad. γ'. v. 330.

(b) Æneid. III. 467.

(c) Scuto.

(d) Iliad. ε'. v. 612.

Ασπίς, a buckler. This was first used by Proetus and Acrisius of Argos (a). It was sometimes composed of wickers woven together, according to Virgil (b);

————— *flectuntque salignas*
Umbo num crates —————

The bucklers they of osiers make.

Whence it is termed *ιτις* (c). It was likewise made of wood; and because it was expedient that the warriors should be able, with the greatest ease, to wield it, they usually chose the lightest sort of wood for this use, as the fig, willow, beech, poplar, elder-trees, &c. as we are informed by Pliny (d). But it was commonly made of hides; whence we find so frequent mention of *ἀσπίδες βοεiai*. These were doubled into several folds, and fortified with plates of metal. Ajax's buckler was composed of seven folds of hide, and covered with a single plate of brass, as we read in Homer (e);

————— *σάκος αἰόλον ἑπταβόειον*
Ταύρων ζατρεφών, ἐπὶ δ' ὄγδοον ἤλασε χαλκόν.

Made of the hides of seven well fattened bulls,
 And cover'd with a plate of brass.

Achilles's was guarded with three folds more, as the poet tells us,

————— *ἑ' ας, ἑ' proxima rupit*
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

It pierc'd the brass, and through nine hides it broke;
 But could not penetrate the tenth.

But the same hero's, in Homer, was more strongly fortified, by two plates of brass, two of tin, and a fifth of gold (f);

————— *πέντε πλῆχας ἤλασε Κυλλοποδίων,*
Τὰς δύο χαλκείας. δύο δ' ἔνδοδι κασσιτέρους,
Τὴν δὲ μίαν χρυσῆν —————

For with five plates Vulcan it fortify'd,
 With two of brass, two tin, and one of gold.

The principal parts of the buckler were these:

Ἀντιζ, ἴτυς, περιφέρεια, or κύκλος, the utmost round or circumference.

Ομοφαλός

(a) Pausanias Corinthiac. β'. p. 131. Edit. Hanov.
 (c) Hesychius. (d) Nat. Hist. Lib. VI. Cap. XL.
 (f) Iliad. ῥ. 270.

(b) Æneid. VII. 632.
 (e) Iliad. ῥ. v. 222.

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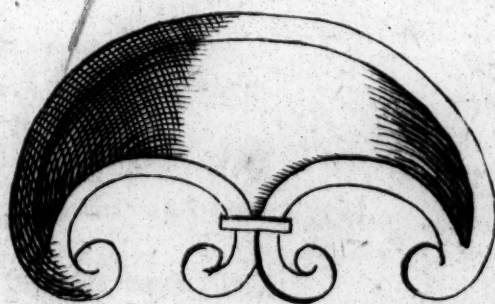
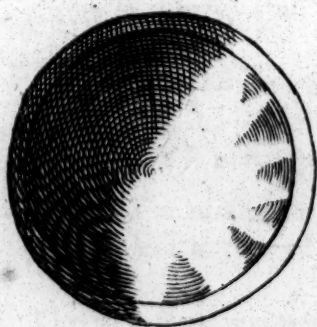
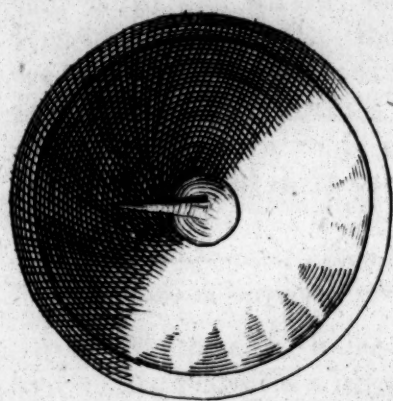
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Ομφάλος and μισομφάλιον, in Latin, *umbo*, a boss jutting out in the middle of the buckler, upon which was fixed another protuberant part termed ἱπομφάλιον. This was of great service to them, not only in glancing off, and repelling missive weapons, but in bearing down their enemies. Whence Martial has this allusion,

In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellet.

Should you be in a crowd, your slave
Would with his boss repel them all.

Τελαμών, was a thong of leather, and sometimes a rod of metal, reaching cross the buckler, whereby they hung it upon their shoulders, according to the primitive fashion (a): Whence Homer (b),

——— αὐτὰρ ἀπ' ὤμων
Ἀσπίς σὺν τελαμῶνι χαμαὶ πῖσε τερμιόεσσα.

Down from his shoulders the huge buckler fell,
With it's loos'd thong.

It was sometimes called κανὼν, except this may be understood of the rod to which the τελαμών was fastened, as Hesychius expounds it, which seems most probable; and that κανόνες were rods whereby the bucklers were held (as Homer's Scholiast reports), but τελαμῶνες, the thongs affixed to them, and hung upon the warrior's shoulders, though Eustathius will have them to have been put to the former use, and to be the same with κανόνες (c). Sometimes the bucklers were held by little rings called πόρπακις; but at length most of the Grecians used a handle called ὄχανον, or ὄχάνη, which, though sometimes spoken of with the former names, and explained by them, was really different from both, being invented by the Carians (d), and, as it is commonly thought, composed for the most part of small iron bars, placed cross each other, and resembling the letter χ (e). When the wars were ended, and the bucklers (as was customary) hung up in the temples of the gods, they took off the handles, thereby to render them unfit to serve in any sudden insurrection: Whence Aristophanes introduces a person affrighted, when he saw bucklers hanging up with handles,

Οἱ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσιν γὰρ πόρπακας.

O sad! the bucklers handles have.

Which another had also found fault with, a little before.

Vol. II.

E

Οἱ

(a) Eustathius, Iliad. β'. p. 184. Edit. Basil. (b) Iliad. ε'. (c) Loco citato.
(d) Etymologici Auctor, Homeri Scholiastes, &c. (e) Eustathius, loco citato.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, εἰ περ Φιλᾶς τὸν δῆμον, ἐκ προνοίας
 Ταύτας ἑὼν αὐτοῖς πορπαζὶν ἀνταδῆναι.

Æschylus speaks of little bells hung upon bucklers, to strike terror into the enemy,

——— ἀπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ
 Χαλκήλατοι πλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβου.

Most of the bucklers were curiously adorned with all sorts of figures of birds and beasts, especially such as were of generous natures, as eagles, lions, &c. Nor of these only, but of the gods, of the celestial bodies, and all the works of nature; which custom was derived from the heroic ages, and continued in later times, being (as Herodotus (a) reports), first introduced by the Carians, and from them communicated to the Grecians, Romans, and Barbarians.

The Grecians had several sorts of bucklers, the most remarkable of which seem to have been those of Argos, which are thought to be bigger than the rest; whence Virgil compares them to Polypheme's monstrous eye, which he tells us was (b),

Argolici clypei, aut Phœbeæ lampadis instar.

Like an Argolic buckler, or the sun.

Most, indeed, of the ancient bucklers seem to have covered the whole body; whence Virgil (c),

——— *clypeique sub orbe teguntur.*

Under their bucklers cover'd close they stand,

Tyrtæus enumerates the members protected thereby,

Μηρᾶς τε, κνήμας τε κάτω, καὶ στήνα, καὶ ὤμους
 Ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρὶ καλυψάμενος.

Thighs, legs, and breast, belly and shoulders too,
 The mighty buckler cover'd.

This farther appears from the custom of carrying dead soldiers out of the field upon their bucklers; whence we read of the famous command of the Spartan mothers to their sons, Ἡ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰν, i. e. *Either bring this* (meaning the buckler), *or be brought upon it*; meaning they should either secure their bucklers, or lose their lives in defending them (d). And Homer for the same reason calls them ἀσπί-
 δας

(a) Lib. I. (b) Æneid. III. (c) Æneid. II. (d) Plutarchus Apophthegm. Laconic.

δας ἀμφιβροτας, and ποδηνηκείς, which Eustathius interprets ἀνδρομήκεις, i. e. of the same size with a man (a).

Their form was usually round, whence Virgil's *clypei orbis*, and the frequent mention of ἀσπίδες εὐκύκλοι, πάντοτε ἴσαι &c. Hence the utmost circumference was called κύκλος, as hath been already observed.

There were likewise shields of lesser sizes and other forms, the use of several of which was later than the heroic ages.

Γέρρον, or γέρρα, was squared, like the figure *rhombus*, and first used by the Persians (b).

Θυρεός was oblong, and usually bending inward: It seems to have been the same which is called in (c) Pollux ἀπὶς κοίλῃ ἑτερομήκης.

Λαισήϊον seems to have been shaped like the former, and composed of hides with the hair, whence grammarians derive it from λάσιος, i. e. hairy. It was very light, whence (as Eustathius (d) observes) Homer gives it the epithet πτερόεν.

—————βοείας
 Ασπίδας εὐκύκλεις, λαισήϊα τε πτερόεντα.

Πελοή was a small and light buckler, in the form of an half-moon (e), or, according to Xenophon, resembling an ivy leaf, and first used by the Amazons. But Suidas will have it to be a kind of four-square buckler, wanting the ἵψος, or exterior rising.

This was the chief of all their arms: The regard they had of it appears both from what has been already observed concerning their care in adorning and preserving it; and from the common story of Epaminondas, who having received a mortal wound, and lying under the agonies of death, with great concern inquired whether his buckler was safe (f). Chabrias, the famous Athenian, when his ship was sunk, rather chose honourably to resign his life with his buckler, than leaving it, to escape to another vessel (g). Military glory indeed being esteemed the greatest that human nature was capable of, they had a profound regard for all sorts of arms, which were the instruments whereby they attained it; whence to leave them to their enemies, to give them for a pledge, or dispose of them any dishonourable way, was an indelible disgrace both in (b) Greece and at Rome, and scarce ever to be atoned for.

Thus have I endeavoured to give you a description of the principal of the Grecian defensive arms, which are in general termed ἀλξήτῃρα, σκεπαστήρια, and προδλήματα.

The only offensive arms used by the ancients, were stones or clubs, and such as rude nature furnished them with. They were wholly ignorant of all those arts and contrivances to destroy their enemies, which necessity and thirst of glory afterwards introduced into the world. Thus Horace describes the fights of those wild and uncultivated ages:

E 2

Unguibus

(a) Iliad. ζ'. (b) Strabo, Lib. XV. (c) Lib. I. Cap. X. (d) Iliad. ε'. p. 433. Edit. Basil. (e) Isidorus Hispal. Orig. Lib. XVIII. (f) Ammianus, Lib. XXV. (g) Æmilius Probus in Chabria. (h) Aristophanis Scholiastes Plato.

*Unguibus & pugnīs, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quę post fabricaverat usus.*

Sharp nails, and fists, the first arms only were,
Then clubs came into use, next men took care
To make more hurtful weapons.

Lucretius hath an elegant passage to the same purpose (a) :

*Arma antiqua manus, unguēs, dentesque fuere,
Et lapides, et item silvarum fragmina, rami,
Et flammę, atque ignes, postquam sunt cognita primum ;
Posterius ferri vis est, ærisque reperta :
Sed prius æris erat quam cognitus usus.*

In the first ages, nails, hands, teeth would please
A combatant for arms, and boughs of trees,
Or stones, or flaming brands with anger thrown,
Were then the best, and chiefest weapons known :
Men afterwards in mischief wiser far
Us'd ir'n and brazen arms in ev'ry war.
Of these bræs first began to kill.

E. D.

These clubs were call'd Φάλαγγες and Φαλάγγια; whence grammarians conjecture that squadrons of soldiers were termed Φαλαγγες (b), and by the Latins, phalanges, from this primitive way of fighting.

The principal of their *offensive* weapons in later ages was ἔγχος and δόρυ, spear, or pike, the body of which was composed of wood, in the heroic times most commonly of ash; whence we have so frequent mention in Homer of μελίη, as when he speaks of Achilles's spear (c).

*Πηλεΐδα μελίην, τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ πορρὲ Χείρων
Πηλὶς ἐκ κορυφῆς, φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν.*

The ashen spear for murder then design'd,
When to his father with a cruel mind
Old Chiron gave it.

The Trojans were likewise armed from the same tree (d);

Καὶ Πριάμος, καὶ λαὸς ὕμμελίων Πριάμοιο.

The head αἰχμή, was of metal. So was also the *σαυρωτήρ*, which is so call'd either q. *σαυρωτήρ*, from *σαυρὸς*, a cross; or from *σαῦρος*, a lizard,

(a) Lib. V.
v. 143.

(b) Eustathius, Iliad. δ'. p. 357. Edit. Basil. &c.
(d) Iliad. δ'. 57.

(c) Iliad. σ'.

lizard, which it is said to have resembled, being hollow at one end, where it was fixed into the bottom of the spear; and sharp at the other (a), which being thrust into the ground upheld the spear erect, when the soldiers rested from the toil of war. Whence Homer, speaking of Diomedes's followers (b),

——— ἀμφὶ δ' ἱταῖροι
Εὐδον, ὑπὸ κρᾶσιν δ' ἔχων ἀσπίδας, ἔχον δὲ σφιν
Ορεῖ ἐπὶ σφυρωτῆρος ἐλήλατο———

Sleeping about him all his men they found,
Under their heads were laid along the ground
Great shields, their spears erected upright stood
Upon their brazen points.

Aristotle observes, that the same custom was practised among the Illyrians in his days (c). And it seems to have been common in other nations, as may appear from the first book of Samuel (d), where Saul is said to have slept with his spear fixed in the earth close by his head. In times of peace they reared their spears against pillars, in a long wooden case called *θεροδόκη*, as we have it in Homer (e),

Εἰς ἅς ὁ μὲν ἔστησι φέρον πρὸς κίονα μακρὸν
Δεροδόκης ἐντοῦθεν ἐυζόει———

Against his pillar in a well made case
He hung his spear.

Virgil speaks something to the same purpose (f);

*Exin, quæ in mediis ingenti adnixa columnæ
Ædibus astat, validam vi corripit hastam.*

Straight he pulls down with all the force he cou'd
A spear, that in the middle of the house
Was rear'd against a mighty pillar.

There were two sorts of spears, as Strabo hath well observed (g): The former was used in close fight, and called *δέρυ ὀρεκτον*, for the use and excellent management of which the Abantes are celebrated in Homer (b);

Τῷ δ' ἄμ' Ἀβαντες ἔποντο θεοὶ, ὅπιδεν κομόωντες,
Αἰχμηταί, μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῇσι μελίσσι
Θώρηκας ῥήξιν δῆϊων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι.

The

(a) Eustathius, Pollux, Lib. I. Cap. V, (b) Iliad. x. v. 151. (c) De Arte Poetica.
(d) Cap. XXVI. v. 7. (e) Odyss. x. (f) Æneid. XII. v. 92. (g) Lib. X.
(b) Iliad. β'. v. 543.

Th' Abantes follow'd him, whose bushy hair
Lies thick behind ; Abants, who never fear
Close fights, but bravely strike the breast-plates through
With athen spears.

Where may be observed the signification of the word *ὀρέζασθαι*, which (as the Scholiast remarks) is applied to arms used in close fight ; whereas *πάλλειν* belongs rather to missile weapons, which are called by the general names of *παλτά*, and *βέλη*, of which kind was the other sort of spears : Whence we find one making this boast,

Δαρεὶ δ' ἀκοντίζω ὅσον ἐκ ἄλλος τις οἴσῃ.

I strike as far with a spear, as another with an arrow.

This was frequently used in the heroic duels, where the combatants first threw their spears, and then made use of their swords. Thus Hector and Achilles (*a*), Menelaus and Paris (*b*), and the rest of the heroes attack one another. Theocritus hath described the combat of Castor and Lynceus after the same manner (*c*) ;

*Εἴχεσι μὲν πρῶτις τιτυσκόμενοι πόνον εἶχον,
Ἀλλάλων εἴ περ τι χροὸς γύμνωθ' ἴδοιν.
Ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὰ μὲν ἄκρα, πάρος τινα δηλῆσασθαι,
Δῆρ' ἐάγη, σαπέσσιν ἐνὶ δεινοῖσι παγέντα.
Τῷ δ' αὖρ ἐκ κολεοῖιν ἐρυσσαμένω, φόνον αὖθις
Τεῦχον ἐπ' ἀλλάλοισι, μάχης δ' ἐ γίνετ' ἐρωή.*

First with their spears began the noble strife,
Each fought to find an open pass to life ;
But all in vain, the shield the strokes endur'd,
Their spears were broken, and the men secur'd ;
Their swords they drew, the blades like lightning shone
Before the thunderbolt falls swiftly down ;
Now rose their fury.

Mr. Creech.

The Macedonians had a peculiar sort of spear called *σάρισσα*, which was fourteen or sixteen cubits in length.

Ξίφος, a sword, which, according to ancient custom, was hung in a belt put round the shoulders. Whence Homer (*d*) ;

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὁμοῖσιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον.

His silver-hilted sword about his shoulders hung.

Hesiod,

(*a*) *Iliad.* x.

(*b*) *Iliad.* γ.

(*c*) *Idyll.* xβ. v. 187

(*d*) *Iliad.* β.

Hesiod and the rest of the poets mention the same custom (a);

Ωμοισιν δ' ἐμὲν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἄορ' ἔκειτο
Χάλκειον ἐκ τελαμώνος———

——— A brazen sword
Plac'd in the belt, down from his shoulders hung.

The belt reached down to their thighs. Whence Homer's hero (b);

——— φάσγανον δ' ἐν ἔρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηρῶ.

Straight from his thigh his sword he draws,

And Virgil's Æneas (c);

——— *ocysus ensē*
Eripit à femore———

It may be inquired whether the sword was hung upon the right side or the left; to which some reply, that foot soldiers wore it on the left, horsemen on the right; and Josephus (d) expressly mentions horsemen with their swords on their right sides: But whether this was constantly observed, or frequently varied, as Lipsius (e) has observed of the Roman sword, cannot easily be determined. The scabbard was called *κολέος*; close to it was hung a dagger, or poniard, called *τὸ παρὰ μηρὸν*, *παραμήριον*, or *παραζώνιον* *ξιφίδιον*, according to Eustathius (f) *παραξιφίδιον*, or *ἐχειρίδιον*, and in Homer *μάχαιρα*. It was seldom used in fight, but on all occasions supplied the want of a knife, as appears from the poet, out of whom I shall only set down this one instance (g):

Ατρείδης δ' ἐρυσσάμενος χεῖρσσι μάχαιραν,
Ἡ οἱ παρ' ἑξίφιος μέγα κελὶν αἶν' ἄορτο,
Ἀργῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τὰ μιν τρίχας———

Drawing his dagger, which was always put
Close by his sword, Atrides straightway cut
Some hairs from the lambs heads.

Posidonius in Athenæus tells us, the same custom was practised by the ancient Gauls (b). Close by this, or rather instead thereof, the soldiers of lower ages used a dagger called *ἀκινάκης*, which was borrowed from the Persians (i). They had sometimes another sword called *κοπίς*, which

(a) Scuto Herculis. (b) Odyss. λ'. (c) Æneid. X. v. 16. (d) Excidii
Hierosolym. Lib. III. (e) Militia Romana. (f) Iliad. γ'. (g) Iliad. γ'.
(b) Δειπνοσοφ. Lib. XIV. (i) Moschopolus in vocibus Atticis, Pollux, &c.

which was the same with the Roman *ensis falcatus*, and our faulchion, or scimeter, and was chiefly used by the inhabitants of Argos. Not much unlike this were the Lacedemonian swords, called, according to Pollux, *ζυίαι*, but, as Xenophon, *ζυήλαι*, and, by the Athenians, *κνήσεις* (a). They were bent faulchion-like, and in length far less than those commonly used in other parts of Greece: The reason of which custom being demanded of Antalcidas; *it is* (said he) *because we encounter our enemies hand to hand* (b): And when another person told Agesilaus in derision, that a juggler on a stage would make nothing of swallowing their swords; *Well* (replied the king) *yet, with these little weapons we are able to reach our enemies* (c). The only thing further remarkable in the old Grecian sword, is the hilt, which they took a great pride in adorning, not so much with silver and gold, and precious stones, as with figures of lions heads, &c. to make them appear more terrible to their enemies.

Αξίνη, a sort of pole-ax. With this weapon Agamemnon was encountered by Pisander in Homer (d);

————— ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἀσπίδος εἴλετο καλὴν
Αξίνην εὐχαλκον, ἐλαίνῳ ἀμφὶ πελίκῳ
Μακρῷ, εὐξέσῳ—————

The other from his buckler straightway drew
 A curious brazen ax, whose handle few
 Cou'd match for length, for olive, or for work,

Πέλκευς, was not much different from the former, and is joined with it in Homer (e);

Ἀλλ' οἳ γ' ἐγγύθεν ἰσάμεναι, ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
 Οἷσι δὴ πέλκεσσι, καὶ ἀξίνησι μάχοντο.

Both parties fighting close together stood,
 And unconcern'd alike for loss of blood,
 Axes and hatchets us'd.

Several other weapons of less note may occur in authors; whereof I shall mention only one more, and then proceed to the missive weapons: It is *κορυμβή* a battoon of wood, or iron; from the use of which, the famous robber Periphetes, slain by Theseus, was named *κορυμβήτης* (f); which title was likewise conferred upon Areithous, who, as Homer tells the story, used to break through whole squadrons of enemies with his iron club (g).

Τοῖσι δ' Ερευνθαλίων πρόμος ἴσατο, ἰσότηος φάς,
 Τοῦ ἔχει ἔχων ὤμοισιν Αρηϊόδοιο ἀνακτος,

Δίε

(a) Suidas, Eustathius, Iliad. λ'. Hesychius, &c. (b) Plutarchus Apophthegm.
 (c) Idem loc. citat. & Lycurg. (d) Iliad. γ'. v. 611. (e) Iliad. δ'. v. 710.
 (f) Plutarchus Theseo. Diodorus Sic. Lib. IV. (g) Iliad. ζ'. v. 136.

Δίε Αρηΐδου, τὸν ἐπικλησιν, κορυμήτην
 Ἄνδρες κίχλεσκον καλλιζώνι τε γυναῖκες,
 Οὐνὲκ' ἄρ' ἔ τ'όξοισι μαγίσκετο, δαδί τε μακρῶ
 Ἀλλὰ σιδηρέη κορυμή ρήγνυσκε φάλαγγας.

Brave Ereuthalion led these on ; he wore
 The arms of king Areithous before ;
 Godlike Areithous, Club-bearer nam'd,
 And for his cruel weapon greatly fam'd,
 Who with his club whole squadrons put to flight,
 But never spear or arrow us'd in fight.

E. D.

Τόξον, the bow ; the first invention of which some ascribe to Apollo, who from the art of managing this weapon, hath obtained divers appellations, as ἐκησόλος, ἐκατηβολέτης, ἑκατος, τοξοφόρος, χρυσότοξος, ἀργυρότοξος, εὐφαιότερης, &c. All which, though moral interpreters force to other applications, yet the ancient authors of fables refer to this original. This new contrivance the god communicated to the primitive inhabitants of Crete (a), who are reported to have been the first of mortals who understood the use of bows and arrows (b) : And even in later ages the Cretan bows were famous, and preferred to all others in Greece (c). Some rather chose to honour Perseus, the son of Perseus, with this invention ; and others father it upon Scythes, the son of Jupiter (d), and progenitor of the Scythians, who were excellent at this art, and by some reputed the first masters thereof : Thence we find it derived to the Grecians, some of whose ancient nobility were instructed by the Scythians, which in those times passed for a most princely education. Thus Hercules (to trouble you with no more instances), was taught by Teutarus a Scythian swain, from whom he received a bow and arrows of Scythian make : Whence Lycophron, speaking of Hercules's arrows,

Τοῖς Τεύταρείοις βεκόλυ πτεράμασι (e).

With arrows which he had from Teutarus.

And though Theocritus hath changed his tutor's name into Eurytus, yet he also was of Scythian original : And we find the hero in that poet armed with a Mæotian, i. e. a Scythian bow (f) ;

Ωχετο Μαιωτισὶ λαβὼν εὐκαμπέα τόξα.

He went armed with a crooked bow, after the
 Mæotian fashion.

Vol. II.

F

Lycophron

(a) Diodorus Siculus. (b) Isidorus. (c) Pollux, Lib. I. Cap. X. (d) Plinius.
 (e) Callandr. v. 56. Item Tzetza Scholia ibidem, & Theocriti Scholiastes, Idyll. XIII.
 (f) Idyll. XIII. v. 56.

Lycophron also arms Minerva with *Μαιώτης πλόκος*, a Mæotian bow, and in the same place speaks of Hercules's Scythian dragon, whereby he means a bow, which he bequeathed to Philoctetes for his care in kindling the pile wherein he was burnt alive (*a*);

Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἄκραν ἄρδιν εὐδυνεῖ χερσὶν
Σάλπιγγ', ἀποψάλλουσα Μαιώτην πλόκον.
Δύρας παρ' ὀχθαῖς ὅς ποτε φλέξας θρασὺν
Λέοντα ραϊσῶ χεῖρας ἄπλισε Σκύθη
Δράκοντ', ἀφύκτων γομφίων λυροκτύπων.

Minerva, who found out the trumpet's sound,
Drawing her arrows with a skilful hand,
She aim'd, and shot with a Mæotian bow.
This crooked bow the godlike Hercules,
Whose arrows, when they flew, would always kill,
First us'd, and then to Philoctetes gave
A present for the pile at Dura's banks.

E. D.

Both the poets seem particularly to remark the incurvation of the Scythian bow, which distinguished it from the bows of Greece, and other nations, and was so great as to form an half-moon, or semicircle (*b*). Whence the shepherd in Athenæus (*c*), being to describe the letters in Theseus's name, and expressing each of them by some apposite resemblance, compares the third to the Scythian bow;

Σκυδικῶ δὲ τόξῳ τὸ τρίτον ἦν περιμφερές.

The third was like a Scythian bow;

Meaning not the more modern character Σ, but the ancient C, which is semicircular, and bears the third place in ΘΗΕΥC. The Grecian bows were frequently beautified with gold or silver; whence we have mention of *aurei arcus*, and Apollo is called *ἀργυρότοξος*; but the matter of which they were composed seems for the most part to have been wood, though they were anciently, Scythian-like, made of horn, as we read of Pandarus's in Homer (*d*);

Αὐτίκ' ἐπύλα τόξον εὐχρον, ἱξάλας αἶγος
Αγρίε, ὃν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ σέροιο τυχήσας,
Πέτρης ἐκβαίνοντα δεδεγμένος ἐν προδοκῇσι,
Βεβλήκει πρὸς σῆδος, ὃ δ' ὑπτίος ἐμπισε πέτρη.
Τῷ κέρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαϊδηκάδωρα πεφύκει,
Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀσκήσας κεραοξόος ἤραρε τέκτων,
Πᾶν δ' εὖ λειήνας, χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε κορώνην.

Straight

(*a*) Cassandr. v. 914.
(*d*) Iliad. δ. v. 105.

(*b*) Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XX.

(*c*) Lib. X.

Straight he pulls out an handsome polish'd bow,
Once it a wanton he-goat's horn did grow ;
A goat, that coming from his wonted rock
He spy'd, and wounded with a mortal stroke :
The dart pierc'd through his breast, and straight the ground
Receiv'd him falling by so deep a wound :
Long were his horns, and these a workman wrought,
And made the very bow with which he fought :
The horn he smoothly polish'd, and affix'd
A golden knob upon the top.

E. D.

Whence Lycophron, who affects antiquated customs and expressions, speaks thus of Apollo encountering Idas with his bow (a) ;

——— ἐν χάρμαισι ραϊδῶσας κρας

——— In battles bent his horn.

But some ancient glossographers, by κρας, would rather understand τριχῶσις, or the bow-string, which was composed of horses hair, and therefore called also ἵππεια (b) : To which custom Accius alludes,

Reciproca tendens nervo equino concita

Tela———

Drawing the arrows with an horse's hair.

Homer's bow-strings are frequently made of hides cut into small thongs : Whence we read of τόξα βόεια,

Ελκε δ' ὁμῶς γλυφίδας τε λαβῶν, καὶ τόξα βόεια.

He drew the arrow by the leathern string.

As Eustathius observes upon that place (c). One thing more is remarkable in their bows : It is that part to which the string was fixed, being upon the uppermost part of the bow, and called κορώνη, commonly made of gold, and the last thing towards finishing a bow : Whence Homer, when he has described the manner of making a bow, adds, after all,

——— χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε κορώνην

Hence Eustathius tells us, χρυσὴν ἐπιτιθεῖναι κορώνην, signifies to bring any affair to a happy conclusion.

The arrows usually consisted of light wood, and an iron head, which was commonly hooked : Whence Ovid (d),

F 2

E

(a) Cassandr. v. 564.

(b) Hesychius.

(c) Iliad. 8. p. 344. Ed. Basil.

(d) De Amore,

Et manus hamatis utraque est armata sagittis.

Hook'd arrows arm'd both hands.

Sometimes they were armed with two, three, or four hooks : Hence Statius (a),

Aspera tergemini acies se condidit uncis.

The head with three hooks arm'd
Enter'd his body.

In this sense likewise Hippocrates's τετράγωνα βέλη are to be understood, The heads of arrows were sometimes besmeared with poison; for which piece of inhuman skill Virgil's Amycus was famous (b);

————ferarum

*Vassatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter
Ungere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno.*

———— Amycus the man,
Who many a wild and savage beast had slain,
Fam'd for his skill, and for his wond'rous art
In giving double force to any dart,
Or arrow, with his poison.

This practice was more frequent in barbarous nations, but seldom used or understood in Greece : Wherefore Minerva in Homer having assumed the form and titles of Mentes, king of the Taphians, and son to Anchialus, pretends that her father, out of an extraordinary love to Ulysses, obliged him with a quantity of this deadly ointment, after he had been at the pains of a tedious journey to Ephyra, to furnish himself; but had been denied it by Ilus the son of Mermerus, who (as the poet tells us) rejected Ulysses's request out of a scruple of conscience, being afraid that Divine vengeance would prosecute so criminal an action (c);

Εξ Εφύρης ἀνιόντα παρ' Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο.
Ωιχέτο γὰρ καί κ' ἴσσε δόης ἐπὶ νηὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,
Φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος ὄφρα οἱ εἴη
ἱὸς ἐρχέσθαι χαλκήρεας· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔ' οἱ
Δῶκεν, ἐπεὶ ῥα θεὸς νημεσίζετο αἰὲν ἔοντας,
Ἀλλὰ πατὴρ οἱ δῶκεν ἐμὸς, φιλέσκει γὰρ αἰνῶς.

————When he had Ilus left
Return'd from Ephyra ; in hopes to find
Some poison he for arrows heads design'd,
Ulysses thither sail'd : Ilus rever'd
Th' immortal gods, and therefore much he fear'd

To

(a) Thebaid. Lib. IX.

(b) Æncid. IX. v. 771.

(c) Odyss. α. v. 260.

To grant what he desir'd, but easier far
He found Anchialus, who straight took care
To give the killing poison which he ask'd,
For dearly well he lov'd him.

Arrows were usually winged with feathers, to increase their speed and force; whence Homer's *πλεόεις ἰός* (a), *πλεόεις οἶσος* (b); Oppians *οἶσος φερεπτερεύς* (c), and *εὐπτερος* (d); Sophocles's *ἰός κομήτης* (e); with divers other epithets and names to the same purpose (f). They were carried to the battle in a quiver, which was usually closed on all sides, and therefore, as (Eustathius (g) observes) joined with the epithet *ἀμφερής*. This, with the bow, the heroes carried upon their backs: Thus Apollo in Homer (h);

Τόξ' ἄμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφερής τε φέρειν.

Carrying his bow and quiver on his shoulders.

Hercules is represented by Hesiod in the same manner (i);

——— κοίλῃν δὲ περὶ στήθεσσι φέρειν
Καθβάλλει' ἐξ ὀπίθεν, πολλοὶ δ' ἔντοσθεν οἶσσοι
Ριγῆλοι, θανάτοιο λαθιφθόγχοιο δοτῆρες.

——— towards his back

He turn'd the hollow quiver, which contain'd
Great shafts, whose force no mortal yet sustain'd,
And did not straight expire.

Likewise the famous heroine in Virgil (k);

Aureus ex humero sonat arcus & arme Dianæ.

The golden bow and arrows loosely hung
Down from her shoulders.

In drawing bows, the primitive Grecians did not pull back their hand towards their right ear, according to the fashion of modern ages, and of the ancient Persians (l); but placing their bows directly before them, returned their hand upon their right breast (m); which was the custom of the Amazonian women, who are reported to have cut off their right breasts, lest they should be an impediment in shooting; on which account their name is commonly thought to have been derived from the privative particle *α* and *μαζός*, i. e. from their want of a breast. Thus Homer of Pandarus (n),

Νευρήν

(a) Iliad. δ'. v. 116, &c. (b) Iliad, δ'. v. 171. (c) Αλυσίμ. β. (d) Κεννη.
α. (e) Trachiniis. (f) Vide Commentarium meum in Lycophron. v. 56.
(g) Iliad. α. p. 29. Edit. Basil. (h) Iliad. α. (i) Scuto Herculis, v. 130.
(k) Æn. XI. v. 652. (l) Procopius de Bell. Persic. Lib. I. (m) Eustathius, Iliad,
δ'. p. 344, &c. Iliad, φ'. p. 602. Ed. Basil. (n) Iliad, δ'. v. 123.

Νευρὴν μὲν μαζῶ πέλαιεν, τόξω δὲ σίδηρον.

Up to the head the mortal shaft he drew,
The bow-string touch'd his breast.

There were several sorts of darts, or javelins, as γρόσφος, called in Homer αἰγανέη (a), ὑσσός, and many others; some of which were projected by the help of a strap girt round their middle, and called in Greek ἀγκύλη, in Latin, *amentum*: The action is expressed by the word ἀγκυλίσσασθαι, which is also sometimes used in a more general sense for any sort of darting, though without straps. The javelin thus cast was termed μεσάγκυλον; the custom is mentioned in the Roman, as well as Greek writers: Whence Seneca, in his *Hippolytus*,

*Amentum digitis tende prioribus,
Et totis jaculum dirige viribus.*

The strap with your fore-finger draw,
Then shoot with all your strength.

The ancient Grecians were wont to annoy their enemies with great stones. Thus Agamemnon in Homer (b);

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεπωλεῖτο σίχας ἀνδρῶν,
Εγχεί τ', ἄορί τε, μεγάλοισί τε χειρμαδίοισιν.

But he to other ranks himself betook,
And here his spear, his sword, and stones too struck
The flying enemy.

These were not stones of an ordinary size, but such as the joint strength of several men in our days would be unable so much as to lift. With a stone of this bigness Diomedes knocks down Æneas in Homer (c);

————— ὁ δὲ χειρμαδίον λάβε χειρὶ
Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ ἔ' δύο γ' ἄνδρες φέροιεν
Οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἶς, ὃ δὲ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἷος
Τῷ βάλεν Αἰνείας κατ' ἰσχίον—————

————— a vast and monstrous stone
The brave Tydides took and threw alone;
A stone it was, so heavy, and so great,
Nor two the strongest men cou'd bear the weight,
As now men are; but he with ease it hurl'd,
And broke Æneas's hip.

Ajax

(a) Eustathius, *Odys.* δ.

(b) *Iliad.* λ'. v. 264.

(c) *Iliad.* ε'. v. 302.

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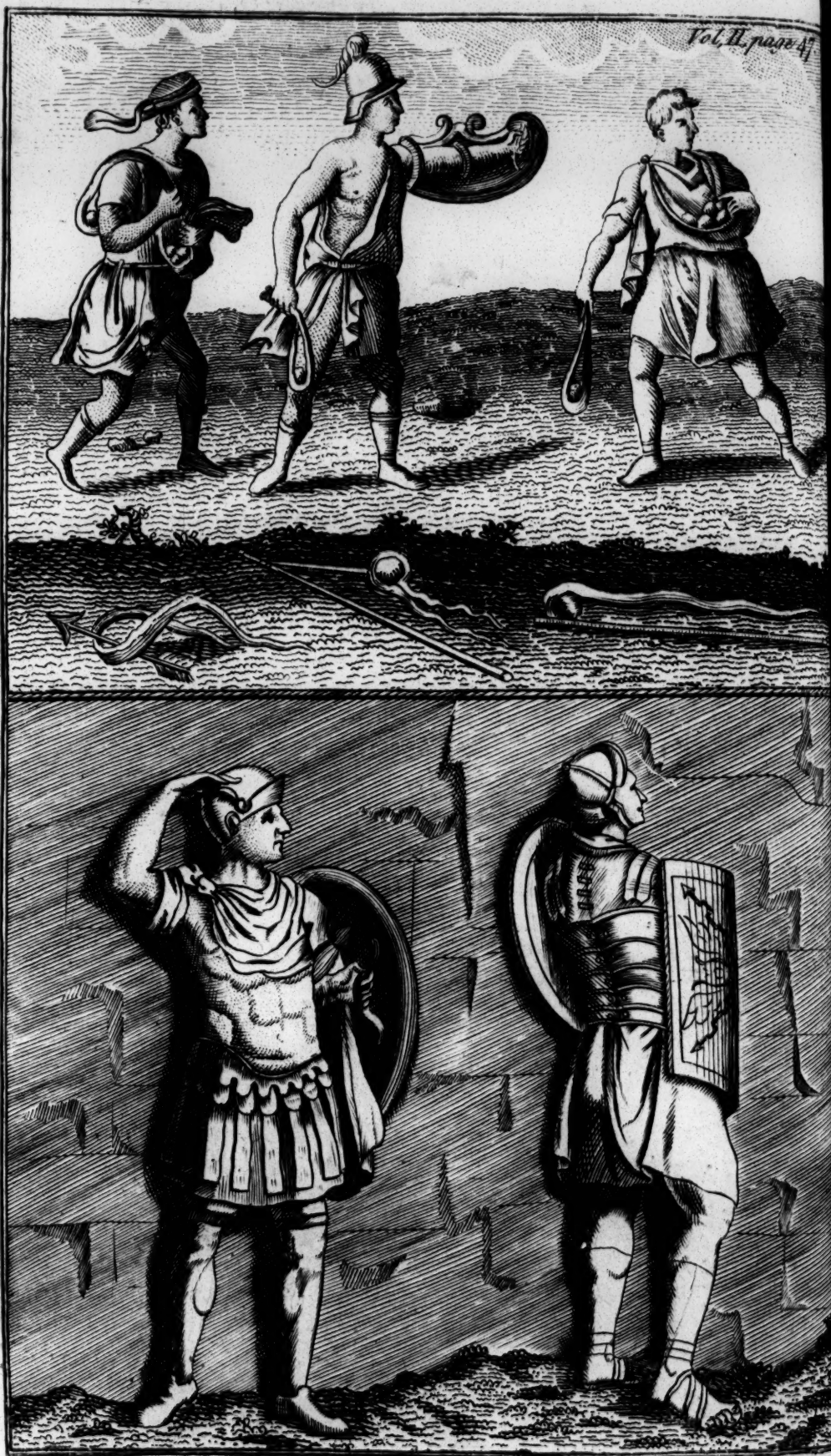
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Virg
(c),

Ajax likewise and Hector encountered one another with the same weapons ; and the latter (as the poet tells us) had his buckler broken with a stone scarce inferior in bigness to a millstone (a) :

Εἶσω δ' ἄσπιδ' ἔαζε βαλὼν μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ.

A stone so big, you might a millstone call,
He threw, which made the shield in pieces fall.

Nor did the gods themselves disdain to make use of them, as appears from Homer's Minerva, who attacked the god of war with a stone of a prodigious size, which had been in former ages placed for a landmark (b) :

Ἡ δ' ἀναχασσαμένη, λίθον εἴλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ
Κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα, τρυχύν τε, μέγαν τε,
Τὸν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θίσαν ἔμμεναι ἔρον ἀρέρης.
Τῷ βάλε θῆρον Ἀρηὰ κατ' αὐχένα, λῦσε δὲ γυνῖα.

— here stepping back,
A stone, that long had lain to part the land,
She forces up with her commanding hand :
A sharp, black, heavy stone, which, when 'twas thrown,
Struck Mars's neck ; the helpless god falls down
With shiv'ring limbs.

Virgil has elegantly imitated some of these passages in his twelfth Æneid (c), where he speaks of Turnus in this manner :

*Nec plura effatus, saxum circumspicit ingens,
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis :
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
Quala nunc hominum producit corpora tellus :
Ille manu raptum trepida contorsit in hostem
Altior insurgens, et cursu concitus heros.*

He spake no more ; but straight a stone he spy'd,
An old prodigious stone, which to divide
The lands there lay, lest quarrels might ensue,
And one should claim what was another's due.
Should fix the lustiest men together try
To bear this stone, it would their strength defy ;
So weak, so frail the bodies that men wear,
Such puny men as now on earth appear :
He snatch'd it up, and running on him threw
This massy stone.

E. D.

On

(a) Iliad. 4. v. 270.

(b) Iliad, φ'. v. 403.

(c) v. 896.

On all which relations, several modern, especially French critics, insult with triumph, imagining them grossly absurd and ridiculous; whilst forming what they call rules of probability, from the manners of their own times, there is scarce any passage in all the volumes of ancient poetry, which does not, on some score or other, foully disgust their curious and distinguishing palates.

But, however, the heroic fights were carried on in this manner, as most of the ancient poets witness; yet in nearer ages, when they tell us mens strength and courage were lessened, but their policy and conduct improved, we seldom find any mention of stones, except in sieges, where the defenders frequently rolled down vast rocks upon their enemies heads. They were likewise cast out of several engines, of which the most common in field engagements was

Σφενδάριον, a sling; which, we are told by some, was invented by the natives of the Balearian islands, where it was managed with so great art and dexterity, that young children were not allowed any food by their mothers, till they could sling it down from the beam, where it was placed aloft (*a*); and when they arrived to be of age to serve in the wars, this was the principal of their offensive arms; it being customary for all of them to be furnished with three slings, which either hung about their necks, according to Eustathius (*b*); or were carried, one on their necks, one in their hands, a third about their loins (*c*). Hence the Balearian slings are famous in ancient writers. I shall observe only this one instance out of Ovid (*d*);

*Non secus exarfit, quam cum Balearica plumbum
Finda jacit; volat illud, & incandescit eundo,
Et quos non habuit, sub nubibus invenit ignes.*

———He burnt within,
Just like the lead the Balearian sling
Hurls out; you hear the bullet whistling fly,
And heat attends it all along the sky,
The clouds the fire it wants, itself supply.

E. D.

It was likewise common in Greece, especially among the Acarnanians (*e*), who were well skilled in managing it, and are by some thought to have invented it: others give that honour to the Ætoli-ans (*f*). But none of the Grecians managed it with so great art and dexterity as the Achæians, who inhabited Ægium, Dyma and Patræ: They were brought up to this exercise from their infancy (*g*), and are thought by some to have excelled the Balearians:
Whence

(*a*) Vegetius de remilitari, Lib. I. Cap. XVI. Lucius Florus, Lib. III. Cap. VIII. Diodorus Siculus, Lib. V. Strabo, Lib. III. (*b*) Commentario in Dionysium.
(*c*) Lycophron, ejusque Scholiastes, v. 635. (*d*) Metamorph. Lib. II. v. 727.
(*e*) Pollux, Lib. I. Cap. X. (*f*) Strabo. (*g*) Livius, Lib. XXXVIII.

Whence it became a custom to call any thing directly levelled at the mark, *Αχαικόν βέλος* (a). This weapon was used for the most part by the common and light armed soldiers: Cyrus is said to have thought it very unbecoming an officer (b); and Alexander, endeavouring to render his enemies as contemptible to his own soldiers as he could, tells them, "They were a confused and disorderly rabble, some of them "having no weapon, but a javelin; others were designed for no greater "service, than to cast stones out of a sling; and very few were regularly armed (c)." The form of a sling we may learn from Dionysius, by whom the earth is said to resemble it, being not exactly spherical, but extended out in length, and broad in the middle; for slings resembled a platted rope, somewhat broad in the middle, with an oval compass, and so by little decreasing into two thongs, or reins. The geographer's words are these (d):

Οὐ μὲν πῖσσα διαπρὸ περιδρομος, ἀλλὰ διαμήφης
Εὐρυτέρῃ βεβαυία πρὸς ἡελίοιο κελεύδας,
Σφενδόνη, εἰκυνία —

Its matter seems not to have been always the same; in Homer we find it composed of a sheep's fleece; and therefore one of the heroes being wounded in the hand, Agenor binds it with his sling (e):

Αὐτὴν (sc. χεῖρα) δὲ ξυνέδησαν εὐστροφῶ οἶδς ἀώϊσ',
Σφενδόνη, ἣν ἀρεα οἱ θεράπων ἔχε ποιμένοι λαῶν.

A sling of wool he to his hand applied,
One of his servants held it.

Out of it were cast arrows, stones, and plummets of lead, called *μολυβδίδες*, or *μολυβδῖναι σφαῖραι*, some of which weighed no less than an Attic pound, i. e., an hundred drachms. It was distinguished into several sorts; some were managed by one, others by two, some by three cords.

The manner of slinging was by whirling it twice or thrice about their head, and so casting out the bullet. Thus Mezentius in Virgil (f);

Ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena.

Thrice round his head the loaded sling he whirl'd;

But Vegetius commends those as the greatest artists, that cast out the bullet with one turn about the head. How far this weapon carried its load is expressed in this verse:

Vol. II.

G

Fundum

(a) Suidas. (b) Xenoph. Cyrop. Lib. VII. (c) Curtius, Lib. IV. (d) Hist. (e) Iliad. δ. v. 599. (f) Æneid. IX. v. 387.

Fundum varro vocat, quem possis mittere funda.

Its force was so great, that neither head-piece, buckler, or any other armour, was a sufficient defence against it; and so vehement its motion, that (as Seneca reports) the plummets were frequently melted.

Lastly, we find mention of fire-balls, or hand-granado's, called πυρσόλοι λιθοί, &c. One sort of them are called σκυτάλια, or σκυταλίδες, which were composed of wood, and some of them a foot, others a cubit in length: their heads were armed with spikes of iron, beneath which were placed torches, hemp, pitch, or such like combustible matter, which being set on fire, they were thrown with great force towards the enemy's first ranks, head foremost, whereby the iron spikes being fastened to whatever came in their way, they burned down all before them (*a*): wherefore they seem to have been of the greatest use in leaguers, to demolish the enemy's works; though my author mentioneth no such thing.

Concerning military apparel nothing certain or constant can be related; only it may be observed, that Lycurgus ordered the Lacedemonians to clothe their soldiers with scarlet: the reason of which institution seems either to have been, because that colour is both soonest imbibed by cloth, and most lasting and durable (*b*); or on the account of its brightness and splendour; which that lawgiver thought conducive to raise mens spirits, and most suitable to minds animated with true valour (*c*); or, lastly, because it was most proper to conceal the stains of blood, a sight of which might either dispirit the raw and unexperienced soldiers of their own party, or inspire their enemies with fresh life and vigour (*d*): Which Eustathius observes to have been well and wisely considered, when he comments on that passage of Homer, where the cowardly Trojans, upon seeing Ulysses's blood flow from his wound, receive new courage, and animating one another, rush with mighty force upon the hero (*e*);

Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι, ἐπὶ Ἰδὸν αἷμ' Ὀδυσῆος,
Κεκλόμενοι κατ' ὁμίλον, ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἔβησαν.

——The Trojans saw Ulysses' blood
Gush from his wounds; then with new life inspir'd
Each stir'd the other up, and with joint force
Rush'd on the hero.

It is farther remarkable of the Lacedemonians, that they never engaged their enemies, but with crowns and garlands upon their heads (*f*), though at other times they were unaccustomed to such ornaments: hereby

(*a*) Suidas. (*b*) Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. (*c*) Plutarch. Institut. Laconic.
(*d*) Plut. loc. cit. Ælianus Lib. VI. Cap. VI. Valerius Maximus, Lib. II. Cap. VI.
(*e*) Iliad. 2. ver. 459. (*f*) Xenophon, item Plut. Lycurgo.

by ascertaining themselves of success, and, as it were, anticipating their victory, crowns being the ordinary rewards presented to conquerors in all the parts of Greece. So wonderful, indeed, were the old Lacedemonian courage and fortune, that they encountered their enemies fearless and unconcerned, joining battle with assurance of victory; which was a thing so common to them, that for their greatest successes, they seldom sacrificed to the gods any more than a cock: Nor were they much elevated when the happy news arrived, nor made presents of any value to the messengers thereof, as was usual in other cities: For after the famous battle of Mantinea, we find the person that carried the express of victory, rewarded only with a piece of powdered beef (a).

The soldiers usually carried their own provisions, which consisted, for the most part, of salt-meat, cheese, olives, onions, &c. To which end every one had a vessel of wickers (b), with a long, narrow neck, called γύλιον, whence men with long necks are by the Comedian termed in derision γυλιαύχες (c).

CHAP. V.

Of the Officers in the Athenian and Lacedemonian Armies.

THE Grecian cities being governed by different laws, the nature and titles of offices, whether in military or civil affairs, must of consequence be distinguished. Wherefore, it being an endless undertaking to recount the various commands throughout the whole Grecian nation, I shall only present you in this place with a short view of the chief offices in the Athenian and Lacedemonian armies.

In the primitive times, when most states were governed by kings, the supreme command belonged to them of course; and it was one principal part of their duty towards their subjects, to lead them forth in person against their enemies, and in single combat to encounter the bravest of them at the head of their armies. And it may be observed, that when any prince, through cowardice, or other weakness, was judged unable to protect his people, it was customary for them, withdrawing their allegiance, to substitute a person better qualified in his place: A memorable instance whereof we have in Thymætes an Athenian king, who, declining a challenge sent by Xanthus king of Bœotia, was deposed without farther ado, and succeeded by a foreigner, one Melanthius a Messenian, who undertook to revenge the quarrel of Athens on the Bœotians (d).

G 2

Yet

(a) Plutarchus Agefilæ.

(b) Aristophan. Schol. Acharnenf.

(c) Pace.

(d) Vide Archæolog. nostr. Lib. II. Cap. XX. in Ασπύρια.

Yet, on some occasions, it was not impracticable for the king to nominate a person of eminent worth and valour to be his *Πολέμαρχος*, or general, who either commanded under the king, or, when the emergency of other affairs required his absence, supplied his place: Which honourable post was conferred by king Erechtheus upon Ion, the son of Xuthus, in the Eleusinian war (a).

But the government being at length devolved upon the people, affairs were managed after a new method; for all the tribes being invested with an equal share of power, it was appointed that each of them should nominate a commander out of their own body. That this was done in the time of Cimon, appears from Plutarch (b). But whether each of the tribes perpetually made choice of one of their own body, or sometimes named men of other tribes, is not very certain. No person was appointed to this command, unless he had children and land within the territory of Athens (c). Those were accounted pledges to the commonwealth. And sometimes the children were punished for the treason of their fathers. Which though seemingly cruel and unjust, was yet *antiquum & omnium Civitatum*, an ancient custom, and received in all cities, as Cicero hath observed (d). He gives us in the same place an instance in Themistocles's children, who suffered for the crimes of their father. Hence Sinon in Virgil, pretending to have quitted the Grecian for the Trojan interest, speaks thus of his children (e):

*Quos illi fors pœnas ob nostra reposcent
Effugia, et culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt.*

To return to our subject. The nomination of the generals was made in an assembly of the people, which, on this occasion, was convened in the Pnyx, and frequently lighted upon the same persons, if they behaved themselves with courage and prudence, and executed their office for the safety and honour of their country; insomuch that it is reported of Phocion, that he was a commander five-and-forty times, though he never sued, or canvassed for that honour, but was always promoted by the free and voluntary choice of the people (f). Before their admission to office, they took an oath of fidelity to the commonwealth, wherein one thing is more peculiarly remarkable, viz. that they obliged themselves to invade the Megarians twice every year: Which clause was first inserted in the oath by a decree preferred by Charinus, on account of Anthemoritus an Athenian herald, whom the Megarians had barbarously murdered about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (g). This done, the command of all the forces, and warlike preparations was intrusted in their hands, to be employed and managed as they judged convenient; yet was not their power absolute and unlimited, it being wisely ordered, that upon the expira-

tion

(a) Pausan. Atticis. (b) Cimone. (c) Conf. Petrus Comment. in Leges Atticas. Dinarchus in Demosthenem. (d) Epist. XVI. ad Brutum. Conf. Coelius Rhodiginus, Lib. XIV. Cap. XII. (e) Æneid. Lib. II. v. 139. (f) Plutarch. Phocione. (g) Plutarch, Pericle.

tion of their command, they should be liable to render an account of their administration: Only, on some extraordinary occasions, it seemed fit to exempt them from this restraint, and send them with full and uncontrollable authority, and then they were stiled *Ἀυτοκράτορες* (a): which title was conferred on Aristides, when he was general, at the famous battle of Plataea; upon Nicias, Alcibiades and Lamachus in the Sicilian expedition, and several others (b). These commanders were ten, according to the number of the Athenian tribes, and all called *Στρατηγοί*, being invested with equal power, and about the first times of their creation frequently dispatched all together in expeditions of concern and moment, where every one enjoyed the supreme command by days. But lest, in controverted matters, an equality of voices should retard their proceedings, we find an eleventh person joined in commission with them, and called *Πολέμαρχος*, whose vote, added to either of the contending parties, weighed down the balance, as may appear from Herodotus's account of the Athenian affairs in the Median war. To the same person the command of the left wing of the army belonged of right (c).

But afterwards, it was looked on as unnecessary, and perhaps not very expedient, for so many generals to be sent with equal power to manage military affairs: Wherefore, though the ancient number was elected every year, they were not all obliged to attend the wars; but one, two, or more, as occasion required, were dispatched to that service: The Polemarchus was diverted to civil business, and became judge of a court, where he had cognizance of law-suits between the natives, or freemen of Athens, and foreigners: The rest of the generals had every man his proper employment; yet none were wholly free from military concerns, but determined all controversies that happened amongst men of that profession, and ordered all the affairs of war that lay in the city (d). Hence they came to be distinguished into two sorts; one they termed, *τὲς ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*, because they administered the city business; the other, *τὲς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν*, from their concern about arms. The latter of these listed and disbanded soldiers, as there was occasion (e), and, in short, had the whole management of war devolved upon them, during their continuance in that post, which seems not to have been long, it being customary for the generals who remained in the city, to take their turns of serving in the war (f).

Ταξιάρχαι were likewise ten (every tribe having the privilege of electing one), and commanded next under the *Στρατηγοί*. They had the care of marshalling the army, gave orders for their marches, and what provisions every soldier should furnish himself with, which were conveyed to the army by public criers. They had also power to cashier any of the common soldiers, if convicted of misdemeanours. Their jurisdiction was only over the foot (g).

Ἱππαρχοί

(a) Suidas. (b) Plutarchus, Aristide, &c. (c) Herodotus Erato. (d) Demosthenes Philipp. (e) Idem Orat. de Epirierch. Plutarchus Phocione. (f) Ulpianus in Midianam. (g) Lysias Orat. pro Mantitheo, & de neglecta militia Aristophanis Scholiast. Avibus.

Ἰππάρχοι were only two in number (*a*), and had the chief command of the cavalry next under the Στρατηγοί (*b*).

Φύλαρχοι were ten; one being nominated for every tribe. They were subordinate officers to the Ἰππάρχοι, and invested with authority to discharge horsemen, and to fill up the vacancies, as occasion required (*c*).

Thus much of the general officers. The inferiors usually derived their titles from the squadron, or number of men under their command: as λοχαγοί, χιλίαρχοι, ἐκατόνταρχοι, δεκάδαρχοι, πεμπάδαρχοι, &c. Proceed we, in the next place, to the commanders of the Spartan army.

The supreme command was lodged in one person; for the Lacedæmonians, however fond of aristocracy in civil affairs, found, by experience, that in war, a monarchical government was on several accounts preferable to all others (*d*): For it happening, that once, upon a difference in opinion between their two kings, Demaratus and Cleomenes, the former withdrew his part of the army, and left his colleague exposed to the enemy, a law was hereupon enacted, that, for the future, they should never command the army together, as had been usual before that misfortune (*e*). Yet upon extraordinary occasions, when the safety and honour of the state was in dispute, they had so much prudence, as rather, by transgressing the letter of the law to secure their country, than, by insisting on niceties, to bring it into danger: For we find that, when Agis was engaged in a dangerous war with the Argians and Mantineans, Plistonax, his fellow king, having raised an army out of such citizens, as by their age were at other times excused from military service, went in person to his assistance (*f*).

The general's title (as some say) was Βάσις (*g*), which others will have common to all other military officers. He was ordinarily one of the kings of Sparta; it being appointed by one of Lycurgus's laws, that this honour should belong to the kings: But in cases of necessity, as in their king's minority, a protector, or viceroy, called *πρόδικος*, was substituted for the management of military, as well as civil affairs (*h*). It was under this character that Lycurgus reformed and new-modelled the Lacedæmonian polity, and commanded their armies, during the infancy of king Charilaus (*i*). Pausanias also was tutor to Plistarchus, when he led the Lacedæmonians, and the rest of the Grecians, against Mardonius, Xerxes's lieutenant, at Plataea (*k*).

This only concerned their land armies; for the laws made no provision for their fleets, their lawgiver having positively forbidden them to meddle with marine affairs. Wherefore, when they became masters of a navy, they confined not their elections of admirals to the royal house, but rather chose to commit that great trust to their
most

(*a*) Sigonius de Rep. Athen. (*b*) Demosthenes Midiana. (*c*) Lyfias in locis citatis. (*d*) Ifocrates ad Nicoclem. (*e*) Herodotus, Lib. V. Cap. LXXV. (*f*) Thucydides, L. b. V. (*g*) Hesychius. (*h*) Xenophon de Repub. Lacedem. (*i*) Plutarchus Lycurgo. (*k*) Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos, Pausanias.

most able and experienced seamen; as may appear from the instances of Lysander, and several others, who commanded the Spartan fleets, though never invested with royal power. Nor was it ordinarily permitted their kings, when intrusted with land armies, to undertake the office of admiral. The only person honoured with those two commands at the same time, was the great Agesilaus (*a*).

The king, however limited and restrained when at home, was supreme and absolute in the army, it being provided, by a particular precept of the law, that all others should be subordinate to him, and ready to obey his commands (*b*). Notwithstanding this, he was not always left wholly to himself, and the prosecution of his own measures, it being customary for some of the magistrates, called Ephori, to accompany him, and assist him with their advice (*c*). To these, on some occasions, others were joined. When Agis had unadvisedly entered into a league with the Argians, at a time when it lay in his power to have forced them to accept of terms far more honourable to his country, the Spartans highly resented his imprudence, and enacted a decree, that he should never again command an army, without ten counsellors to go along with him. Whether the succeeding kings were hereby obliged, does not fully appear; but it seems probable they were not sent to the wars without a council, consisting, if not of the same, however of a considerable number of the wisest men in Sparta. Agesipolis was attended with no less than thirty (*d*); and, though the tenderness of his age might occasion that extraordinary provision, yet, in wars of great concern or danger, and such as were carried on in remote countries, kings of the greatest experience and most eminent for conduct, were not trusted without a greater number of counsellors; for we are told, that Agesilaus himself, when he made his expedition into Asia, was obliged, by a decree of the people, to take thirty along with him (*e*).

Besides these, the general was guarded by three hundred valiant Spartans, called ἱππῆες, or horsemen, who fought about his person (*f*), and were much of the same nature with Romulus's life-guards, called Celeres, or light-horse, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports. Before him fought all those that had obtained prizes in the sacred games, which was looked upon as one of the most honourable posts in the army, and esteemed equivalent to all the glorious rewards conferred on those victors in other cities (*g*).

The chief of the subordinate officers was called Πολέμαρχος. The titles of the rest will easily be understood from the names of the parties under their command, being all derived from them: Such as, Λοχαγωγοί, Πεντηκοσῆραι, Ενωμοτάρχαι, &c.

CHAP.

(*a*) Plutarchus Agesilaus. (*b*) Herodotus, Lib. VI. Thucydides, Lib. V.
 (*c*) Xenophon *Ἑλληνικῶν*, Lib. II. (*d*) Xenophon *Ἑλληνικῶν*, Lib. V. (*e*) Plutarchus
 Agesilaus, & Xenophon. (*f*) Thucydides, Lib. V. (*g*) Plutarchus Lycurgo.

CHAP. VI.

Of the several Divisions and Forms of the Grecian Army, with other Military Terms.

THE whole army, as compounded of horse and foot, was called *στρατία*. The front *μέτωπον*, or *πρῶτος ζυγός*; the right hand man of which, as in other places, was *προτοστάτης*; the wings, *κέρατα*, of which some make Pan, Bacchus's general in his Indian expedition, to have been the first inventor; the foldiers herein, and their leader, *παραστάται*; those in the middle ranks, *ἐπιστάται*; the rear, *ἔσχατος*, or *ὀπίσθιοφυλαξ* (a); which seem to have been common names for any others that obtained the like places in smaller bodies.

Πεμπάς was a party of five foldiers; its leader, *Πεμπάδαρχος*.

Δεκάς of ten; its leader, *Δεκάδαρχος*. And so of the rest.

Λόχος consisted of eight, as others of twelve, or as some, of sixteen, which was a complete *λόχος*, though some make that to contain no less than twenty-five. It is sometimes termed *εἰχος*, or *δεκανία*, and its leader *Λοχαγός*.

Διμοιρία, or *Ημιλοχία*, was an half *λόχος*; its leader *Διμοιρίτης*, or *Ημιλοχίτης*.

Συλλοχισμὸς was a conjunction of several *λόχοι*: Sometimes it is termed *σύσασις*, which consisted of four half, or two complete *λόχοι*, consisting of thirty-two men.

Πεντηκονταρχία, however the name imports only fifty, was usually a double *σύσασις*, consisting of four *λόχοι*, or sixty-four men: Whence its leader was not only termed *Πεντηκόνταρχος*, but *Τετράρχης*, and for *πεντηκονταρχία*, we sometimes find *τετραρχία*.

Εκατόνταρχος, sometimes called *τάξις*, consisted of two of the former, containing an hundred and twenty-eight men. Its commander was anciently called *Ταξίαρχος*, but afterwards the name of *Εκατόνταρχος* generally prevailed. To every *Εκατονταρχία* were assigned five necessary attendants, called *Ἐκτακτοί*, as not being reckoned in the ranks with the foldiers. These were,

1. *Στρατοκήρυξ*, the crier, who conveyed by voice the words of command. He was usually a man of strong lungs: The most remarkable of any in story was Homer's Stentor, who, he tells us, was able to shout as loud as any fifty (b).

Ενθα

(a) Orbicius.

(b) Iliad. i. v. 784.

Ἔνθα εἶς ἥντι θεὸς λουκῶλενος ἦεν
 Στῆντορ ἐισαμένη μεγαλήτορ, χαλκιοφώνω,
 Ὃς τόσον αὐδήσασχ', ὅσον ἄλλοι πενήκοντα.

Juno there clamours with imperious sway,
 Like bawling Stentor, when his lungs gave way,
 Whose voice would open in a mighty shout,
 As loud as fifty mens.——

2. Σημειοφορος, the *ensign*, remitted by signs the officers commands to the soldiers; and was of use in conveying things not to be pronounced openly, or discovered, and when the noise of war drowned the crier's voice.

3. Σαλπικτής, or *trumpeter*, was necessary, as well to signify to the soldiers the will of their commanders, when dust rendered the two former useless, as to animate and encourage them, and on several other accounts.

4. Υπηρέτης, was a servant, that waited on the soldiers, to supply them with necessaries. These four were placed next to the foremost rank.

5. Ουραγός, the *lieutenant*, brought up the rear, and took care that none of the soldiers were left behind, or deserted.

Σύνταγμα, παράταξις, ψιλαγία, and, according to some, ξιναγία was compounded of two τάξεις, being made up of two hundred and fifty-six men. The commander, Συνταγματάρχης.

Πεντακοσιαρχία, or ξιναγία, contained two συντάγματα, i. e. five hundred and twelve men. The commander's name was Πεντακοσιάρχης, or Ξιναγός.

Χιλιαρχία, σύσπρμμα, and (as some think) ξιναγία was the former doubled, and consisted of a thousand and twenty-four. The commander, Χιλίαρχος, Χιλίοςος, or Σύσπρμματάρχης.

Μιραρχία, by some called τέλος, by others ἐπιξιναγία, contained two of the former, i. e. two thousand and forty-eight. The commander, Μιράρχης, Τελάρχης, or Επικξιναγός.

Φαλαγγαρχία sometimes called μέρος, ἀποτομή κέρατος, εἶφος, and by the ancients, στρατηγία, was compounded of two τέλη, and contained four thousand, four score and sixteen; or, four thousand and thirty-six, according to others. The officer, Φάλαγγάρχης, and Στρατηγός.

Διφαλαγγία κέρας, ἐπίταγμα, and (as some think), μέρος, was almost a duplicate of the former; for it consisted of eight thousand one hundred and thirty-two. The commander's title was Κεράρχης.

Τετραφαλαγγαρχία contained about two διφαλαγγίαι, or sixteen thousand three hundred fourscore and four. The commander, Τετραφαλαγγάρχης.

Φάλαγξ is sometimes taken for a party of twenty-eight men, sometimes of eight thousand; but a complete φάλαγξ is said to be the same with Τετραφαλαγγαρχία. Several other numbers are signified by this

name, it being frequently taken for the whole body of foot, and as often in general for any company of soldiers. Indeed the Grecian battles were usually ranged into an order peculiarly termed *phalanx*; which was of such strength, that it was able to bear any shock, with what violence soever charged upon them. The Macedonians were the most famous for this way of embattling; their phalanx is described by Polybius to be a square battail of pike-men, consisting of sixteen in flank, and five hundred in front; the soldiers standing so close together, that the pikes of the fifth rank were extended three feet beyond the front of the battail: The rest, whose pikes were not serviceable, by reason of their distance from the front, couched them upon the shoulders of those that stood before them; and so, locking them together in file, pressed forward to support and push on the former ranks, whereby the assault was rendered more violent and irresistible. The commander was called Φαλαγάρχης.

Μήκος Φάλαγος, was the length or first rank of the phalanx, reaching from the farthest extremity of one wing to that of another. It is the same with μέτωπον, πρόσωπον, σόμα, παράταξις, πρωτολοχία, πρωτοστάται, πρώτος, ζυγός, &c. The ranks behind were called, according to their order, δεύτερος, τρίτος ζυγός, &c.

Βάθος, or πᾶχος Φάλαγος, sometimes called τοῖχος, was the depth, consisting in the number of ranks from front to rear.

Ζυγοὶ Φάλαγος, were the ranks taken according to the length of the phalanx.

Στίχοι, or λόχοι, were the files measured according to the depth.

Διχοτομία Φάλαγος, the distribution of the phalanx into two equal portions, which were termed πλουραὶ, κέρατα, &c. or wings: The left of these was κέρας ἐνώνυμον, and ἐρά; the right, κέρας δεξιόν, κεφαλὴ, δεξιὸν ἀκρωτήριον, δεξιὰ ἐρχή, &c.

Ἄραρος, ὀμφαλός, συνοχή Φάλαγος, the body, or middle part between the wings.

Λεπτυσμός Φάλαγος, the lessening the depth of the phalanx, by cutting off some of its files.

Ορθία, ἑτερομήκης, or παραμήκης Φάλαγξ, *acies recta*, or the *horse*, wherein the depth exceeded the length.

Πλαγία Φάλαγξ differed from the former, being broad in front, and narrow in flank; whereas the other was narrow in front, and broad in flank (a).

Δεξιὴ Φάλαγξ, or *obliqua acies*, when one wing was advanced near the enemy's, to begin the battle, the other holding off at a convenient distance.

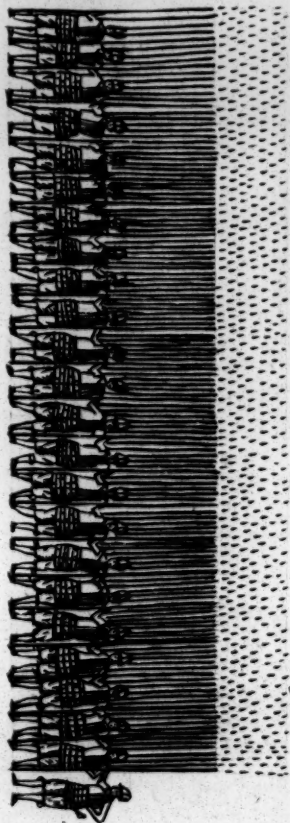
Ἀμφίομος Φάλαγξ, when the soldiers were placed back to back, that they might every way face their enemies: Which form of battalia was used when they were in danger of being surrounded.

Ἀντισομος Φάλαγξ differed herein from the former, that it was formed length-ways, and engaged at both flanks; whereas the former engaged at front and rear.

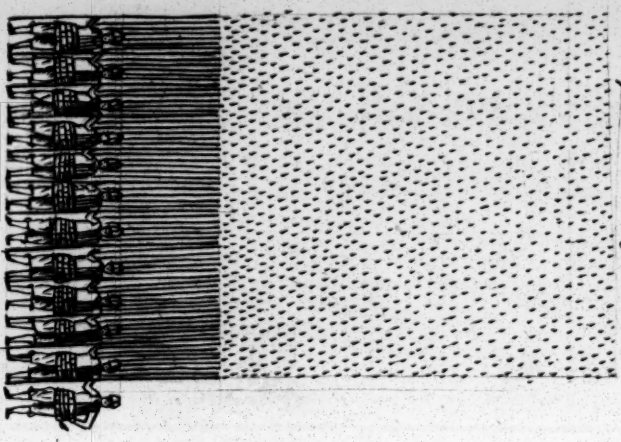
Ἀμφί-

(a) *Ælian. Tacticis.*

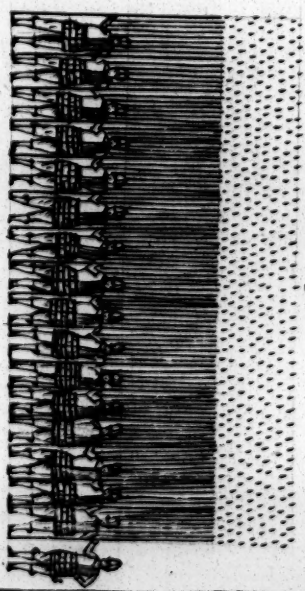
Platropbalanz or the Broad-Fronted Phalange



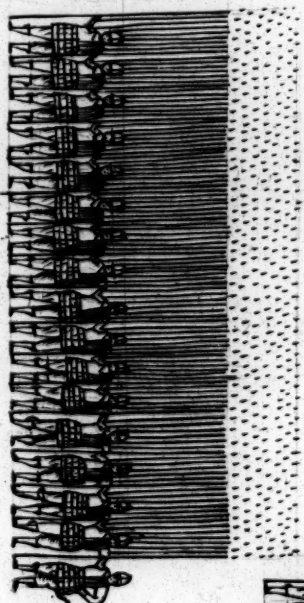
(Orthopbalanz or's Horse



Loxe Phalanz or's uneven Fronted Phalange

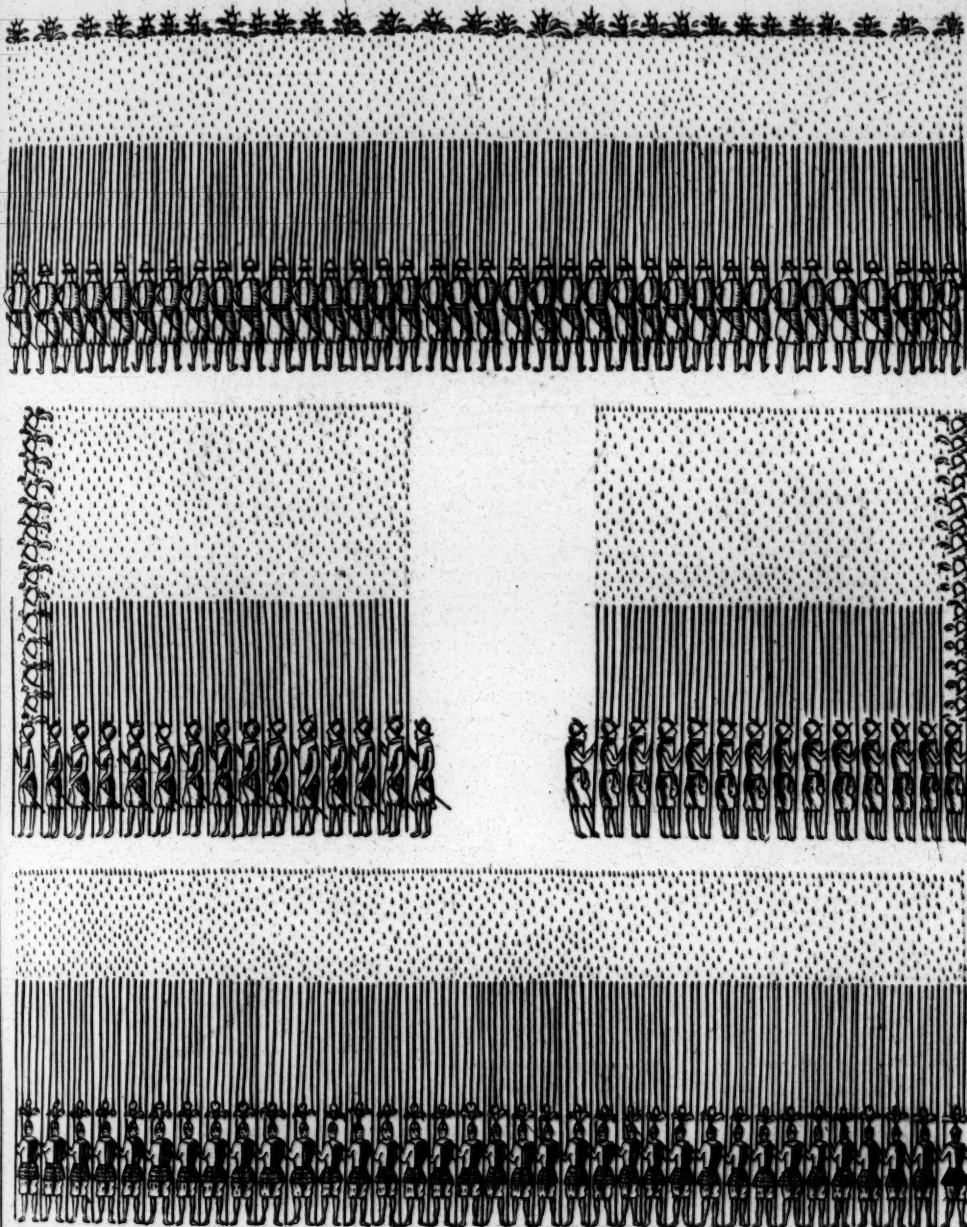


The Front





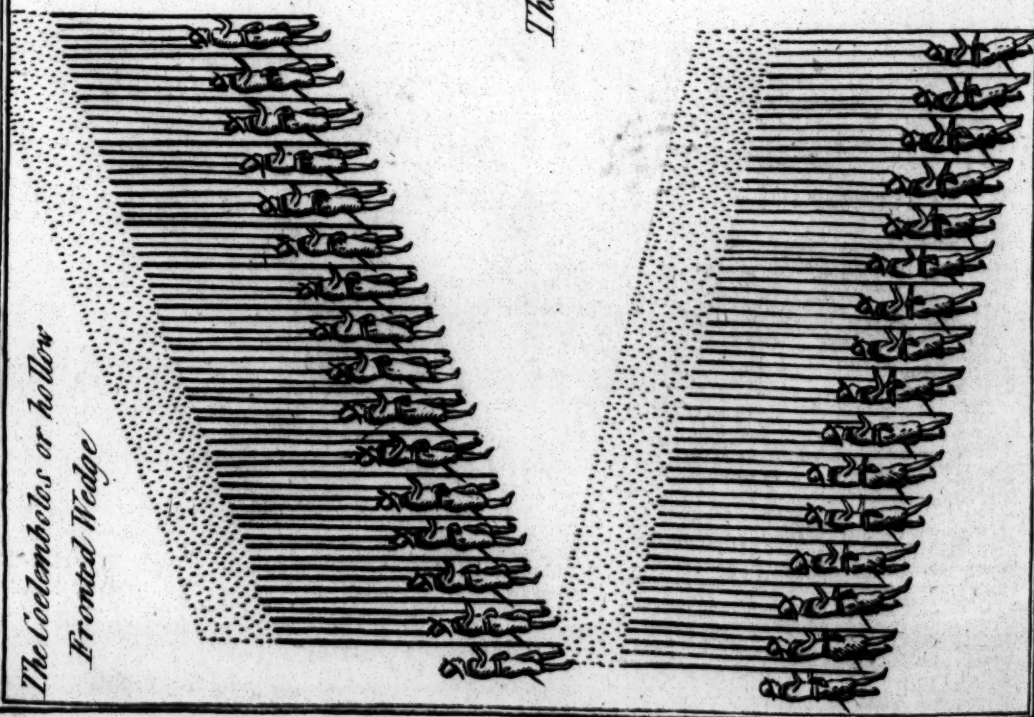
The Four Fronted Phalange against all Attempts of the Enemy





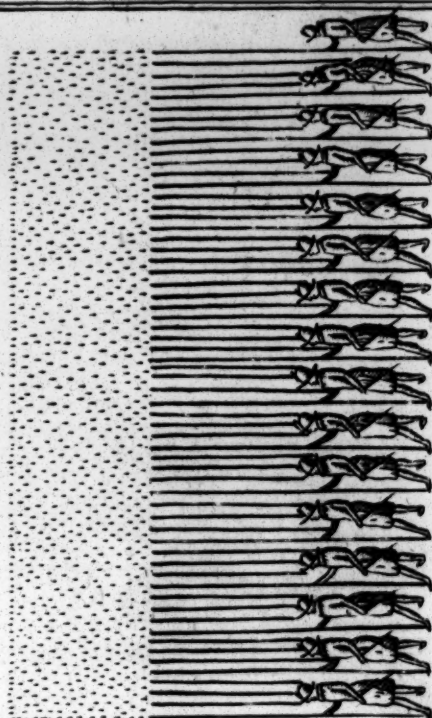


*The Coelomites or hollow
Fronted Wedge*

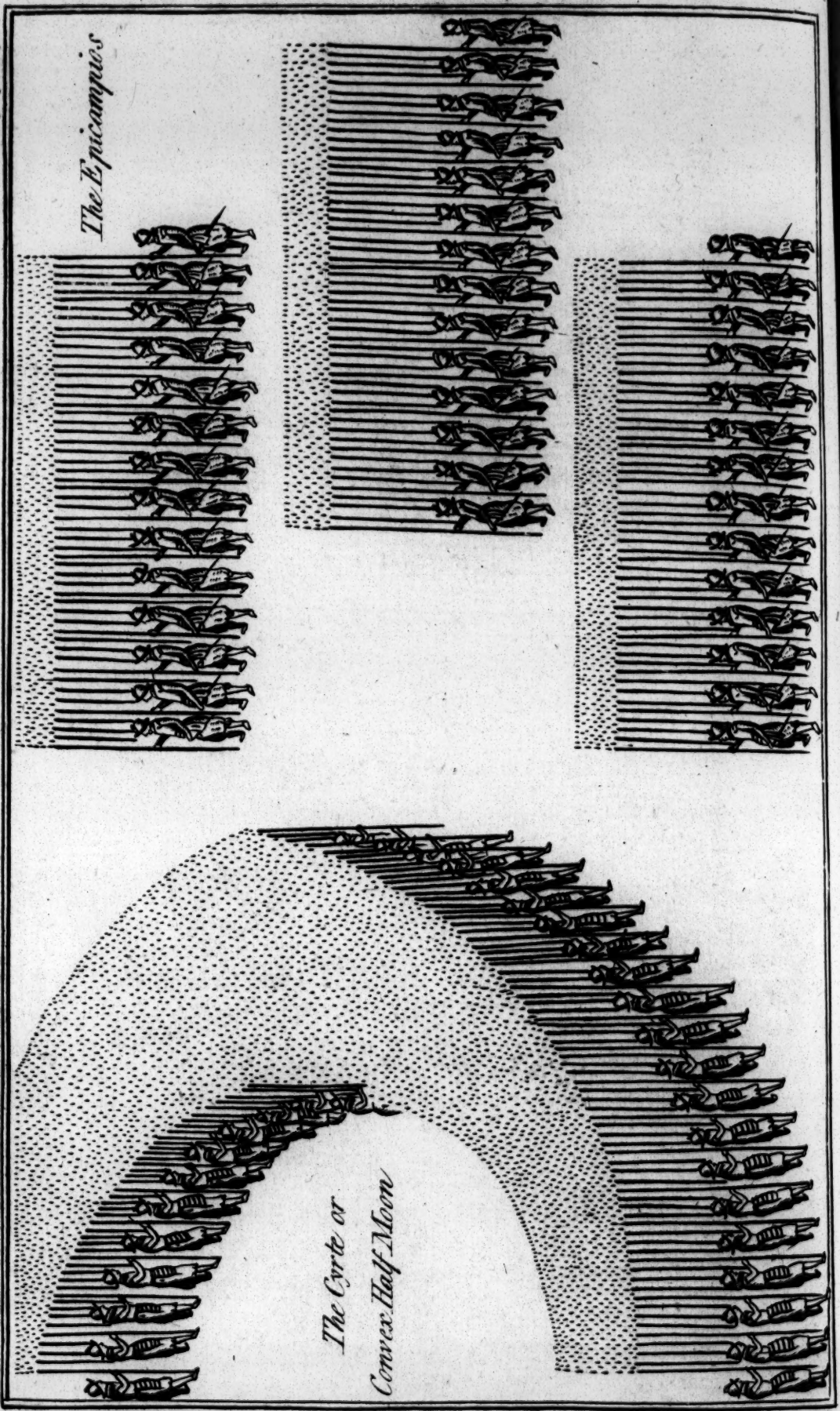


The Front

The Induction

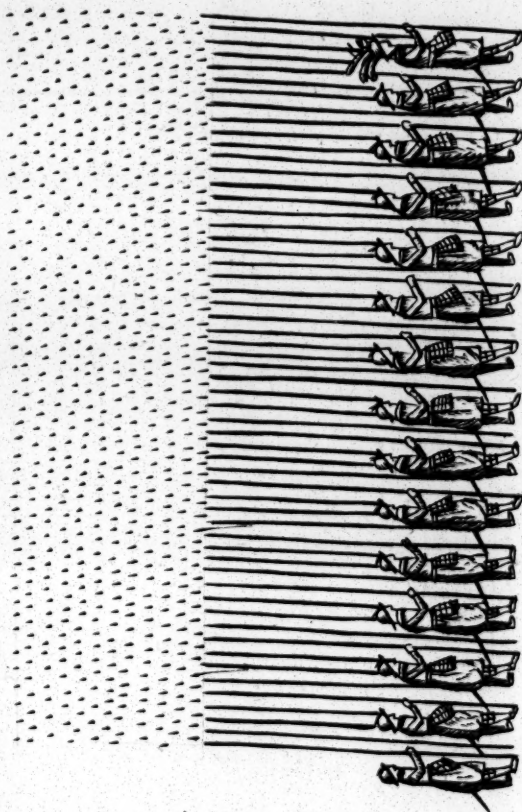




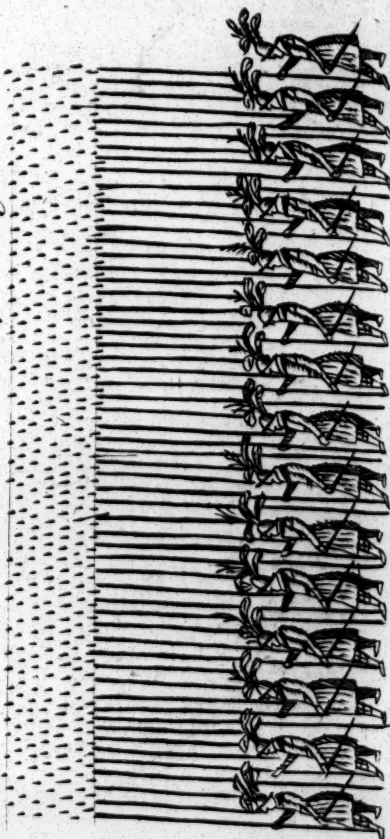




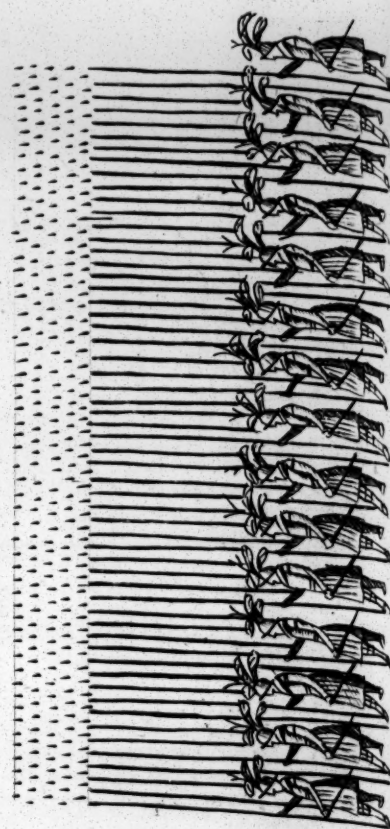
*The Battail callid
Plinthium*



The Diphalangia



Homoistomus



Αὐφ
 but the
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Ἀμφίστομος διφάλαγγία, when the leaders were placed in both fronts, but the Οὐραγοί, who followed the rear, transplanted into the middle, so that their enemies were confronted on all sides.

Ἀντίστομος διφάλαγγία was contrary to the former, having the Οὐραγοί and their rear on the two sides, and the rest of the commanders, who were placed at other times in the front, in the midst, facing one another; in which form, the front opening in two parts, so closed again, that the wings succeeded in its place, and the last ranks were transplanted into the former place of the wings.

Ὁμοίοστομος διφάλαγγία was, when both the phalanxes had their officers on the same side, one marching behind the other in the same form.

Ἐτερόστομος διφάλαγγία, when the commanders of one phalanx were placed on the right flank, in the other on the left.

Πεπλεγμένη φάλαγγς, when its form was changed, as the way required, through which it marched.

Ἐπικαμπής φάλαγγς represented an half moon, the wings turned backwards, and the main body advanced toward the enemy, or, on the contrary.

The same was called κυρτή and κοίλη, being convex and hollow.

Ἐσκαρμένη φάλαγγς, when the parts of the battalia stood at an unequal distance from the enemy, some jutting out before others.

ὑπερφάλαγγις, when both wings were extended beyond the adverse army's front; when only one, ὑπερέκτασις.

Ρομβοειδής φάλαγγς, called likewise σφηνοειδής, a battalia with four equal, but not rectangular, sides, representing the figure of a diamond. This figure was used by the Theffalians, being first contrived by their countryman Jason. Indeed most of the common forms of battalia in Greece, in Sicily also, and Persia, seem to have been devised after this, or some other square (a).

Ἐμβολον, *rostrum*, or *cuneus*, was a rhombus divided in the middle, having three sides, and representing the figure of a wedge, or the letter Δ. The design of this form was to pierce, and enter forcibly into the enemies body.

Κοιλέμβολον, or *forfex*, was the *cuneus* transversed, and wanting the basis: It represented a pair of sheers, or the letter V; and seems to have been designed to receive the *cuneus*.

Πλινθιον, Πλινθία, *laterculus*, an army drawn up in the figure of a brick or tile, with four unequal sides; its length was extended towards the enemy, and exceeded the depth.

Πύργος, *turris*, was the brick inverted, being an oblong square, after the fashion of a tower, with the small end towards the enemy. This form is mentioned by Homer (b);

Οἳ δὲ τε περὶ γῆδ' ὅσφ' αὐτὰς ἀρτύναντες.

Wheeling themselves into a tower's form.

H 2

Πλάι

(a) Ælianus Tacticus, qui ubique in hoc capite consulendus. (b) Iliad, μ'. ν. 43.

πλαίσιον had an oblong figure, but approaching nearer to a circle than quadrangle.

Τερηδών, was an army extended at length with a very few men in a rank, when the ways they marched through could not be passed in broader ranks: The name is taken from a worm that insinuates itself into little holes in wood. On the same account, we find mention of φάλαγξ ξιφοειδής, so ranged, as it were, to pierce through the passages.

Πύκνωσις φάλαγξος was the ranging soldiers close together, so that, whereas in other battalions every man was allowed four cubits space on each side, in this he took up only two.

Συνασπισμός was closer than the former, one cubit's room being allowed to every soldier: It is so called from bucklers, which were all joined close to one another.

Several other forms of battalia may occur in authors, as those drawn in all the sorts of spherical figures. One of these was called ἴλη, first invented by Ilion of Thessaly, representing the figure of an egg, into which the Thessalians commonly ranged their horse (*a*). It is commonly taken for any party of horse of what number soever, but sometimes in a more limited sense for a troop of sixty-four.

Ἐπιλαρχία contained two ἴλαι, i. e. one hundred and twenty-eight.

Ταραντιναρχία was a duplicate of the former, consisting of two hundred and fifty-six: For they commonly used a sort of horsemen, called Ταραντίνοι, or ἱππαγωνισαί, who annoyed their enemies with missile weapons, being unable to sustain a close fight by reason of their light armour. There was likewise another sort of Tarentine horsemen, who, having discharged their missile weapons, engaged their enemies in close fight. Their name was derived from Tarentum in Italy, which used to furnish out horsemen of these sorts: But whether the name of this troop was taken from the sort of horsemen, or the numbers being the same with that used by the Tarentines, is not certain.

Ἰππαρχία contained two of the former, i. e. five hundred and twelve.

Ἐφιππαρχία was a double Ἰππαρχία, being made up of one thousand and twenty-four.

Τέλος was the former doubled, containing two thousand and forty-eight.

Ἐπίταγμα was equal to two τέλη, being composed of four thousand and ninety-six.

The Lacedemonian divisions of their army had peculiar names.

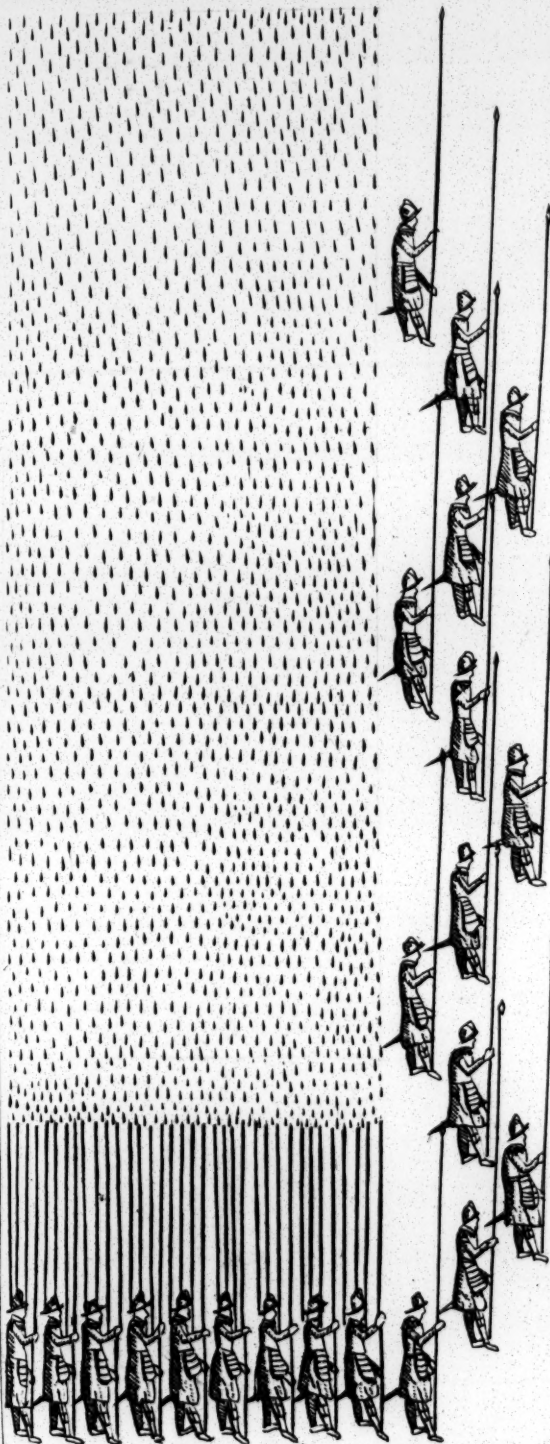
The whole army was divided into Μόραι, or regiments. What numbers of soldiers were ranged in each is uncertain. Some make them five hundred, others seven, and some nine (*b*); but at the first reformation of the commonwealth, they seem not to have exceeded

(*a*) Ælianus loc. citat.

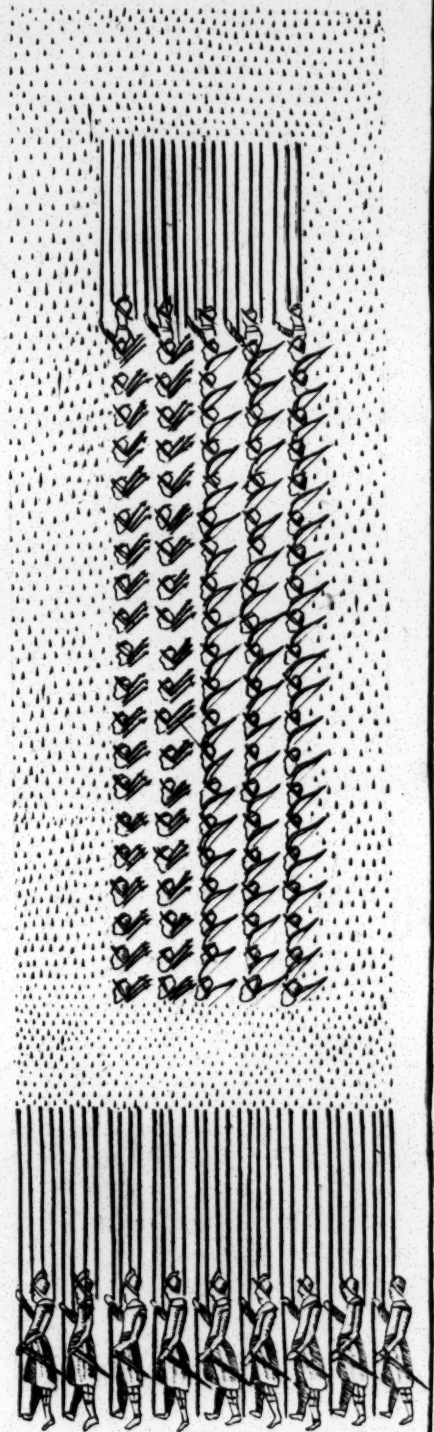
(*b*) Plutarchus Pelopida.

page 59.

The Leptegmene

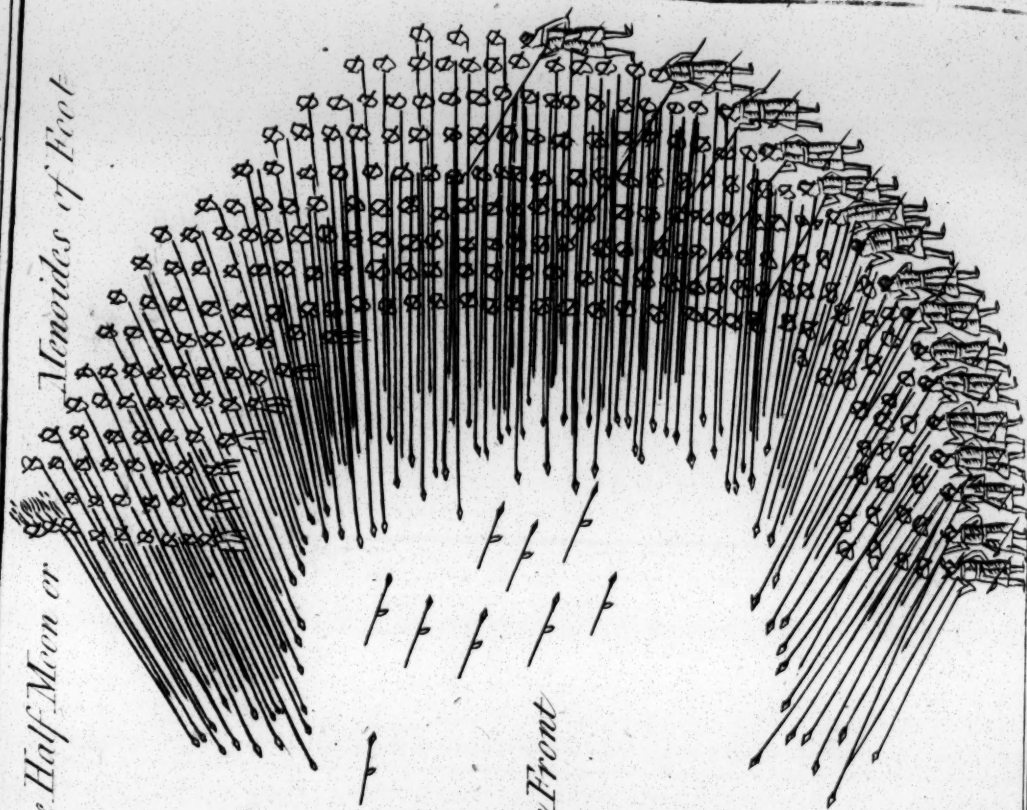


The Plesium



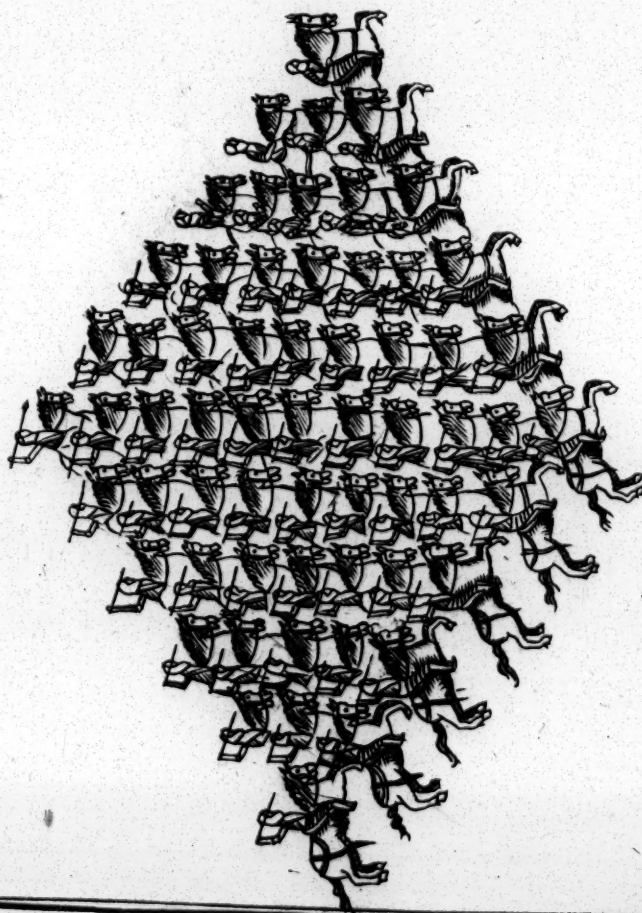


*The Half Moon or
Menoides of Foot*



The Front

The Rhombe of Horse



ceeded four hundred, who were all footmen. The commander was called *πολέμαρχος* (a); to whom was added a subordinate officer, called *συμφεγυς* (b): The former was colonel, the latter his lieutenant.

Λόχος was the fourth part of a *Μόρα*; and though some affirm there were five *Λόχοι* in every *Μόρα* (c), yet the former account seems more agreeable to the ancient state of the Spartan army; for we are assured by Xenophon, that in every *Μόρα* there were four *Λοχαγωγοί*.

Πεντηκοσύς was the fourth part, or, as others say, the half of a *Λόχος*, and contained fifty men, as appears from the name. The commander hereof was styled *Πεντηκοντής*, *Πεντηκοντατής*, or *Πεντηκοστής*: Of these there were eight in every *Μόρα*, as the forementioned author reports.

Ενωματία was the fourth part, or, as others, the half of *πεντηκοσύς*, contained twenty-five men, and so called, because all the soldiers therein were *ἐνώμοτοι διαίσφαγιον* (d), or bound by a solemn oath upon a sacrifice, to be faithful and loyal to their country. The commander was termed *ἐνωμοτάρχης*, or *ἐνωμοταρχος*. Of these Xenophon affirms there were sixteen in every *Μόρα*, which, together with his account of the *Λόχοι* and *Πεντηκοσύς*, makes it evident that the primitive *Μόραι* consisted only of four hundred: The disagreement of authors herein seems to have been occasioned by the increase of the Lacedæmonian army; for, in succeeding ages, the Spartans, having augmented their forces, still retained their ancient names, so that the eighth part of a *Μόρα*, though perhaps containing several fifties, was still termed *πεντηκοσύς*. The Roman battalions, in like manner, however increased by new additions, were still called *legiones*; which, though at first they contained no more than three thousand, were afterwards varied as necessity required, and consisted of four, five, and six thousand. The same may be observed of their *cohortes*, *manipuli*, *ordines*, &c.

There are several other military terms, an explication of some of which may be expected in this place.

Πρόταξις is the placing of any company of soldiers before the front of the army, as *πρόταξις ψιλῶν*, when the light-armed men are drawn before the rest of the army, to begin the fight at a distance, with missile weapons.

Επίταξις is contrary to the former, and signifies the ranging of soldiers in the rear.

Πρόσταξις, when to one, or both flanks of the battle, part of the rear is added, the front of those that are added being placed in the same line with the front of the battle.

Υπόταξις, when the wings are doubled, by bestowing the light-armed men under them in an embowed form: so that the whole figure resembles a three-fold door.

Ἐνίσταξις, *παρένταξις*, or *προσένταξις*, the placing together of different sorts of soldiers, as when light-armed men are ordered to fill up void spaces between the heavy-armed companies.

Παρεμβολή

(a) Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.

(d) Idem.

(b) Idem. Ελλην. Lib. VI.

(c) Hesych.

Παρεμβολή is distinguished from the former, as denoting the completion of vacant spaces in the files by soldiers of the same sort.

Επαγωγή is a continued series of battalions in marches, drawn up after the same form behind one another, so that the front of the latter is extended to the rear of the former; whence this term is sometimes taken for the rhetorical figure *inductio*, where certain consequences are inferred, in a plain and evident method, from the concession of some antecedents (a).

Παραγωγή differs herein from επαγωγή, that the phalanx proceedeth in a wing, not by file, but by rank, the leaders marching, not directly in the front, but on one side; when towards the left, it was called αὐώνομος παραγωγή; when toward the right, δεξιὰ παραγωγή.

Επαγωγή and παραγωγή are distinguished into four sorts; for when they expected the enemy, and marched on prepared for him only on one side, they were called επαγωγή, or παραγωγή μονόπλευρος; when on two sides, δίπλευρος; when on three, τρίπλευρος; when every side was ready for an assault, τετράπλευρος.

The motions of the soldiers at their officers command were termed κλίσεις.

Κλίσις ἐπὶ δεξν, to the right; because they manage their spears with their right hands.

Επανόκλησις, the retrograde motion.

Κλίσις ἐπ' αὐσπίδα, to the left; for their bucklers were held in their left hands.

Μεταβολή is a double turn to the same hand, whereby their backs were turned on what before lay to their faces. There were two sorts of it:

1. Μεταβολή ἀπ' ἔρην, whereby they turned from front to rear, which is termed ἔρᾱ, so that their backs were toward their enemies; whence it is called μεταβολή ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. It was always effected by turning to the right.

2. Μεταβολή ἀπ' ἔρῃς, or ἐπὶ πολεμίων, from rear to front, whereby they turned their faces to their enemies, by moving twice to the left.

Επιστροφή, when the whole battalion, close joined man to man, made one turn either to the right or left.

Αναστροφή is opposed to ἐπιστροφή, being the return of such a battalion to its former station.

Περὶσπασμος, a double ἐπιστροφή, whereby their backs were turned to the place of their faces, the front being transferred to the place of the rear.

Εκπερισπασμός, a treble ἐπιστροφή, or three wheelings.

Εἰς ὁρδὸν ἀποδῆναι, or ἐπ' ὁρδὸν ἀποκαταστῆσαι, to turn about to the places they were in at first.

Εξελιγμός, Εξελισμός, or Εξέλισις, counter-march, whereby every soldier, one marching after another, changed the front for the rear, or one flank for another; whence there are two sorts of counter-

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(a) Aristot. Topic. Lib. I. Quintil. Lib. V. Cap. X. Cicero.

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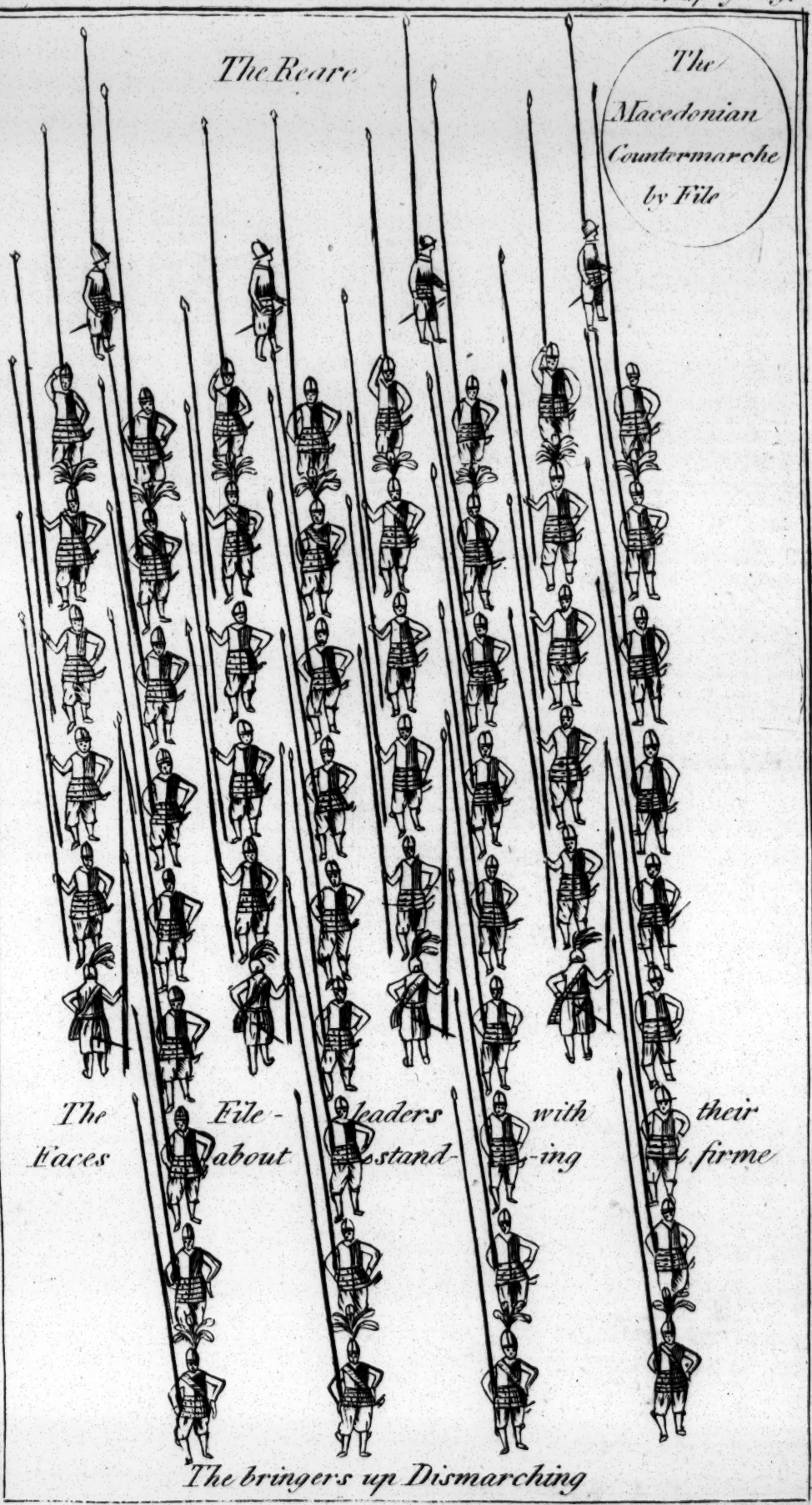
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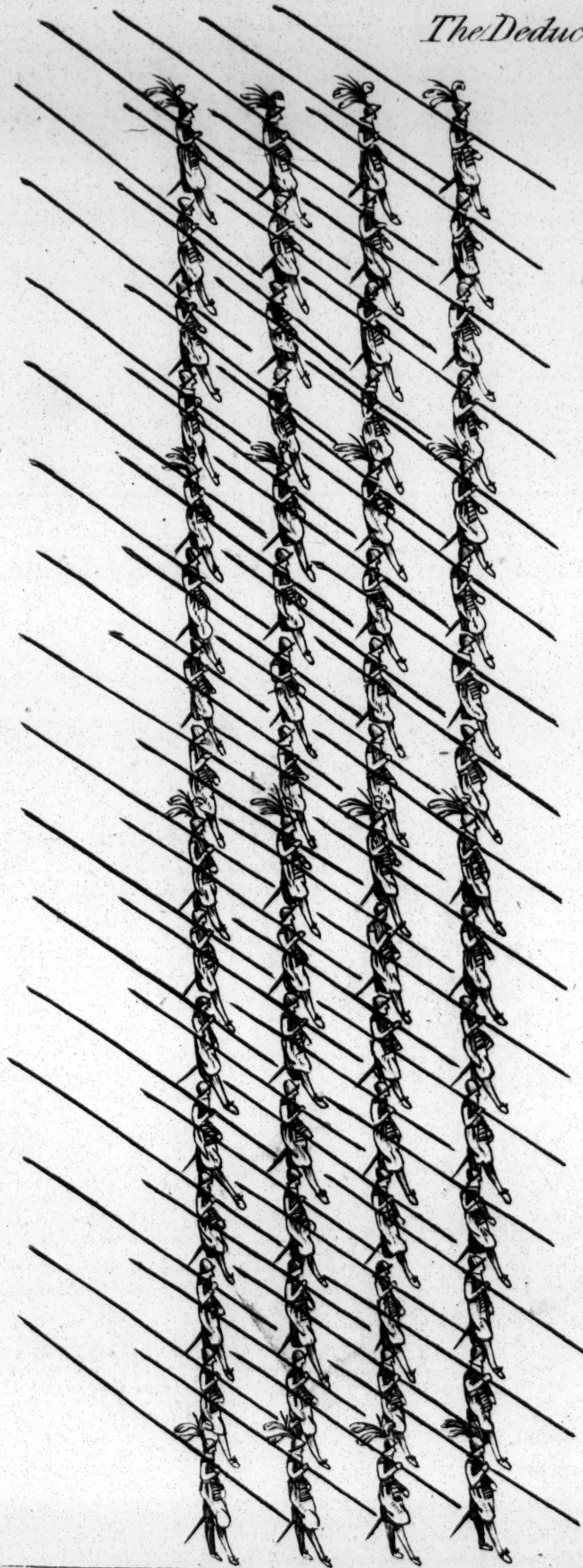
The Rear

*The
Macedonian
Countermarche
by File*





The Deduction



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marches, *κατὰ λόχους*, and *κατὰ ζυγά*, one by files, the other by ranks; both are farther divided into three sorts.

1. *Εξελιγμός Μακεδών κατὰ λόχους*, invented by the Macedonians, was thus: First, the leaders of the files turned to the right or left about, then the next rank passed through by them on the same hand, and being come into the distant spaces, placed themselves behind the leaders of their files, then turned about their faces the same way: In like manner the third rank after them, with the fourth, and all the rest, till the bringers up were last, and had turned about their faces, and again taken the rear of the battle. Hereby the army was removed into the ground before the front, and the faces of the soldiers turned backward. This appeared like a retreat, and was for that reason laid aside by Philip of Macedon, who used the following motion in its stead.

2. *Εξελιγμός Λάκων κατὰ λόχους*, invented by the Lacedemonians, was contrary to the former; that took up the ground before the phalanx, this the ground behind it, and the soldiers faces turned the contrary way: In that the motion was from rear to front, in this from front to rear. *Ælian* (a) describes it two ways: One was, when the bringers up first turned about their faces, the next rank likewise turning their faces, began the counter-march, every man placing himself directly before his bringer up; the third did the like, and so the rest, till the rank and file leaders were first. The other method was, when the leaders of files began the counter-march, every one in their files following them orderly; hereby they were brought nearer to their enemies, and represented a charge.

3. *Εξελιγμός Περσικὸς*, or *Κρητικὸς κατὰ λόχους*, was used by the Persians and Cretans; it was sometimes termed *χορείος*, because managed like the Grecian chori, which, being ordered into files and ranks, like soldiers in battle array, and moving forward toward the brink of the stage, when they could pass no farther, retired, one through the ranks of another; the whole chorus all the time maintaining the same space of ground they were before possessed of; wherein this counter-march differed from the two former, in both which the phalanx changed its place.

Εξελιγμός κατὰ ζυγά, counter-march by rank, was contrary to counter-march by file; in the counter-march by file, the motion was in the depth of the battalia, the front moving toward the rear, or the rear toward the front, and succeeding into each other's place; in this the motion was in length of the battalia flankwise, the wing either marching into the midst, or quite through the opposite wing; in doing this, the soldiers that stood last in the flank of the wing, moved first to the contrary wing, the rest of every rank following in their order. It was likewise performed three ways.

1. The Macedonian counter-march began its motion at the corner of the wing nearest the enemies, upon their appearing at either flank, and removed to the ground on the side of the contrary wing, so resembling a fight.

2. The

(a) *Tract. Cap. XXVIII. cum Binghamii notis.*

2. The Lacedemonian counter-march, beginning its motion in the wing farthest distant from the enemy, seized the ground nearest to them, whereby an onset was represented.

3. The Chorean counter-march maintained its own ground, only removing one wing into the others place.

Διπλασιάσαι is to double or increase the battalia, which was effected two ways. Sometimes the number of their men was augmented, remaining still upon the same space of ground; sometimes the soldiers, continuing the same in number, were so drawn out by thinning their ranks, or files, that they took up a much larger space than before. Both these augmentations of men, or ground, being made either in length or depth, occasioned four sorts of *διπλασιασμοί*, which were made by counter marches.

1. *Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ ζυγὰ*, or *κατὰ μῆκος*, when fresh men were inserted into ranks, the length of the battalia being still the same, but soldiers drawn up closer and thicker than before.

2. *Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ λόχους*, or *κατὰ βάθος*, was when the files were doubled, their ground being of no larger extent than before, by ranging them close to one another.

3. *Διπλασιασμός τόπων κατὰ ζυγὰ*, or *κατὰ μῆκος*, when the length of the battalia was increased, without the accession of new forces, by placing the soldiers at greater distance from one another.

4. *Διπλασιασμός τόπων κατὰ λόχους*, or *κατὰ βάθος*, when the depth of ground taken up by an army was rendered greater, not by adding new files, but separating the old to a greater distance.

To conclude this chapter, it may be observed, that the Grecians were excellently skilled in the method of embattling armies, and maintained public professors, called *τακτικοί*, from *τάττειν*, who exercised the youth in this art, and rendered them expert in all the forms of battle, before they adventured into the field.

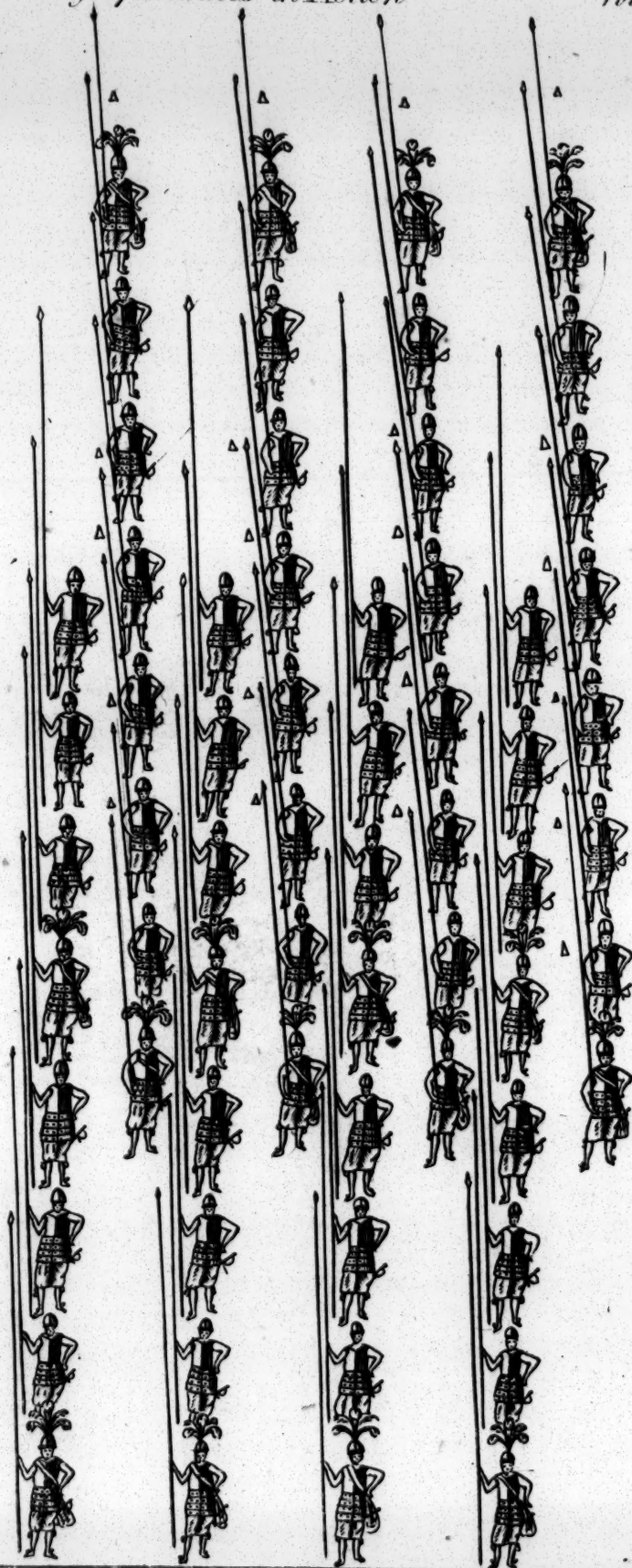
CHAP. VII.

Of their Manner of making Peace and declaring War, their Ambassadors, &c.

BEFORE the Grecians engaged themselves in war, it was usual to publish a declaration of the injuries they had received, and to demand satisfaction by ambassadors; for, however prepared or excellently skilled they were in the affairs of war, yet peace, if to be procured upon honourable terms, was thought more eligible; which custom was observed even in the most early ages, as appears from the story of Tydeus, when Polynices sent to compose matters with his brother Eteocles, king of Thebes, before he proceeded to invest that city, as we are informed by Statius (*a*), and several others,

Doubling of Rankes in Action

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——— *potior cunctis sedit sententia, fratris
Prætentare fidem, tutosque in regna precando
Explorare aditus: Audax eâ munera Tydeus
Sponte subit*———

The council then vote it expedient,
That to the king a legate should be sent;
Who might, to prove his faith, the oath declare,
And stop the ferment of intestine war;
This treaty Tydeus bravely undertook.

Nor was the Trojan war prosecuted with so great hazard and loss to both parties, till these means proved ineffectual; for we find that Ulysses and Menelaus were dispatched on an embassy to Troy, to demand restitution; whence Antenor thus bespeaks Helen (a).

Ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ δεῦρό ποτ' ἤλυθε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς
Σεῦ ἔνεκ ἀγχιέλης σὺν ἀρηϊφίλῳ Μενελάῳ.

With stout Atrides sage Ulysses came,
Hither as envoys, Helen, thee to claim.

The same poet, in another place, acquaints us, that their proposal was rejected by the Trojans, over-ruled by Antimachus, a person of great repute amongst them, whom Paris had engaged in his party by a large sum of money (b):

——— Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος, ὃς βα μάλιστα
Χρυσὸν Ἀλέξανδροιο δέδωγμένος, ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
Οὐκ εἶασχ' Ἑλὲνην δόμεναι ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ.

Antimachus o'erfway'd the embassy
Refus'd, and did fair Helena deny,
Since Paris had by largesses of gold
Secur'd his trust———

Invasions without notice were looked on rather as robberies than lawful wars, as designed rather to spoil and make a prey of persons innocent and unprovided, than to repair any losses or damages sustained, which, for ought the invaders knew, might have been satisfied for an easier way. It is therefore no wonder, what Polybius (c) relates of the Ætolians, that they were held for the common outlaws and robbers of Greece, it being their manner to strike without warning, and make war without any previous and public declaration, whenever they had opportunity of enriching themselves with the spoil and booty of their neighbours. Yet there want not instances of wars begun without pre-

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(a) Iliad. γ'. v. 205.

(b) Iliad. λ'. v. 124.

(c) Lib. IV.

vious notice, even by nations of better repute for justice and humanity : But this was only done upon provocations so great and exasperating, that no recompence was thought sufficient to atone for them ; whence it came to pass, that such wars were of all others the most bloody and pernicious, and fought with excess of rage and fury ; the contending parties being resolved to extirpate each other, if possible, out of the world.

Ambassadors were usually persons of great worth or eminent station, that, by their quality and deportment, they might command respect and attention from their very enemies ; and what injuries or affronts soever had been committed, yet ambassadors were held sacred by all sides. Gods and men were thought to be concerned to prosecute, with the utmost vengeance, all injuries done to them ; whence (to omit several other instances), we read, that the Lacedemonians having inhumanly murdered Xerxes's ambassadors, the gods would accept none of their oblations and sacrifices, which were all found polluted with direful omens, till two noblemen of Sparta were sent as an expiatory sacrifice to Xerxes, to atone for the death of his ambassadors by their own. That emperor, indeed, gave them leave to return in safety, without any other ignominy than what they suffered by a severe reflection on the Spartan nation, whose barbarous cruelty he professed he would not imitate, however provoked by them ; yet divine vengeance suffered them not to go unpunished, but inflicted what those men had assumed to themselves, upon their sons, who being sent on an embassy into Asia, were betrayed into the hands of the Athenians, and by them put to death ; which my author concludes to have been a just revenge from Heaven for the Lacedemonian cruelty (a).

Whence this holiness was derived upon ambassadors, has been matter of dispute : Fabulous authors deduce it from the honour paid by the ancients to the *κέρυκες*, or *heralds*, who were either themselves ambassadors, or, when others were deputed to that service, accompanied them, being held sacred on the account of their original, because descended from Ceryx, the son of Mercury, who was honoured with the same employment in heaven these obtained upon earth. It is true, that these men were ever held in great esteem, and their persons held sacred and inviolable ; whence, as Eustathius observes, Ulysses in Homer, when cast upon foreign and unknown coasts, usually sends an herald to protect the men deputed to make discovery of the country and its inhabitants, persons of that character being revered even in barbarous nations, except some few, such as the Læstrygones, or Cyclops. in whom all sense of humanity was extinguished (b). They were likewise under the care and protection of Mercury the president god of their occupation, and Jupiter (c) ; whence Achilles calls them the messengers, not of men only, but of Jupiter (d).

Xaίρετε

(a) Herodot. Po. ymn. Cap. CXXXIV. (b) Eustath. Iliad. α. p. 83, 84. Ed. Basil.
(c) Idem. Iliad. α. p. 729. (d) Iliad. α.

Χαίρετε κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι, ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

All hail ! ye envoys of great Jove and men.

But these honours seem not to have been conferred upon them so much, because they were descended from Mercury (several other families, to whom no such respect was due, bearing themselves much higher on their original) as upon account of their office, which being common to them with other ambassadors, seems to have challenged an equal reverence to both. Licence indeed being once granted to treat persons of that character injuriously, all hopes of peace and reconciliation amongst enemies must be banished for ever out of the world ; and therefore, in the most rude and unpolished ages, all sorts of ambassadors were civilly entertained and dismissed with safety : Whence Tydeus's lady in Satius (a) is prevailed with to let her husband go ambassador to Thebes, because that title would afford him protection in the midst of his enemies ;

————— *Te, fortissime gentis
Ætolúm, multum lachrymis conata morari est
Deiphile. sed jussa patris. tutique regressus
Legato, justæque preces vicere sororis.*

Thy tender wife, heroic soul, did pine,
And scarce admit thy generous design,
Until her boiling passion did abate
By Argia's prayers, and a parent's threat,
And that tutelar god, who does on envoys wait.

The Athenian heralds were all of one family, being descended from Ceryx the son of Mercury and Pandrosus, daughter to Cecrops king of Athens.

The Lacedemonian heralds were all descended from Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald, who was honoured with a temple, and divine worship, at Sparta (b).

They carried in their hands a staff of laurel or olive, called κηρύκιον, round which two serpents, without their crests erected, were folded, as an emblem of peace and concord (c). Instead of this, the Athenian heralds frequently made use of the Εἰρεσιόνη, which was a token of peace and plenty, being an olive branch covered with wool, and adorned with all sorts of fruits of the earth.

Κήρυκες, or heralds, are by some thought to differ from πρέσβεις, or ambassadors, in this ; that ambassadors were employed in treaties of peace, whereas, heralds were sent to declare war (d) : But this distinction

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(a) Thebaid. Lib. II v. 371.
(c) Plinius, Lib. XXIX. Cap. III.

(b) Herodotus loc. citat. Pausanias Laconicis.
(d) Suidas.

inction is not constant or perpetual, the *κῆρυξ* being frequently taken for persons commissioned to treat about accommodating differences, which may appear, as from some of the forecited places of Eustathius, so from several passages in Homer, and other authors.

Ambassadors were of two sorts, being either sent with a limited commission, which they were not to exceed, or invested with full power of determining matters according to their own discretion. The former were liable to be called in question for their proceedings; the latter were subject to no after reckoning, but wholly their own masters, and for that reason stiled *Πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες*, plenipotentiaries (a).

It may be observed, that the Lacedemonians, as in most other things, their customs were different from the rest of the Greeks, so likewise in their choice of ambassadors had this peculiar, that for the most part they deputed men, between whom there was no very good correspondence; supposing it most improbable, that such persons should so far trust one another, as to conspire together against the commonwealth. For the same reason, it was thought a piece of policy in that state to raise dissensions between their kings (b).

Their leagues were of three sorts. 1. A bare *σπονδή, συνθήκη, εἰρήνη*, or peace, whereby both parties were obliged to cease from all acts of hostility, and neither to molest one another, nor the confederates of either.

2. *Επιμαχία*, whereby they obliged themselves to assist one another in case they should be invaded,

3. *Συμμαχία*, whereby they covenanted to assist one another as well when they made invasions upon others, as when themselves were invaded, and to have the same friends and enemies (c).

All these covenants were solemnly confirmed by mutual oaths, the manner of which I have already described in a former book (d): To the end they might lie under a greater obligation to preserve them inviolate, we find it customary to engrave them upon tables, which they fixed up at places of general concourse, that all the world might be witnesses of their justice and fidelity. Thus we find the articles of treaty between Athens and Sparta not only published in those cities, but at the places where the Olympian, Pythian, and Isthmian games were celebrated (e). Others exchanged certain tesseræ, in Greek *σύμβολα*, which might be produced on any occasion, as evidences of the agreement. The covenant itself was also called by the same name (f). Farther, to continue the remembrance of mutual agreements fresh in their minds, it was not uncommon for states thus united, interchangeably to send ambassadors, who, on some appointed day, when the people assembled in great numbers, should openly repeat, and, by mutual consent, confirm their former treaty. This we find practised by the Athenians and Spartans after their fore-mentioned league,

(a) Vide Archæolog. nostr. Lib. I. Cap. XV.

(c) Suidas.

(d) Lib. II. Cap. VI.

(f) Harpocration's *Σύμβολον*.

(b) Aristoteles Politic. Lib. II.

(e) Thucydides de Bello Peloponnes.

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league, the Spartan ambassadors presenting themselves at Athens upon the festival of Bacchus, and the Athenians at Sparta on the festival of Hyacinthus.

Their manner of declaring war, was to send an herald, who bade the persons who had injured them to prepare for an invasion, and sometimes in token of defiance cast a spear towards them. The Athenians frequently let loose a lamb into their enemies territories; signifying thereby, that what was then an habitation for men, should be laid waste and desolate, and become a pasture for sheep (*a*). Hence, ἀγὼν προβάλλειν came to be a proverbial phrase for entering into a state of war.

This was rarely done without the advice and encouragement of the gods; the soothsayers, and all sorts of diviners were consulted, the oracles enriched with presents, and no charge or labour spared to engage heaven (so they imagined) to their party; Instances of this kind are almost as common as the declarations of war, which was never undertaken before the gods had been consulted about the issue. Nor was the verdict of a single deity thought sufficient; but in wars of great moment and consequence, whereon the safety of their country and liberties depended, they had recourse to the whole train of prophetic divinities, soliciting all with earnest prayers lifted up to heaven on the wings of costly offerings and magnificent presents, to favour them with wholesome counsel. A remarkable example whereof we have in Croesus, before he declared war against the Persians; when not content with the answers of his own gods, and all the celebrated oracles in Greece, in consulting which, he had lavishly profused vast quantities of treasure, he dispatched ambassadors as far as Libya laden with wealth, to ask advice of Jupiter Hammon (*b*).

When they were resolved to begin the war, it was customary to offer sacrifices, and make large vows to be paid upon the success of their enterprise. Thus, when Darius invaded Attica, Callimachus made a vow to Minerva, that, if she would vouchsafe the Athenians victory, he would sacrifice upon her altars as many he-goats as should equal the number of the slain among their enemies. Nor was this custom peculiar to Greece, but frequently practised in most other countries: Many instances occur in the histories of Rome, Persia, &c. The Jews used the same method to engage the divine favour, as may appear from Jephthah's vow, when he undertook to be captain over Israel against the Ammonites (*c*).

After all these preparations, though the posture of affairs appeared never so inviting, it was held no less impious than dangerous to march against their enemies, till the season favoured their enterprise: For, being extremely superstitious in the observation of omens, and days, till those became fortunate, they durst not make any attempts upon their enemies. An eclipse of the moon, or any other of those they esteemed unlucky accidents, was enough to deter them from marching: And

(*a*) Diogenian Collect. Prov. Suidas, &c.

(*c*) Judicum, Cap. XI. v. 30.

(*b*) Herodotus, Lib. I.

And if all other things promised success, yet they deferred their expedition till one of the days, they looked on as fortunate, invited them to it. The Athenians could not be persuaded to march *ἔνδρος ἑσθέρους*, before the seventh (*a*); which gave occasion to the proverb, whereby persons, who undertook any business unseasonably, and before the proper time, were said to do it *ἔνδρος ἑσθέρους* (*b*). But the Lacedemonians were of all others the most nice and scrupulous in these observations; their lawgiver having commanded them to pay a critical and inviolate obedience to the celestial predictions, and to regulate all their proceedings, as well in civil as military affairs, by the appearances of the heavenly bodies: Amongst the rest they were obliged, by a particular precept, never to march before the full moon (*c*); for, that planet was believed to have a particular influence upon their affairs, to bless them with success, when itself was in the height of its splendour, but till it was arrived there, to neglect, or suffer them to be blasted for want of power to send assistance. So constant a belief of this they had entertained, that the greatest necessity could not prevail upon them to alter their measures; for, when the Athenians were like to fall into the hands of Darius, and sent to implore their assistance, they agreed indeed to send them a supply of men, but, rather than march before full moon, forced them to run the hazard of a decisive battle, and with a very small force to encounter an hundred thousand Medians (*d*).

CHAP. VIII.

Of their Camps, Guards, Watches, and Military Course of Life.

OF the form of the Grecian camps nothing exact and constant can be delivered, that being not always the same, but varied, as the custom or humour of different states, or the conveniencies of place and time required. The Lacedemonians, indeed, are said to have been prescribed a constant method of building towns and encamping, by their lawgiver, who thought a spherical figure the best fitted for defence (*e*); which was contrary to the custom of the Romans, whose camps were quadrangular; but all forms of that sort were rejected by Lycurgus, the angles being neither fit for service, nor defensible, unless guarded by a river, mountain, wall, or some such fortification. It is farther observable of the Lacedemonians, that they frequently moved their camps, being accustomed vigorously to prosecute all their enterprises, impatient of delays and tedious procrastinations,

(*a*) Aristophanis Scholiastes Equit. Hesychius. (*b*) Zenobius Cent. III. Proverb. LXXIX. (*c*) Lucianus Astrolog. (*d*) Herodotus, Lib. VI. (*e*) Xenophon de Repub. Laced.

stinations, and utterly averſe from paſſing their time without action: Wherefore the reaſon of this being demanded of Lycurgus, he replied, "It was that they might do greater damage to their enemies (a)." To which Xenophon adds a ſecond, "That they might give more early relief to their friends (b)."

Of the reſt of the Grecian camps it may be obſerved, that the valianteſt of the ſoldiers were placed at the extremities, the reſt in the middle; that the ſtronger might be a guard to the weaker, and ſuſtain the firſt onſets, if the enemy ſhould endeavour to force their entrenchments. Thus, we find Achilles and Ajax poſted at the ends of the Grecian camp before Troy, as bulwarks on each ſide the reſt of the princes, who had their tents in the middle, as we learn from Homer (c).

Στῇ δ' ἐπ' Οδυσσῆος μεγακῆτι νῆϊ μελαίνῃ,
 Ἡ ῥ' ἐν μισσάτιω ἔσκε, γεγανῖμεν ἀμφοτέρωσσι,
 Ἡ μὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίης Τελαμωνιάδαο,
 Ἡ δ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλῆος· τοί ῥ' ἔσχατοι νῆας εἴσας
 Εἵρυσαν, ἠνορέε πίονοι, καὶ κάρτεϊ χερῶν

Atrides ſtood i' th' midſt o' th' fleet, hard by
 Where th' Odyſſean high built ſhip did lie,
 That all his orders equally might hear,
 As far as Ajax's on one ſide, as far
 As Peleus ſon's o' th' other, for they were
 At each extremity like fortrefſes.

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When they deſigned to continue long in their encampments, they contrived a place, where altars were erected to the gods, and all parts of divine ſervice ſolemnly performed; in the ſame place public aſſemblies were called together, when the general had any thing to communicate to his ſoldiers; and courts of juſtice were held, wherein all controverſies among the ſoldiers were decided, and criminals ſentenced to puniſhment: Which cuſtom was as ancient as the Trojan war, and is mentioned by Homer (d);

—κατὰ νῆας Οδυσσῆος θείοισι
 Ἰξε θείων Πατροκλῆος, ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τῃ, θέμις τε
 ἦν, τῇ δὲ καὶ σφί θείων ἐτιτούχατο βωμοί.

Sweating to th' Ulyſſean ſhips he came,
 Where their aſſemblies and their courts were held,
 And the gods worſhipp'd.

When they were in danger of having their camp attacked, it was uſual to fortify it with a trench and rampire, or wall, on the ſides whereof they erected turrets not unlike thoſe upon the walls of cities, out of which they annoyed their enemies with miſſive weapons. Thus,

(a) Plutarchus Apophthegmat. Laconic. (b) Loco citato. (c) Iliad. ℔. v. 223.
 Item Sophoclis Ajax ejuſque Scholiaſtes Triclinius, v. 4. (d) Iliad. λ'. 806.

Thus, the Grecians in Homer were forced to defend themselves in the ninth year of the Trojan war, when Achilles refused to assist them, whereas, till that time they had wanted no fortifications, but immured the Trojans within their own walls. The poet has thus described their works (a):

——— τείχος ἔδειμαν,
Πύργους θ' ὑψηλὰς εἶλεν νηῶντε, καὶ αὐτῶν.
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίειν εὖ ἀραρυίας,
Ὅφρα δι' αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίῃ ὁδὸς εἴη.
Ἐκτοθεν δὲ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφρον ὄρυζαν,
Εὐρεῖαν, μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκολοπας κατέπηξαν.

A thick substantial wall of vast extent
They rais'd with turrets, as a muniment
To them and th' fleet: and that there might a way
Be for their cavalry upon survey,
They fram'd great gates, the wall too they entrench'd
With stakes infix'd.———

The manner of living in camps, depended upon the disposition of their generals, some of which allowed their soldiers in all sorts of excess and debauchery; others obliged them to the strictest rules of temperance and sobriety; a remarkable instance whereof we have in Philip of Macedon, who (as Polybius reports) condemned two of his soldiers to banishment for no other offence, than because he had found them with a singing-woman in his camp. But the Grecian discipline was not always so severe and rigid, as may appear from Plutarch (b), who tells us, that the Lacedemonians alone, of all the Grecians, had no stage-players, no jugglers, no dancing or singing women attending them, but were free from all sorts of debauchery and looseness, of gaudy pomp and foppery; the young men, when commanded nothing by their general, were always employed in some exercise, or manly study; the old were busied in giving instructions, or receiving them from persons more skilful than themselves; and their looser hours were diverted with their usual drollery, and rallying one another facetiously after the Laconic fashion: Yet their lawgiver allowed them greater liberty in the camp than at other times, to invite them to serve with delight in the wars; for whilst they were in the field, their exercises were more moderate than at home, their fare not so hard, nor so strict a hand kept over them by their governors; so that they were the only people in the world, to whom war gave repose. They were likewise allowed to have costly arms, and fine clothes, and frequently perfumed themselves, and curled their hair: Whence we read, that Xerxes was struck with admiration, when the scouts brought him word, the Lacedemonian guards were at gymnical sports, and curling their hair (c).

(a) *Iliad*. ῥ. v. 436.

(b) Cleomene, p. 810. Edit. Paris. & Lycurg.

(c) Herodotus, Lib. VII. Cap. CCVIII, & CCIX.

It was also customary at Athens for horsemen to nourish their hair. Hence the following words of Aristophanes (a) ;

ὁ δὲ κόμην ἔχων
ἱππάζεται τε, καὶ ξυνωρικεύεται.

And in another place of the same poet, there is an allusion to this practice (b) :

Νῆς ἔκ ἐν ταῖς κόμαις
Υμῶν. —

The custom seems to have been derived from the primitive times, there being scarce any expression so frequent in Homer as that of *καρηκομῶντες Ἀχαιοί*. Afterwards, Cyneas and Phrynus, beside several other changes in the Athenian discipline of soldiers, procured a law to be enacted, which forbade them *κομᾶν, καὶ ἀβροδιαίτης ἕναι* to nourish their hair, and to live delicately (c).

Their guards may be distinguished into *Φυλακαὶ ἡμεριναὶ* and *νυκτεριναί* : The first were upon duty by day, the other by night. At several hours in the night, certain officers called *περίπολοι*, did *περιπολεῖν*, or walk round the camp, and visit the watch, to try whether any of them were asleep, they had a little bell, termed *κῶδων*, at the sound of which the soldiers were to answer (d) : Whence, to go this circuit, was called *κῶδωνίζειν*, and *κῶδωνοφορεῖν*.

κῶδωνοφορεῖται, πανταχῇ
Φυλακαὶ κατεστήκασι. —

Hence also *κῶδωνίζειν* is used for *πειράζειν*, to try, to prove (e) ; and *ἀκῶδωνιστος* for *ἀπείρατος*, untried or unproved (f). This custom furnished Brasidas with an advantage against Potidæa in the Peloponnesian war ; for having observed the sounding of the bell to be over, he took his opportunity before the bell's return, to set up ladders in an unguarded place of the wall, and so entered the city (g).

The Lacedæmonian watch were not permitted to have their bucklers, that, being unable to defend themselves, they might be more cautious how they fell asleep. To which custom Tzetzes alludes in one of his historical chiliads (h).

Ποτὲ καὶ τις τῶν στρατηγῶν μῦλλον φρονέωντων πάντας
Γυμνὰς ἀσπίδων ἀνυθε τὰς φύλακας ἔωσεν,
Ὅπως ἐπαγρυπνότερα τὴν φυλακὴν ποιῶνται,
Καὶ μὴ θαρρήσαντες αὐταῖς εἰς ὕπνον ἐκτραπῶσιν.

(a) Nubibus, Aët. I. Sc. I. (b) Equitibus, Aët. III. Sc. II. (c) Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Equites. (d) Suidas. (e) Aristophanes *Βατραχίαις*. (f) Idem *Lystrate*. (g) Thucydides, Lib. IV. (h) Chiliad. IX. Hist. CCLXXVI.

One of the gen'als once most eminent
 In stratagems and warlike policy
 Gave out, that all the guards should march *unarm'd*
With bucklers, to secure them vigilant,
 Left they supinely negligent should sleep.

The rest of the Spartan soldiers were obliged to take their rest armed, that they might be prepared for battle upon any alarm (*a*).

It may be farther observed of the Spartans, that they kept a double watch; one within their camp, to observe their allies, lest they should make a sudden defection; the other upon some eminence, or other place, whence there was a good prospect, to watch the motions of their enemies (*b*).

How often the guards were relieved, doth not appear; as neither whether it was done at set and constant times, or according to the commander's pleasure. Φυλακή, indeed, which signifies a watch, is frequently taken for the fourth part of the night, answering to the Roman *vigiliae*, as appears from several places of the New Testament, as well as other authors. But it seems to have this signification rather from the Roman than Grecian watches, those being changed four times every night, that is, every third hour (computing the night from six to six, or rather from sun to sun), for the time between the two suns was divided into twelve equal parts, which were not always the same, like our hours, but greater or less, according to the season of the year; and are therefore, by astronomers, termed unequal and planetary hours.

C H A P. IX.

Of their Battles, the General's Harangues, the Sacrifices, Music, Signals, Ensigns, the Word, and Way of ending Wars by single Combat, &c.

BEFORE they joined battle, the soldiers always refreshed themselves with victuals, eating and drinking plentifully: Which custom, with its reasons, we have largely accounted for in Ulysses's elegant oration to Achilles (*c*), where he advises the young general by no means to lead out the army fasting:

Μηδ' ἔτις ἀγαθός περ ἔων, Διοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
 Νήσιας ἄτρουι προτὶ Ἴλιον νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
 Τρωσὶ μαχισσομένους, ἐπεὶ ἐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔσται
 Φύλοπις, εὐτ' ἂν πρῶτον ὁμιλήσωσι Φάλαγγες.

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Αἰδρῶν

(*a*) Xenophon.(*b*) Idem.(*c*) Iliad. τ'. v. 155.

Ἀνδρῶν, ἐν δὲ Διὸς πνύτῃ μέν^Θ ἀμφοτέρωσιν.
 Ἀλλὰ πάσασθαι ἀνωχθεὶ Δοῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶς
 Σίτε κ' οἶνοιο, τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ κ' ἄλκι.
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πρόπαν ἡμᾶρ ἐς ἥλιον καταδύηται
 "Ἀκμηὸς σίτοιο δυνήσεται ἅντα μάχεσθαι.
 "Εἴπερ γὰρ θυμῶν γε μνηστῆρα πολέμειζεν,
 Ἀλλὰ τι λάθρη γυνὴ βαρύνεται, ἥδ' ἐκ χειρὸς
 Δίψα τε, κ' λιμὸς, ἐλάσσεται δὲ τι γένατ' ἰόντι.
 Ὅς δ' ἐκ' ἀνὴρ οἶνοιο κορεσσάμενος κ' ἰδωδῆς
 Ἀνδράσι δυσμνέεσσι πανημέριος πολέμειζεν,
 Θαρσαλίον νῦν οἱ ἦτορ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἔδ' ἐκ γυνὴ
 Πρὶν κάμνει, πρὶν πάντας ἐρωῆσαι πολέμοιο

Noble Achilles, though with martial rage
 Thy gen'rous mind is fir'd thy foes t' engage,
 Let not thy valiant troops to Troy repair,
 There to sustain the great fatigues of war,
 Before brisk wines and viands animate
 Their souls with vigour to repel their fate,
 That Troy to their embattel'd force may yield,
 And with amazing terror quit the field;
 For such is th' energy of sparkling juice,
 With such heroic zeal it warms, such prowess doth infuse;
 No man hath puissance the whole day to fight,
 'Till the Phœbean car brings on the night,
 Unless rich wine and wholesome food prepare
 His courage for the dust and din of war;
 His strenuous limbs then marches undergo,
 And he with dauntless rage assails the foe;
 Inflaming wine incites his fury on,
 And thus he'll venture 'till the battle's won.

J. A.

We are told also by Livy, that the Romans thought this a preparative absolutely necessary, and never omitted it before engagements (a).

This done, the commanders marshalled the army in order to an engagement, in which art the Grecians were far inferior to the Romans; for drawing up their whole army, as it were, into one front, they trusted the success of the day to a single force; whereas, the Romans, ranging their *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, in distinct bodies behind one another, were able, after the defeat of their first body, twice to renew the battle, and could not be entirely routed till they had lost three several victories. Yet something not unlike this we find practised

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tified as long since as the Trojan war, where old Nestor is said to have placed a body of horse in the front, behind these the most infirm of the foot, and, last of all, such of them as surpassed the rest in strength and valour (a).

Ἰκπῆας μὲν πρῶτα σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφι,
Πεζὺς δ' ἐξόπιθεν σῆσεν πολέας τε, καὶ ἐοδλὰς,
Ἔρχετο ἔμμεν πολέμοιο· κακὰς δ' ἐς μέσσον ἔλασσιν,
Ὅφρα καὶ ἐκ ἐθέλων τις ἀναγκαίῃ παλαμίζῃ.

Nestor the horse plac'd first in all the host,
I' th' rear the infantry maintain their post,
Such as he had detach'd from all the rest,
For courage, hardship, and for strength the best :
And to the end that none shou'd run away,
I' th' midst of all were order'd in array
The rude, th' infirm, th' inexpert. — J. A.

Where, though some interpret τὸ πρῶτον, and τὸ ὅπιθεν, of the right and left wings, and others several other ways, yet the most natural and genuine sense of the poet seems to be, that they were drawn up behind one another (b).

At this time the general made an oration to his soldiers, wherein, with all the motives suitable on such occasions, he exhorted them to exert their utmost force and vigour against the enemy : And so wonderful was the success that attended these performances, that many times, when affairs were in a declining, and almost desperate condition, the soldiers, animated with fresh life and courage, have instantly retrieved them, and repulsed those very enemies by whom themselves had before been defeated : Several of these instances may be found in the Grecian and Roman histories, few of which are more remarkable than that of Tyrtæus the lame Athenian poet, to whom the command of the Spartan army was given by the advice of an oracle in one of the Messenian wars ; the Spartans had at that time suffered great losses in many encounters, and all their stratagems proved ineffectual, so that they began to despair almost of success, when the poet, by his lectures of honour and courage, delivered in moving verse to the army, ravished them to such a degree with the thoughts of dying for their country, that, rushing on with a furious transport to meet their enemies, they gave them an entire overthrow, and by one decisive battle put an happy conclusion to the war (c).

Before they adventured to join their enemies, they endeavoured, by prayers, sacrifices, and vows, to engage heaven to their assistance, and sung an hymn to Mars, called παιὰν ἐμβατήριον, as that sung to Apollo after a prosperous battle, was termed παιὰν ἐπινίκιον (d).
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(a) Iliad. δ'. v. 297. (b) Plutarchus, Lib. de Homero. (c) Pausanias Messeniacis, Diodorus Sic. Lib. XV. Justin. Lib. III. (d) Thucyd. Schol. Lib. I. &c.

The Lacedemonians had a peculiar custom of sacrificing to the muses, which was either designed to soften and mollify their passionate transports, it being their custom to enter the battle calm and sedate (a), or to animate them to perform noble and heroical exploits, deserving to be transmitted by those goddesses to posterity (b). The soothsayers inspected all the sacrifices, to presage the success of the battle; and, till the omens proved favourable, they rather chose tamely to resign their lives to the enemy than to defend themselves. The Spartans, especially, were above measure addicted to this superstition; for, in the famous battle at Plataea, when Mardonius the Persian general had fallen upon the Grecians, Pausanias the Spartan, who at that time commanded the Grecian army, offering sacrifice, found it not acceptable to the gods, and thereupon commanded his Lacedemonians, laying down their bucklers at their feet, patiently to abide his commands: The priests offered one sacrifice after another, but all without success, the Barbarians all the time charging upon them, and wounding and slaying them in their ranks, till at length Pausanias, turning himself towards the temple, with hands lifted up to heaven, and tears in his eyes, besought Juno of Cithæron, and the rest of the tutelar deities of the Plataeans, that if the fates would not favour the Grecians with victory, they would grant at least, that, by some remarkable exploit, they might demonstrate to their enemies, that they waged war with men of true courage and bravery. These prayers were no sooner finished, when the sacrifices appearing propitious, the signal was given, and they fell with such resolution upon the Persians, that, in a short time, they entirely defeated their whole army (c).

Their signals are commonly divided into σύμβολα, and σημεῖα; which words sometimes, indeed, are used promiscuously, but, in propriety of speech, are distinguished.

Σύμβολα were of two kinds, either φωνικὰ, or ὁρατὰ, i. e. pronounced by the mouth, or visible to the eye. The first are termed συνθήματα, the latter παρασυνθήματα.

Συνθήμα, in Latin, *teffera*, or the word, communicated by the general to the subordinate officers, by them to the whole army, as a mark of distinction to know friends from enemies (d). It commonly contained some good omen, or the name of some deity worshipped by their country, or general, and from whom they expected success in their enterprises. Cyrus, for example, used Ζεὺς σύμμαχος, ἡγεμὼν, or σωτήρ (e); Cæsar, *Venus genetrix* (f); Augustus, *Apollo* (g): But this custom often proved of fatal and pernicious consequence; for by frequently questioning one another, they bred confusion among themselves, and (which was no less dangerous) discovered the word to the enemies; as we find happening in the fight between the Athenians and the Syracusans, spoken of by Thucydides (h): It became likewise the occasion of several mischievous stratagems, one of which we find practised by an Arcadian captain in a war with Lacedemon; when engaging in the night,

(a) Plutarchus *περὶ ἀπορρησίας*. (b) Idem *Lycurgo*. (c) Idem *Aristide*. (d) *Glossographi*. (e) Xenophon *Κύρου παιδ.* Lib. VII. (f) Appianus *Bell. Civil.* Lib. II. (g) Valerius Maximus, Lib. I. Cap. V. (h) Lib. VII.

night, all the *teffera* he gave his soldiers was, That they should forth-
with kill whoever demanded the *word*; whereby they easily distinguish-
ed and slew the Spartans, themselves being undiscovered, and therefore
secure (a).

Παρασύνθημα was a visible character of distinction, as nodding their
heads, waving their hands, clashing their weapons, or such like (b).

Σημεῖα were ensigns, or flags, the elevation whereof was a signal to
join battle, the depression to desist (c). Of these there were different
sorts, several of which were adorned with images of animals, or other
things bearing peculiar relations to the cities they belonged to: The
Athenians, for instance, bore an owl in their ensigns (d), as being sa-
cred to Minerva, the protectress of their city; the Thebans, a sphinx (e),
in memory of the famous monster overcome by Oedipus. The Persians
paid divine honours to the sun, and therefore represented him in their
ensigns (f).

The *σημεῖον* was frequently a purple coat upon the top of a spear, as
appears from Conon's in Polyænus, and Cleomenes's in Plutarch: Nor
was it uncommon to use other colours; Polybius, speaking of the fight
between Antigonus and Cleomenes (g), tells us, "That the Illyrians,
" having orders to begin the battle, were to receive a signal by a white
" flag, that should be spread from the nearest post to Olympus: But
" the signal to be given to the Megalopolitans and the cavalry, was a
" purple coat, which was to be advanced in the air where Antigonus
" himself was posted."

The ancient Grecian signals were lighted torches thrown from both
armies by men called *πυρφόροι*, or *πυροφόροι*, who were priests of Mars,
and therefore held inviolable; and, having cast their torches, had safe
regress (h): Whence, of battles fought with transport of fury, wherein
no quarter was given, it was usual to say, *ἐδ' ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη*, i. e. Not
so much as a torch-bearer escaped. To this custom there are frequent
allusions in Greek and Latin poets: Lycophron, speaking of the Phœ-
nicians, who, by stealing Io, began the quarrel between Europe and
Asia, saith,

Ἐχθρῶ δὲ πυρσὸν ἦσαν ὑπέροισ διπλάϊς (i).

They rais'd envenom'd discord, who then shook
Her baleful torch within two continents.

Hence also Statius (k);

*Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæo
Ostendit Bellona facem.*—

Bellona first from the Larissæan tow'r
Shakes the dire torch.—

Claudian

(a) Polyænus, Lib. I. (b) Onofander Strateg. Cap. XXVI. (c) Suidas, Thucydi-
des Schol. Lib. I. (d) Plutarchus Lysandro. (e) Idem Pelopida, Cornelius Nepos
Epaminonda. (f) Curtius, Lib. III. (g) Fine, Lib. II. (h) Euripidis Scholiastes
Phœnissis, Lycophronis Scholiastes, v. 250. aliique plures. (i) Cassandra, v. 1295.
(k) Thebaid. IV. v. 5.

Claudian likewise, with others, whom I shall forbear to mention, takes notice of this custom (a):

*Tifiphone quatiens infesto lumine pinum,
Armatus ad castra vocat pallentia manes.*

Tifiphone summons the ghosts t' appear,
Shaking a livid flame, as signal of the war.

These being laid aside, shells of fishes succeeded, which they sounded in the manner of trumpets, which in those days were not invented (b). Hence Theognis's riddle may easily be interpreted:

*Ἦδη γάρ με κέκληκε θαλάττιος οἶκαδε νεκρὸς,
Τεθνηκὼς ζῶν φθιγγόμενος σόματι.*

*A sea inhabitant, with living mouth,
Spoke to me to go home, though dead it was.*

Triton's shell trumpet is famous in poetical story; whence Ovid, speaking of Neptune (c),

————— *supraque profundum
Extantem, atque humeros innato murice tectum
Ceruleum Tritona vocat, conchæque sonaci
Inspirare jubet, fluctusque et flumina signo
Jam revocare dato, cava buccina sumitur illi
Tortilis, in latum quæ turbine crescit ab imo.*

Already Triton at his call appears
Above the waves, a Tyrian robe he wears,
And in his hand a crooked trumpet bears.
The sov'reign bids him peaceful sounds inspire,
And give the waves the signal to retire:
His writhen shell he takes, whose narrow vent
Grows by degrees into a large extent.

Dryden.

And most of the poets mention this custom, in their description of the primitive wars: Whence Theocritus, in his poem about the exploits of Castor and Pollux (d),

*Ἡ ῥ' Ἀμυκος, καὶ κόχλων ἐλὼν μυκάσατο κοῖλον,
Οἱ δὲ θοῶς συνάγερθεν ὑπὸ σκιρᾶς πλατανίσῳ,
Κόχλων φουσαθέντος, αἰεὶ Βέβρυκίς κομόωντες*

This said, Amycus did his trumpet sound,
The valleys rung, and echo'd all around,

Through

(a) De Raptu, Proserpinæ, Lib. I. (b) Tzetzes in Lycophron, v. 250. (c) Metamorph. Lib. I. (d) Idyll. 24. v. 75.

Through every distant field the noise was heard,
And crowds of stout Bebrycians soon appear'd.

Creech.

Lycophron also, speaking of the Trojan war (a).

Καὶ δὴ κατείθει γαῖαν ὄρχησῆς Ἀρης,
Στρέβλ' ὅσ' αἰματηρὸν ἐξέρχων νόμον.

Great Mars, that nimble god of war,
Invigorates the youth by sound of shell,
Twining and circling into various rounds.
Thus was the land laid waste, thus rag'd the fir'y god.

Where, though the Scholiast falls foul upon the poet for introducing shells at a time when trumpets were in use, which he tells us may be made appear from Homer; yet herein he seems to be too audacious, it being observable (b), that though Homer mentions trumpets, yet they never make any part of the description of his heroical battles, but only furnish him with a simile, or allusion; as happens in the place cited by Tzetzes (c):

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀριζήλη φωνή, ὅτε τ' ἴαχε σάλπιγξ,
Ἀστυ περιπλομένων δητίων ὑπὸ θυμοραϊσίων.
Ὡς τότε ἀριζήλη φωνή γένετ' Αἰακίδαο.

When foes encamp'd around a city lie,
And wait surrender from the enemy,
Great fear runs thrilling through their breast within
The walls, when echoing trumpets do begin;
Such was Achilles voice, such dread appear'd
In all the Dardan host, 'twas so distinctly heard.

J. A.

Whence it may be presumed, that trumpets were indeed used in Homer's time, being then only a late invention, and not so ancient as the Trojan war, as the old Scholiast hath also observed (d). Virgil indeed appears to give some countenance to Tzetzes's opinion, when he speaks of Misenus, whom he makes to have served Hector in the Trojan war, and afterwards Æneas, in the office of a trumpeter (e):

——— ille Misenum in littore sicco,
Ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum;
Misenum Æoliden. quo non præstantior alter
Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu:
Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes; Hectora circum
Et lituo pugnās insignis obibat et hasta.

Postquam

(a) Cassandra. v. 249. (b) Eustathius Iliad. ζ. (c) Iliad. δ. v. 219. (d) Iliad. δ. v. 219. Iliad. φ'. v. 388. (e) Æneid. VI. v. 163.

*Postquam illum victor vita spoliavit Achilles,
Dardanio Æneæ sese fortissimus heros
Addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.*

As soon as they approach'd, they spy'd their friend,
Misenus, dead by some untimely end.
The brave Misenus, above all renown'd
To make with swelling notes the cheerful trumpet sound;
New vigour would encourage on the war,
Whene'er his trumpet echo'd from afar.
He was th' illustrious Hector's intimate,
The ranks he'd traverse in heroic state,
With spear he'd exercise, with trumpet animate;
But when Achilles Hector overcame,
And slew him in the field, as great a name
H' achiev'd by cleaving to Æneas' side,
A prince for's prowess no less dignify'd.

J. A.

But here the brazen trumpet and *lituus* are taken from the practice of the poet's own age, by a figure familiar to men of his profession; for Misenus was never acquainted with so rare a contrivance; and though we find him so proud of his art, as to challenge the gods of the sea, yet it was not to a contention on the trumpet, but on a shell, the instrument used by these deities; whence the same poet, who may be supposed to be the best interpreter of his own words, speaks thus in the verses immediately following:

*Sed tum forte, cava dum personat æquora concha
Demens, et cantu vocat in certamina Divos,
Æmulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
Inter saxa virum spumosa immerferat unda.*

But whilst the sea-gods proudly he defy'd,
Sounding a writhen shell by th' ocean's side,
As his due fate for his ambitious sound,
Him, if report deceive not, Triton drown'd.

Nevertheless, in the most eastern countries, trumpets were used several ages before. They are several times mentioned in the sacred history of the Jews, whose priests office it was to sound the alarm upon that instrument (a).

There were six several sorts of trumpets (b), which have occasioned the disagreement in ancient writers concerning the first authors of the invention; it being common for them to ascribe to the inventor of any one sort, the honour of the first contrivance.

Vol. II.

L

1. The

(a) Numer. XXXI.

(b) Eustath. Iliad. 2. p. 1180. Edit. Vass.

1. The first trumpet was contrived by Minerva, the common mother and patroness of almost all arts and useful inventions; whence she was honoured with the title of Σάλπιγξ, mentioned in Lycophron (a).

Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἄκραν ἄρδιν εὐδυνεῖ χερσὶν
Σάλπιγξ.

Under this name, she was worshipped in a temple, dedicated to her at Argos (b): But Pausanias is rather of opinion, that this trumpet was the invention of one of Hercules's sons, called Tyrrhenus, whose son Hegelaus (having communicated it to a party of Dorians, the subjects of Temenus) in memory of the invention, and out of gratitude to the goddesses for her assistance therein, gave her this surname (c).

2. The second was the Egyptian trumpet, called χνέη, Osiris's contrivance: It was round, and used at sacrifices to call the congregation together (d).

3. The third was invented in Gallia Celtica, where it was termed κάρυξ: It gave a very shrill sound, but was not very large; it was cast in a mould, and had its mouth adorned with the figure of some animal. They had a pipe of lead, through which they blew into the trumpet when they sounded.

4. The fourth was first used in Paphlagonia, and called Βόϊος, from βῆς, or the figure of an ox upon its proper orifice; it had a deep bass sound.

5. The fifth was invented in Media, had also a deep note, and was sounded by the help of a pipe, composed of reeds.

6. The sixth was called Σάλπιγξ Τυρρηνική, because invented by the Tyrrhenians, from whom it was communicated to the Grecians by one Archondas, who came to assist the Heraclidæ, or posterity of Hercules (e). Others attribute the first contrivance of it to Tyrrhenus, Hercules's son (f). Its orifice was cleft, and sent forth an exceeding loud and shrill sound, not unlike the Phrygian flute; whence it became of all the rest the most proper for engagements: Ulysses in Sophocles compares it to the goddess Minerva's voice (g).

Ω φέγγε' Αθάνας Φιλτάτης ἔμοι θεῶν,
Ὡς εὐμαθὲς σε κὰν ἀποπτος ἦς, ὁμῶς
Φώνημ' ἀκέω, καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενί,
Χαλκοσόμῃ κάδων ὥς Τυρρηνικῇ.

How clear, Minerva, and distinct thy voice,
Thou, whom I reverence above the rest
Of deities, who crowd th' ethereal court,
Thy voice I know, and perfectly retain,
Although thou art unseen, as if I'd heard

The

(a) Cassandra, v. 915. (b) Hesych. Phavorinus, Eustath. loc. cit. (c) Pausan. Corinthiacis. Vide commentarium nostrum in Lycophron, v. 915. (d) Eustathius loc. cit. idem deinceps videndus. (e) Sophocles Scholiastes Ajace, v. 17. Suidas, Diodorus Siculus, Lib. V. (f) Hyginus Fab. 274. (g) Ajace, v. 16.

The Tyrrhene trumpet, whose continuing sound
Leaves an impression of its echoing notes.

J. A.

Where the Scholiast observes, that Minerva's voice is resembled to the Tyrrhene trumpet, because it was easily known by reason of its loudness, as that trumpet excelled all others, and was at the first hearing easy to be distinguished from them.

These were the most common and remarkable sorts of trumpets; others may perhaps now and then occur in authors, such as the Libyan mentioned by Suidas, and one of Sophocles's Scholiasts (a), but seem to be of less note, and not so frequently used.

Several other instruments were used in sounding alarms; the *σύριγξ*, or pipe, in Arcadia, the *πικρίς*, sometimes termed *μάγαδης*, in Sicily (b). The Cretans were called to battle by the sound of *αὐλοί*, or flutes (c); as others, of Citharæ, lutes or viols (d); but, as most of the ancient writers affirm, of *lyræ*, or harps (e), which, Plutarch tells us, were not laid aside for many ages (f): The person that sounded the alarm, the Cretans called *ἰσχυροῦς*, and others termed him *ἰσχυτὴς* (g), from a sort of trumpet called *ἰσχυξ*.

The Lacedæmonians are particularly remarkable for beginning their engagements with a concert of flutes (b); the reason of which practice being demanded of Agefilaus, he replied, "That it was to distinguish cowards;" such being unable, by reason of their consternation, to keep time with their feet to the music, as was their custom. This answer is indeed facetious, and not wholly without truth, yet seems not fully to comprehend the design of this custom. Valerius Maximus is yet farther from the truth, and stands in direct opposition to it, when he supposes it intended to raise the courage of the soldiers, that they might begin the onset with greater violence and fury; for Thucydides, with whom the rest of the ancient historians agree, assures us, that the design of it was rather to render them cool and sedate, trumpets and other instruments being more proper to inspire with heat and rage; but these passions they thought rather apt to beget disorder and confusion, than to produce any noble and memorable actions, valour being not the effect of a sudden and vanishing transport, but proceeding from a settled and habitual firmness and constancy of mind: Wherefore they endeavoured not with noise and haste, but with composed minds and settled countenances, to advance in a majestic and deliberate pace towards their enemies. The manner of it is described by Plutarch (i), who tells us, "That the army being drawn up in battle-array, and the enemy near, the king sacrificed

L 2

(a) Loco citato. (b) Clemens Pædag. Lib. II. Cap. IV. (c) Polybius, Lib. IV.
(d) A. Gellius, Lib. I. Cap. XI. Martianus Capella, Lib. XI. (e) Clemens, loc. citat.
Athenæus, Lib. XII. & XIV. Eustathius ad Iliad, ψ'. (f) Lib. de Musica.
(g) Hesychius. (h) Idem Auctores, qui de Cretensibus citantur, item Xenophon,
Maximus Tyrius Dissert. XII. & XXI. Quintilianus, Lib. I. Cap. XVI. Thucydides,
Lib. V. Valerius Maximus, Lib. II. Cap. VI. Lucianus de Saltatione, & alii passim.
(i) Lycurgo.

“ sacrificed a she-goat, and at the same time commanded the soldiers to
 “ adorn their heads with garlands, and the fluters to play *Καστορείου*
 “ *μέλῳ*, the tune of Castor's hymn; and himself, advancing forward,
 “ began the *ἐμβατήριος παιὰν*, or alarm: so that it was at once a delight-
 “ ful and terrible sight, to see them march on, keeping pace to the
 “ tune of their flutes, without ever troubling their order, or confound-
 “ ing their ranks, their music leading them into danger cheerful and
 “ unconcerned: For (proceeds my author) men thus disposed were not
 “ likely to be possessed with fear, or transported with fury; but they
 “ proceeded with a deliberate valour, full of hope and good assurance,
 “ as if some divinity had sensibly assisted them.” Maximus the Tyrian
 attributes to this method those great successes, and numerous victories,
 that have rendered the Spartan name famous in all succeeding ages;
 but it seems peculiarly calculated and adapted to the discipline and
 temper of that state, and scarce to be imitated, till the old Lacedemoni-
 an resolution, and unparalleled firmness of mind shall be recalled.

The rest of the Grecians advanced with eager haste and fury, and in
 the beginning of their onset gave a general shout, to encourage and
 animate themselves, and strike terror into their enemies: This was cal-
 led *ἀλαλαγμός*, from the soldiers repeating *ἀλάλ*. Suidas makes them
 to have cried also *ἐλελεύ*: The first author of it was Pan, Bacchus's
 lieutenant-general in his Indian expedition; where, being encompassed
 in a valley with an army of enemies far superior to them in number,
 he advised the god to order his men in the night to give a general
 shout, which so surprised the opposite army, that they immediately fled
 from their camp: Whence it came to pass, that all sudden fears im-
 pressed upon mens spirits, without any just reason, were called by the
 Greeks and Romans, *panic terrors* (a).

This custom seems to have been used by almost all nations, barbarous
 as well as civil; and is mentioned by all writers that treat of martial
 affairs. Homer hath obliged us with several elegant descriptions of it,
 too numerous to be inserted in this place; I shall, however, give you one
 out of the fourth Iliad (b), where he resembles the military noise to
 torrents rolling with impetuous force from mountains into the subjacent
 valleys.

Ὡς δ' ὅτε χεῖμαρροι ποταμοί, κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες,
 Ες μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὀμβριμον ὕδαρ
 Κρηνῶν ἐκ μεγάλων, κοίλης ἔντοσθε χαράδρης,
 Τῶν δέ τε τηλόσσι δῶπον ἐν ἔρεσιν ἔκλυε ποιμήν,
 Ὡς τῶν μισγομένων γένετο ἰαχὴν τε, φόβος τε.

As with impetuous torrent rivers flow
 Down a steep hill, when swol'n by winter's snow,

Into

(a) Polyznus Strateg. Lib. I.

(b) V. 452.

Into the vales with mighty floods they pour,
Fraught with destruction and an hideous roar :
Thus fled, thus posted all the Trojan rout
In eager flight with dismal noise and shout.

J. A.

Some may infer from the beginning of Homer's third Iliad, that this noise was only a barbarous custom, practised indeed by the Trojans, but laughed at by the more civilized Grecians (a) :

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἄμ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι,
Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ ἴσαν ὄρνιθες ὥς,
Ὡς τε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει ἔρυνθι πρὸς,
Αἴ τ' ἐπεὶ ἔν χειμῶνα φύγον, καὶ ἀθροφάτον ὄμιλον,
Κλαγγῇ ταίγε πέτονται ἐπ' ἀκταινοῖο ῥοάων,
Ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρεσαι
Ἡέραι δ' ἄρα ταί γε κακὴν ἐρίδα προφέρονται.
Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ, μένεα πνέοντες, Ἀχαιοί,
Ὡς θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

As when the nipping winter's season's past,
To a pygmean combat cranes make haste,
In cheerful flights they blacken from afar
The clouds, and gladly meditate a war,
With noise and clangour eagerly they fly,
Such were the clam'rous shouts of th' Trojan enemy,
Silent and wise the Argian legions move,
Fix'd and united by a mutual love,
Auxiliary aid resolv'd to show,
If an impending loss came threat'ning from the foe.

J. A.

But this is only to be understood of their march, as appears likewise from another passage in the fourth Iliad, where the poet has admirably represented the order and regular march of the Grecians, with the confusion and disorderly motion of the Barbarians (b) :

Ἰπασσύτεραι Δαναῶν κίνυντο φάλαγγες
Νωλεμίας πόλεμόνδε, κελευε δὲ οἷσιν ἕκαστος
ἡγεμόνων, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκὴν ἴσαν (ὅδε κε φαίης
τόσσον λαὸν ἔπεισθαι ἔχοντ' ἐν στήθεσιν αὐδὴν)
Σιγῇ δειδιότες σημάντορας· ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι
τεύχεα ποικίλ' ἐλαμπε, τὰ εἰμένοι ἐσιχῶντο.
Τρῶες δ' ὥς' οἷες πολυπάμμονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν αὐλῇ
Μυρία ἐσήκασιν, ἀμελγόμεναι γάλα λευκόν,

Αἴζη.

Αζηχίς μεμακύναι, ἀκέσασαι ὅπα ἀργῶν·
Ὡς Τρώων ἀλαλητὸς ἀνὰ στρατὸν ἐνέυν ὀρώρει.

With stern and awful visage chiefs bear sway,
While all their forces silently obey ;
In thick battalions they march along,
(But who wou'd think that such a num'rous throng
Shou'd fill the plains, and scarce e'er use a tongue)
Such pow'rful chiefs the Grecian hero's were,
Thus did their conduct gracefully appear ;
And thus they march, their burnish'd arms afar
Display the lustre of a future war.
Not in such state advanc'd the Trojan rout,
With thund'ring peals of noise and pompous shout
A tumult they did raise, and th' air did rend ;
Thus, when a swain large flocks of ewes hath penn'd
To milk their burden'd dugs, they doleful bleat,
Hearing their lambkins bleating for the teat.

J. A.

Where it is manifest he only speaks of their march, because a few verses after, where he comes to describe the engagement of the two armies, he does it in the words before cited ; and in all other places he mentions the great noise and clamour of both parties in their encounters. Thus in the sixteenth Iliad he speaks of Achilles's myrmidons (a),

Εν δ' ἔπεισον Τρώεσσιν ἀολλέες· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆες
Σμυρδάλεον κονάβησαν αὔσαντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν.

The Grecians press o' th' Trojans with a noise,
The ships reflect the echo of their voice.

And a little before (b) ;

Εκ νηῶν ἐχέοντο, βοὴ δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει.

They throng out of their ships with joyful shout.

Nay, so necessary, and almost essential, was this shout to a battle, that φύλοπις, αὐτὴ, and βοή, are used by the poet as equivalent terms for μάχη : And when he commends his heroes for being βοὴν ἀγαθοί, he often means no more than μάχην ἀγαθοί, excellent warriors. It was also one part of a good soldier's and commander's character, to have a strong voice, not only because it was the custom to signify their orders by word of mouth before trumpets were invented, but for the terror wherewith it surpris'd and astonished their enemies (c) : Instances of this nature are very frequent in Homer, where Hector, Achilles,

(a) V. 279.

(b) V. 267.

Iliad. 2'. p. 799. &c. Ed. Basil.

(c) Eustathius Iliad. β'. p. 187. Iliad. γ'. p. 305.

chilles, and several others, strike a consternation into the adverse party with a shout : And later authors give this good quality its peculiar commendation ; Plutarch, in particular, in his character of Marcius Coriolanus, the Roman general, observes, that he was not only dreadful to meet in the field, by reason of his hand and stroke, but (what he tells us Cato required in an accomplished warrior) insupportable to an enemy for the very tone and accent of his voice, and the sole terror of his aspect.

In the heroical wars, the generals fought at the head of their armies, as appears in all Homer's battles : Whence they are frequently termed *προμαχοι*, and *πρόμας*, because they did *προμαχίζεν τῷ στρατῷ*, fight before their armies. Thus, when he led up the Trojans (a) ;

Τρῶσιν μὲν προμάχισεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής.

At th' head o' th' Trojans godlike Paris fought.

And when Achilles sends out his soldiers to defend the Grecian ships, having allotted to the rest of his officers their several posts, he places Patroclus and Automedon, as chief commanders, before the front (b).

Πάντων δὲ προπάρειθε δὴ ἄνεραι θωρήσσοισιν,
Πάτροκλός τε, καὶ Ἀυτομέδων, ἓνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
Πρόσθεν μυρμιδόνων πολεμιζέμεν.

Before the rest two well arm'd chiefs appear'd,
Patroclus and Automedon, prepar'd
With equal courage to begin the fight
At the head o' th' myrmidons.——

To heap up more instances in a thing so well known, would be to no purpose. In wiser ages this practice was laid aside, and generals, considering how much the event of the battle depended upon the preservation of their persons, usually chose safer posts, and were more cautious how they adventured themselves into danger.

The retreat, and other commands, seem usually to have been founded upon the same instrument wherewith the alarm was given : Yet in those places where the alarm was sounded by soft and gentle music, the retreat and other orders we find sometimes signified upon louder instruments : Which may be observed of the Lacedemonians, who seem to have used trumpets in signifying the general's orders, as appears from Polybius (c), who reports that Cleomenes commanded a party of his army to change their posts by sound of trumpet.

The

(a) Iliad. γ'. v. 16.

(b) Iliad. κ'. 218.

(c) Lib. II. prope finem.

The Lacedemonians, when their enemies fled out of the field, were not allowed to prosecute their victory, or make long and eager pursuits after them (*a*): While they made opposition, and were able to fight for mastery, they contended with invincible courage and resolution to bear them down; but, when they ceased to make resistance, and yielded the day, they gave them liberty to provide for their safety by flight, pursuing them only a very short space, and that by slow and easy paces: The reason of which custom Pausanias (*b*) accounts for from their strict and inviolate observance of order and discipline, which made them rather choose to let their enemies escape, than by breaking their ranks to overtake them. Plutarch's relation seems also rational, and well suited to the old Spartan temper; "That the Spartans, having routed an enemy, pursued them till they had completed their victory, and then sounded a retreat; thinking it base, and unworthy of true Grecians, to cut men in pieces that had ceased from resisting them, and left them the field. Which manner of dealing with those they had conquered, did not only show their magnanimity and greatness of soul, but had a politic end in it too; for their enemies, knowing that they killed only those who made resistance, and gave quarter to the rest, generally thought it their best way to consult their safety by an early flight (*c*)."

One thing farther remains before the conclusion of this chapter, viz. that it was frequent amongst the ancient Grecians to put their cause upon the issue of a single combat, and to decide their quarrels by two or more champions on each side: And their kings and great commanders were so eager in their pursuit after glory, and so tender of the lives of their subjects, that they frequently sent challenges to their rival princes, to end their quarrel by a single encounter, that by the death of one of them they might prevent the effusion of more blood. Remarkable instances hereof we have in Xanthus, king of Bœotia, who challenging the king of Attica, was slain by him, and so ended a dangerous war between those states (*d*); and in Pittacus the famous Mitylenian, who slew Phryno the Athenian general in a single combat: Ancient histories are full of such examples, as likewise of wars happily concluded by a small number commissioned by mutual agreement to decide the controversy: The Lacedemonians furnish us with one memorable instance in their wars with Argos about the title to Thyrea, which was determined by three hundred on each side. Nor was the conclusion of the war between the Tegeans and Pheneans, two small states in Arcadia, less remarkable, being effected by a combat of three brothers on each side (*e*), all the circumstances of whose story run exactly parallel to that of the Horatii and Curiatii so famous in Roman histories. The eastern countries were acquainted with the same custom, as may appear from Goliath's challenging the Israelitish host to give

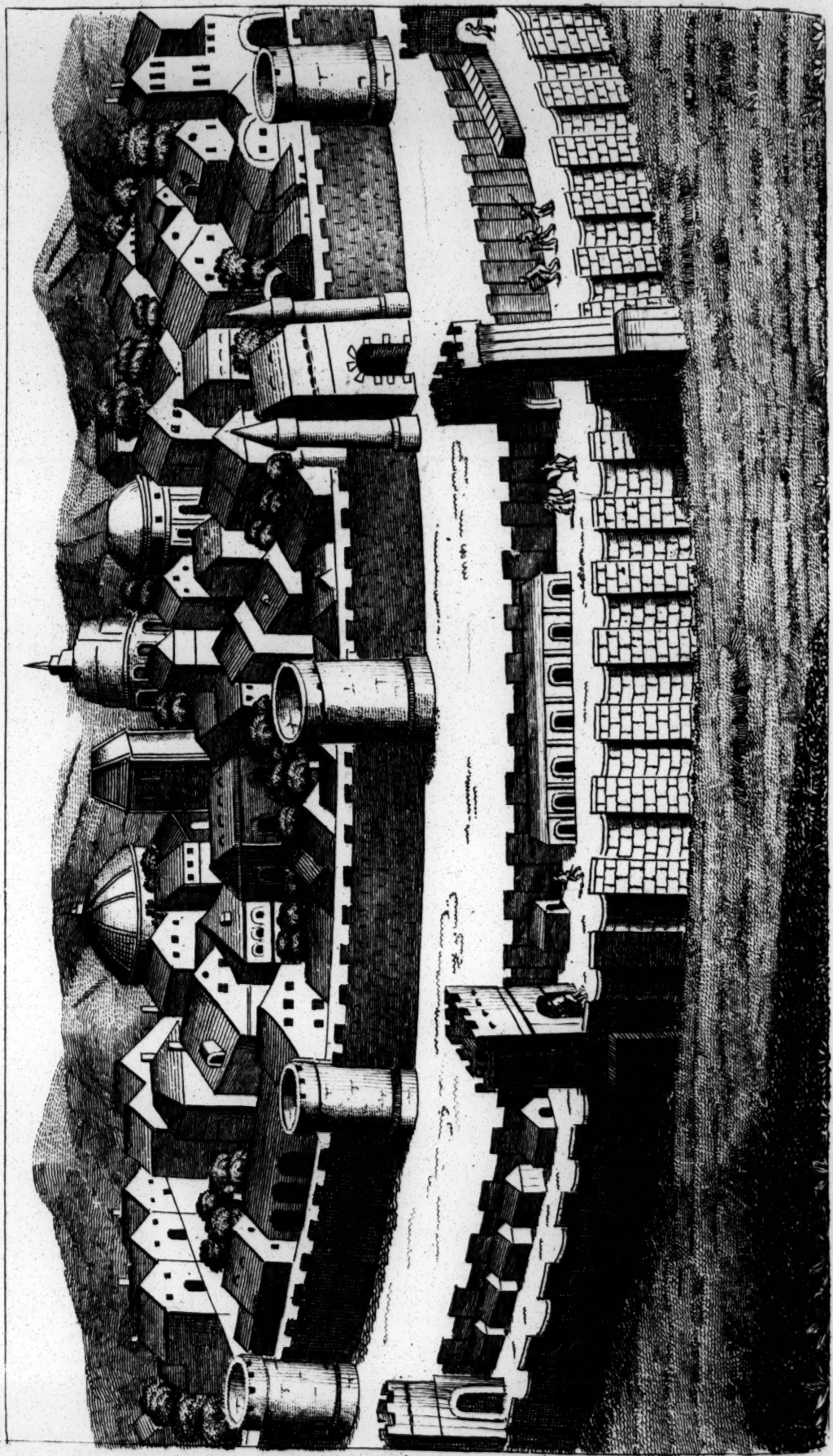
(*a*) Thucydides, Lib. V. Polyænus, Lib. I. (b) Messeniæ. (c) Plutarchus
 Lycurgo, Apopthegmat. Laconicis, *περί ἀπορροίας*. (d) Vide Archæolog. nostr.
 Vol. I. Cap. XX. in *Ἀνακρίμ.* (e) Plutarchus Parallelis.

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give him a man to fight with him, and the flight of the Philistines upon David's victory over their champion.

CHAP. X.

Of their Sieges, with the most remarkable of their Inventions, and Engines used therein.

THERE are no footsteps of any siege amongst the primitive Grecians; their cities were not fortified with walls, but lay open to all invaders, and their inhabitants, once vanquished in open field, became an easy prey to the conquerors. Wherefore, it is not to be wondered that the people of those times enjoyed no fixed and settled habitations, but frequently removed from one part of the country to another, being forced to quit their seats whenever they were coveted by a power superior to their own (a).

This moving and unsettled condition, wherein they continued for some ages, caused them to attempt several methods to secure themselves: Some built their cities upon the tops of inaccessible rocks and mountains, whence they could easily repel a greater force of enemies: Others, whose situation was not so defensible, were driven to seek other ways for their safety; till at length, some heads of no vulgar understanding brought forth an amazing contrivance, to enclose their houses and possessions within walls. This, at first, was looked on as a work so wonderful, so far above human capacity, that the gods were frequently called from their blessed mansions to undertake it. The walls of Troy (to mention no more), were of divine workmanship, and raised by no meaner persons than Neptune and Apollo: But if mortals had the happiness to project and finish so great a design, they seldom failed of being translated to heaven, and having their names enrolled among those exalted beings, to whom they were thought to make near approaches, whilst on earth.

And, since it was their custom to immortalize the first author of every little contrivance, it is no wonder if they conferred the same honours on those great benefactors to whom they were obliged for the security and quiet possession of whatever the rest of their deities had gratified them with. Once, indeed, enclosed within walls, they looked upon themselves safe from all assaults; and, had not a weak opposition within been sufficient to repel much greater forces of invaders, such a town as Troy could never have held out ten years against an hundred thousand besiegers.

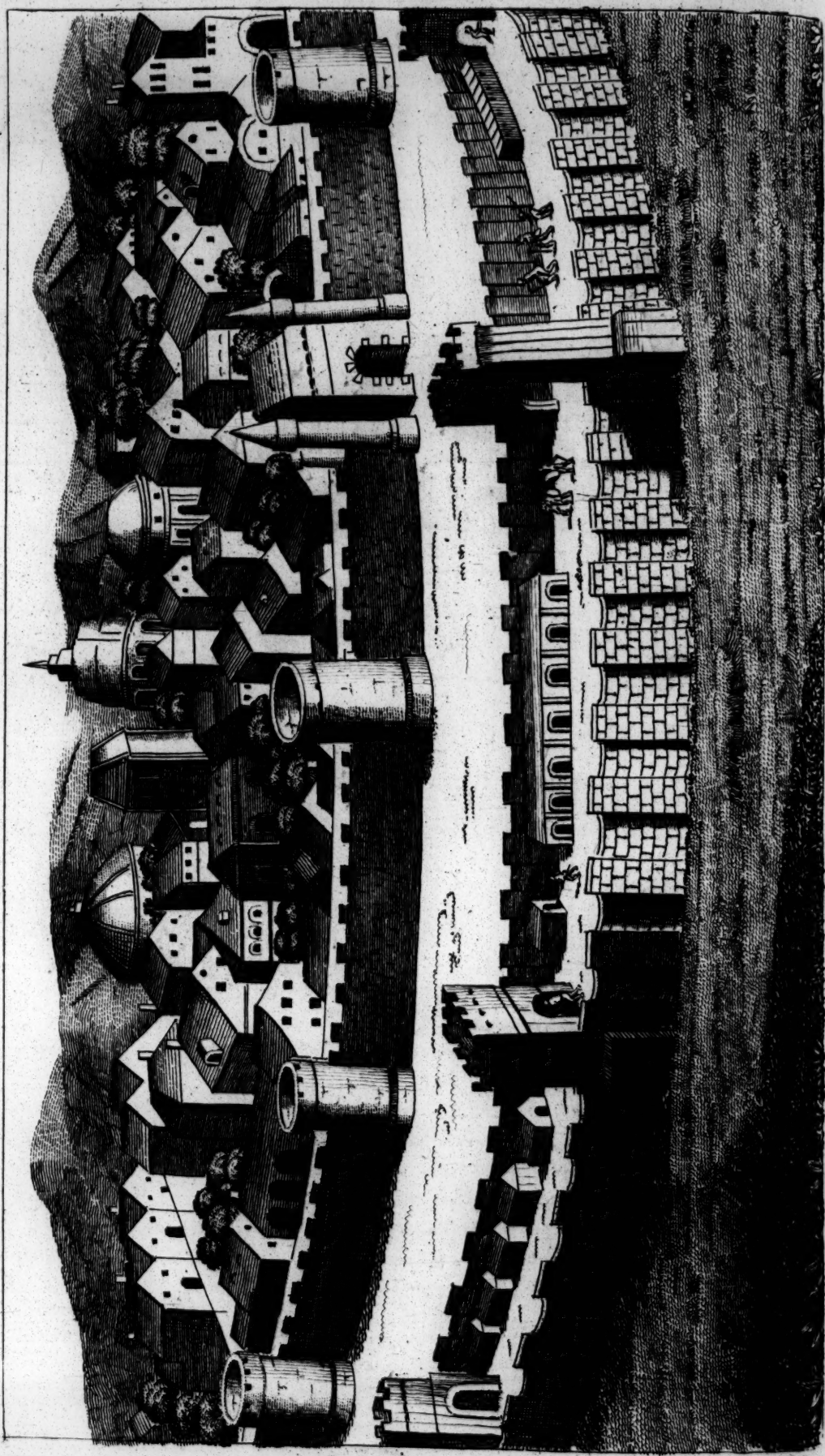
Nor were the Grecians of later ages, however renowned for knowledge in military affairs, very willing to undertake, or expert in managing sieges; but rather chose to end their quarrels, if possible, by

Vol. II.

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(a) Thucydides initio, Lib. I.



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Vol. II.

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(a) Thucydides initio, Lib. I.

one decisive battle, than to undergo the fatigue, and other inconveniencies of so tedious, so dangerous, and expensive a method.

Of all the Grecians, the most averse from undertaking leaguers, and the most unskilful in carrying them on to advantage, were the Lacedæmonians; insomuch that after Mardonius's defeat at Plataea, when a body of Persians had taken refuge in some wooden fortifications, they could find no means to drive them thence, but must have been forced to retire, had not the Athenians and some other Grecians advanced to their assistance (a). For we are told by Plutarch, that their lawgiver obliged them, by a special injunction, not easily to engage in besieging towns; and to lose their lives in such undertakings, was accounted inglorious, and unworthy a Spartan, as we learn from the same author (b), who, speaking of Lyfander's being slain before the gates of a little Boeotian town, called Haliartus, tells us, "That, like some common soldier, or one of the forlorn hope, he cast away his life ingloriously, giving testimony to the ancient Spartans, that they did well to avoid storming of walls, where the stoutest man may chance to fall by the hand, not only of an abject fellow, but of a boy or woman; as they say Achilles was slain by Paris at the Scæan gates of Troy (c);" Pyrrhus also, the great king of Epirus, fell by the hand of a woman at Argos (d).

When they endeavoured to possess themselves of a town or castle, it was usual first to attempt it by storm, surrounding it with their whole army, and attacking it in all quarters at once, which the Greeks called *σάργινον*, the Romans, *coronâ cingere*. When this method proved ineffectual, they frequently desisted from their enterprise; but if resolved to prosecute it, they prepared for a longer siege; in carrying on which, they seem not to have proceeded in any constant and settled method, but to have varied it according to the direction of their generals, as well as the difference of time, place, and other circumstances.

When they designed to lay close siege to a place, the first thing they went about was *ἀποτειχισμός*, or *περιτειχισμός*, the works of circumvallation, which we find sometimes to have consisted of a double wall or rampire, raised up of turfs, called in Greek *πλίνθοι* and *πλινθία*, in Latin, *cespites*. The interior fortification was designed to prevent sudden and unexpected sallies from the town, and to deprive it of all possibility of succour from without; the exterior, to secure them from foreign enemies, that might come to the relief of the besieged. Thus, when the Peloponnesians invested Plataea, Thucydides reports, they raised a double wall, one towards the city, the other towards Athens, to prevent all danger on that side: the middle space, which was sixteen feet, was taken up with lodges for guards and sentinels, built at due distances one from another, yet so close, that at a distant view, the whole pile appeared to be one broad wall, with turrets on both sides, after every tenth of which was a larger tower, extended from wall to wall.

Engines

(a) Herodotus, Lib. IX. Cap. LXIX.
v. 360.

(d) Plutarchus Pyrrho.

(b) Plutarch. Sylla.

(c) Homer Iliad.

Engines were called by the ancient Greeks μάγχανα, and afterwards μηχαναί. The first invention of them the Grecians claim to themselves, being not easily induced to allow the contrivance of any art to other nations; for it was their custom to travel into Egypt, India, and other eastern countries, to furnish themselves with sciences and inventions, which afterwards they made public in Europe, and vented as productions of their own: Hence was derived most of the Grecian philosophy; and as for engines used in sieges, it appears they were invented in the eastern nations many ages before Greece had the least knowledge of, or occasion for them. Moses's times seem not to have been unacquainted with them (a); several of the Jewish kings likewise appear to have known the use of them; whereas, the Grecians, till Homer's times, are not found to have had the least hint of any such things: Statius indeed carries them as high as the Trojan war, and, speaking of the presents sent to Achilles by the Grecians, in order to carry on the war, reports, that Pylos and Messene furnished him with engines to batter the walls:

Murorum tormenta Pylos Messanaque tradunt.

Large battering engines are from Pylos sent,
And from Messene. ———

But the poet seems to have forgotten the rude and unskilled age of this hero, and to have formed his description from the practices of his own times, since authors of better credit have no mention of any such thing. Homer indeed speaks of κρόσσαι, which some ancient interpreters take for κλίμακες, *scaling ladders* (b),

——— ὁ μὲν ἔπειτα

Κροσσάων ἐπέβαινον, ἀναχμένα δ' ἔρατ' ἔχοντες.

Bearing well-pointed spears, these straight ascend
The scaling ladders. ———

But it may, with no less propriety, be taken for the pinnacles of towers, as we find it used in the following verse (c),

Κρόσσας μὲν πύργων ἔρπον, καὶ ἔρειπον ἐπάλλξεις.

The tower's lofty pinnacles they raz'd,
Demolish'd all their bulwarks. ———

Others again will have them to have been as ancient as the Theban war, and to have been the contrivance of Capaneus, one of the seven champions, the story of whose being knocked down with thunderbolts was grounded on no better a foundation, than that, attempting to scale the

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walls

(a) Deuteron. xx. 26.

(b) Iliad. μ'. v. 144.

(c) Ibid. v. 252.

walls of Thebes with ladders, he was beaten down and slain with stones; and since the contrivance is so easy and obvious, it may not be wholly improbable, that even those ages were acquainted with it: However, the different sorts of ladders were invented afterwards, when some of them were *πηκται* (*a*), *plicatiles*, folded; others *διαλυται*, *solutiles*, to be taken in pieces (*b*), for the convenience of carriage. The matter they were composed of was likewise very different, being not only wood, but ropes, leather, &c.

The rest of the engines seem, however, to have been later: The ram is indeed said by Pliny to have been invented in the Trojan war, and to have given occasion to the fable of the wooden horse built by Epeus, it being the constant practice of those times to wrap up the original of every invention in fables; but this is only conjecture, and may with the same ease be denied, as asserted. Athenæus indeed speaks of this engine as very ancient (*c*), but doth not fix its invention to any determinate time, only observes that the Romans were obliged for it to the Grecians; and since Vetruvius gives the honour of its contrivance to the Carthaginians, in their siege of Gades, and neither Homer, nor any Greek writer for many ages after, has the least mention thereof, there seems little reason to credit Pliny's report. It is probable, however, that those ages might have some small helps in taking towns, contrived, as by several others, so particularly by Epeus, who is famous in poetical story for being an artificer, and (as Lycophron reports) was very serviceable, on that account, to the Grecian army:

Πύκτην μὲν ἰσθλὸν, πῶκα δ' ἐν κλόνῳ δορὺς,
Καὶ πλεῖστα τέχναις ὠφελήσαντα στρατόν (*d*).

Dauntless in boxing, but dismay'd at th' sound
Of clashing arms, yet by his famous art
He was most useful to the Grecian fleet.

But these devices seem to have been exceeding contemptible, and unartificial; and therefore were wholly laid aside in wiser ages, and, it may be, never practised but at their first invention. The only constant instruments used by the ancient Grecians in demolishing walls, were (for ought appears to the contrary), those they called *τεύπανα*, in Latin *terrebræ*, which were long irons with sharp ends. Wherefore it is reasonable to conclude, that most of their famous engines were invented about the time of the Peloponnesian war, wherein it is plain from Thucydides, they were used. Diodorus (*e*) and Plutarch (*f*) will have Pericles to have contrived several of them, by the assistance of Artemon, an artificer of Clazomenæ, as rams, tortoises, &c. yet Cornelius Nepos reports, that some of them were used in the age before, by Miltiades, when he besieged Paros; Plutarch also himself, when he reports out of Ephorus

(*a*) Appian.

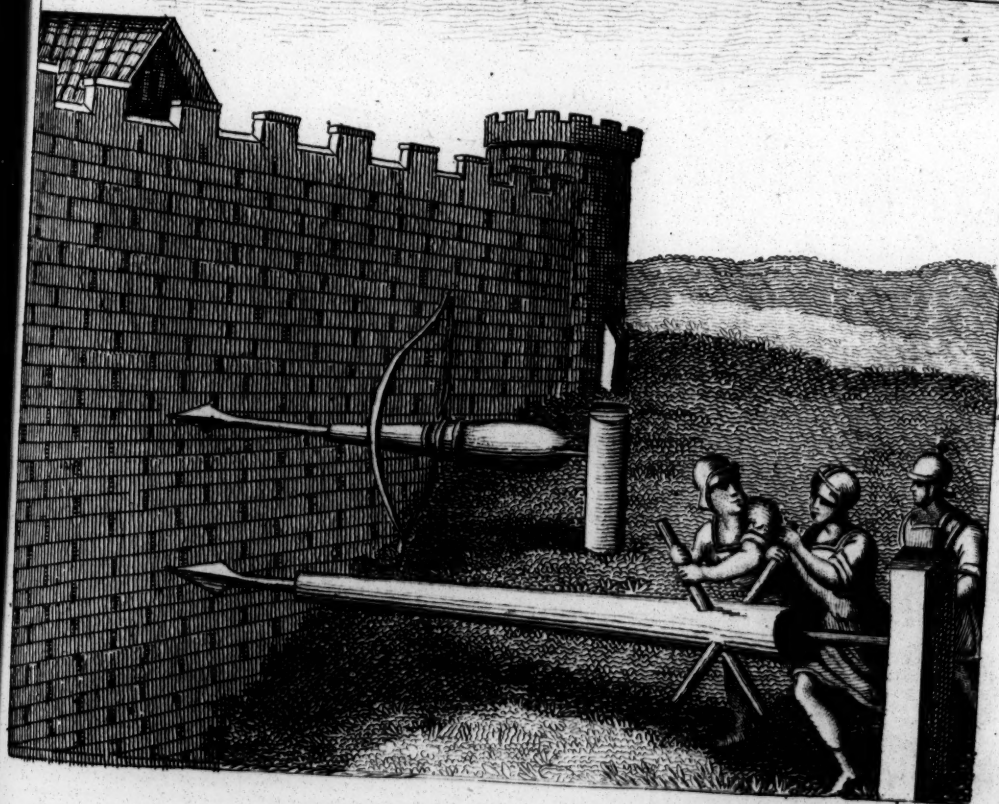
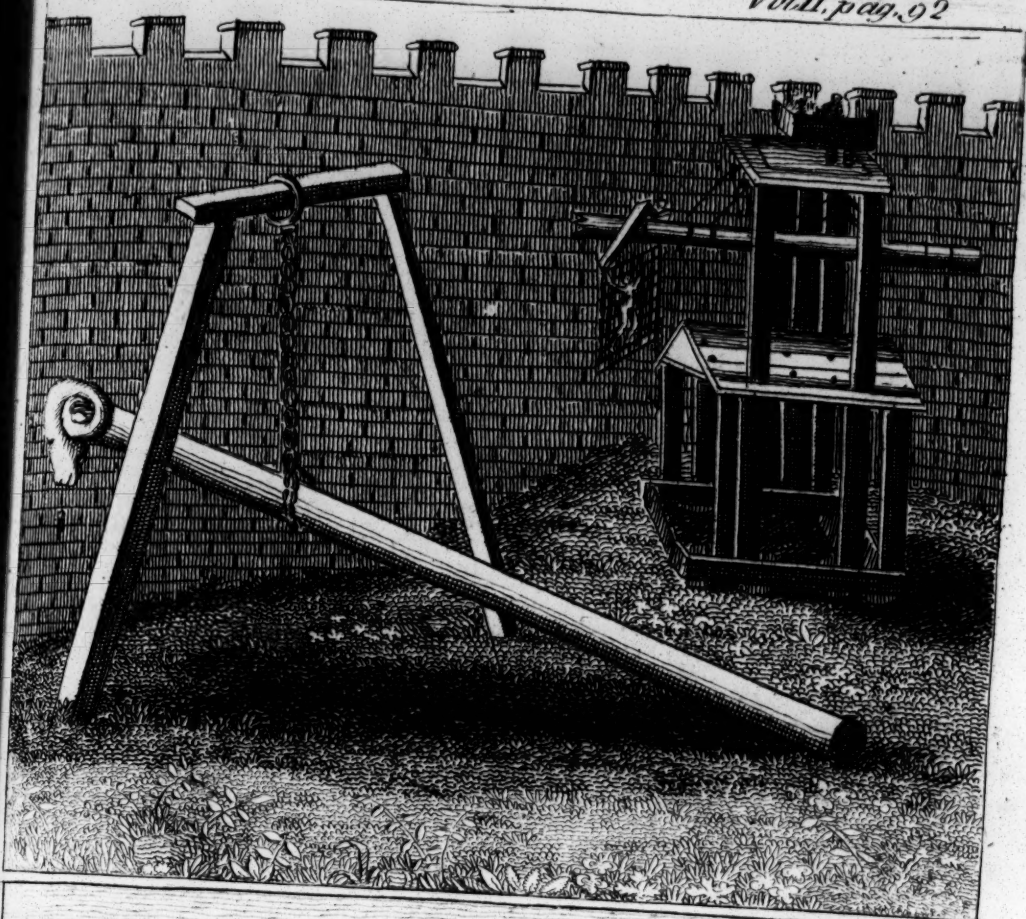
(*b*) Plut. Arato.

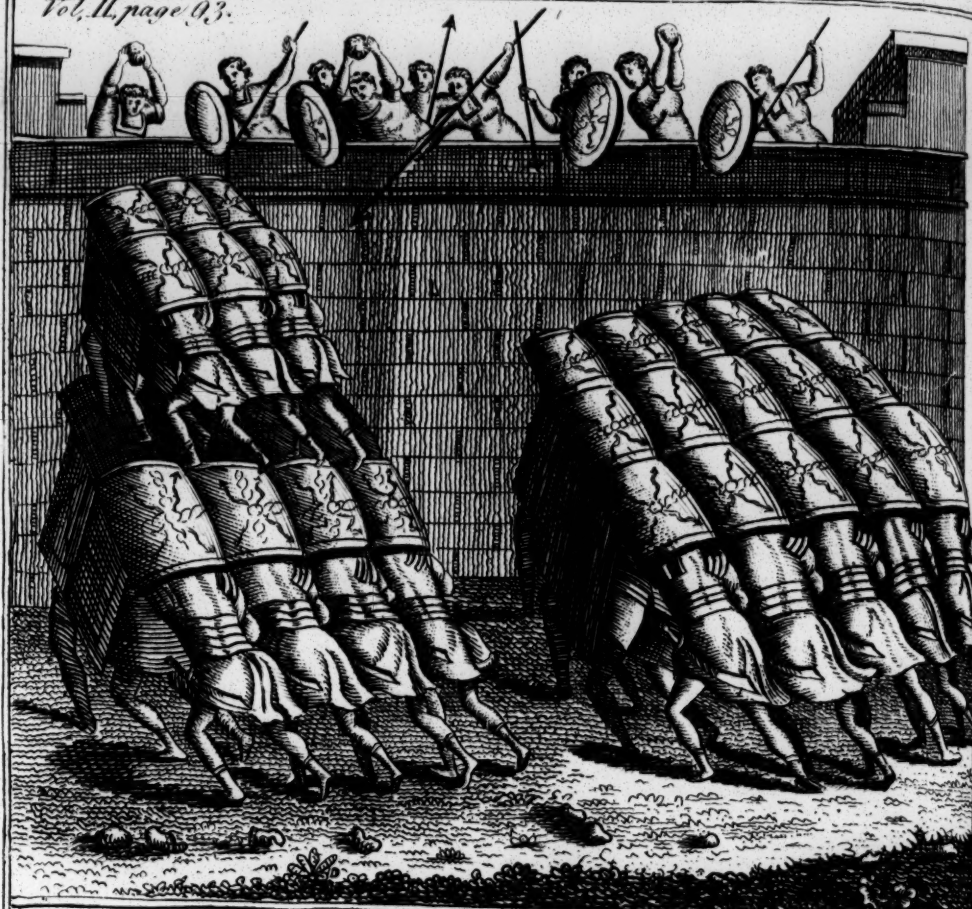
(*c*) Fine Lib. IV.

(*d*) Cassandr. v. 945.

(*e*) Lib. XII.

(*f*) Pericle.





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Ephorus, that battering engines were first employed in the Samian war by Pericles, and composed at that time by Artemon, being then a strange and surprising sight, presently after adds, that Heraclides of Pontus will have that engineer to have flourished several ages before the Samian war; so that nothing of certainty can be expected in this matter. The principal of the Grecian inventions were these which follow:

Χελώνη, testudo, a tortoise; a defensive invention, so called from covering and sheltering the soldiers, as a tortoise is covered by its shell. Several sorts we find of it, as,

1. *Χελώνη στρατιωτικὴν, testudo militaris*, termed sometimes *συνασπισμὸς*, when the soldiers drawn up close to one another, and the hindermost ranks bowing themselves, placed their targets above their heads; as if we suppose the first rank to stand erect, the rest to stoop lower and lower by degrees, till the last rank kneeled upon the ground; the men in the front and on the sides holding their targets before their bodies, the rest covering the heads of those that were placed before them; so that the whole body resembled a pent-house or roof covered with tiles, down which the enemy's missile weapons easily glided without prejudice to the soldiers underneath. This invention was used in field battles, but more frequently in surprising cities before the besieged were prepared for defence; and served to protect the besiegers in their approach to the walls.

2. *Χελώνη χωστρίς* was four-square: The chief design thereof was (as the name imports) to guard the soldiers in *filling* ditches, and *casting up* mounds.

3. *Χελώνη ὀρυξ*, was triangular, with its front shelving downwards, for the protection of pioneers, who undermined walls.

4. To these may be added *testudo arietaria*, wherewith those that battered the walls were protected; of which afterwards.

Γέφυρα, wicker hurdles, resembling the Roman *vineæ*, which the soldiers held over their heads. The word came at length to signify *trifles*, from the siege of Syracuse, where the Athenians, calling continually for hurdles to shelter them, the besiegers in derision cried, *γέφυρα, γέφυρα*.

Another engine, composed of boards, and like the Roman *pluteus*, was used by Alexander's soldiers, as we read in Curtius.

Χῶμα, agger, a mount, which was raised so high as to equal, if not exceed, the top of the besieged walls: The sides were walled in with bricks or stones, or secured with strong rafters, to hinder it from falling; the fore part only, being by degrees to be advanced nearer the walls, remained bare. The pile itself consisted of all sorts of materials, as earth, timber, boughs, stones, &c. as Thucydides reports in the siege of Plataea: Into the middle were cast also wickers, and twigs of trees, to fasten, and, as it were, cement the other parts. The whole fabric is thus described by Lucan (a).

— tunc

(a) Lib. III.

— tunc omnia latè

*Procumbunt nemora, et spoliantur robore silve;
Ut, cum terra levis mediam virgultaque molem
Suspendant, structâ laterum compage ligatam
Arctet humum, pressus ne cedat turribus agger.*

The groves are fell'd, and strongest timber sought,
From thickest forest largest oaks are brought,
To make strong rafters to support the pile,
Lest th' earth break in, and frustrate all their toil,
Unable to sustain the tower's weight.

H. H.

Πύργοι, turres, moveables towers of wood, usually placed upon the mount: They were driven upon wheels, which were fixed within the bottom planks, to secure them from the enemies. Their size was not always the same, but proportioned to the towers of the city they besieged. The front was usually covered with tiles, and in later times, the sides were likewise guarded with the same materials: Their tops were covered with raw hides, and other shrouds, to preserve them from fire-balls and missile weapons: They were formed into several stories, which were able to carry, not soldiers only, but several sorts of engines; whence Silius (a);

*Turris multiplici surgens ad sidera tecto
Exibat, tabulata decem cui crescere Grajus
Fecerat, et multas nemorum consumserat umbras.*

Thin were the groves, and scarce could boast a shade
When th' Grajan with ten rooms a tower made,
Whose various turrets seem'd the stars t' invade.

The first contrivance is attributed to some artificers of Sicily about the time of Dionysius the tyrant; by some to Polyidus a Theffalian, Philip of Macedon's engineer (b); by others to Diades and Chæreas (c), who were Polyidus's scholars, and entertained by Alexander in his eastern expedition: The last of these seem rather to have been improvers of the former invention; for we find mention of wooden towers in the elder Dionysius's reign (d): It may be the device of making *πύργους φορητὰς portable turrets*, to be taken in pieces, and carried along with the army, may be owing to them.

Κεῖδος, aries, the ram, was an engine with an iron head, called in Greek *αἰσφαλή*, or *ἐμβολή*, resembling a ram's head, wherewith they battered the enemies walls. Of this there were three kinds:

1. The first was plain and unartificial, being nothing but a long beam with an iron head, which the soldiers drove with main force against the wall.

The

(a) Lib. XIV. (b) Athenæus Mechanicis apud Turneb. Vitruvius, Lib. X. Cap. XIX. (c) Heron. Cap. XIII. (d) Diodorus Siculus.

2. The second was hung with ropes to another beam, by the help of which they thrust it forwards with much greater force.

3. The third differed only from the former, as being covered with a *χιλώνη*, or shroud, to guard the soldiers, whence it is called *Testuda arietaria*.

The beam was sometimes no less than an hundred and twenty feet in length, and covered with iron plates, lest those who defended the walls should set it on fire; the head was armed with as many horns as they pleased: Josephus reports, that one of Vespasian's rams, the length whereof was only fifty cubits, which came not up to the size of several of the Grecian rams, had an head as thick as ten men, and twenty-five horns, each of which was as thick as one man, and placed a cubit's distance from the rest; the weight hung (as was customary) upon the hinder part, weighed no less than one thousand and five hundred talents: When it was removed from one place to another, if it was not taken in pieces, an hundred and fifty yoke of oxen, or three hundred pair of horses and mules, laboured in drawing it; and no less than fifteen hundred men employed their utmost strength in forcing it against the walls. At other times we find these rams driven upon wheels.

Ελέπολις was first invented by Demetrius, son to Antigonus, who, having taken Rhodes, with several other towns, by the help of this engine, was honoured with the surname of *πολιορκητής*. We have several descriptions of it left us by Vetrivius (a), Plutarch (b), and Diodorus (c), who, though differing in other points, are thus far agreed, That it was a machine of prodigious bulk, not unlike the ram covered with the shroud, but vastly bigger, and of far greater force; that it was driven both with ropes and wheels, and contained several other smaller engines, out of which stones and other missive weapons were cast.

Καταπέλται are used in different senses, sometimes for arrows, sometimes for engines, out of which arrows were cast; in the latter of which significations they are termed *ἔμβολοι* and *βιολογμοί*. They are likewise, though not very properly, taken for engines to cast stones; and we find them sometimes used to throw great pieces of timber. The invention of them is ascribed to the Syrians by Pliny; but Diodorus (d) and Plutarch report, they were first contrived in Sicily, about the time in which the elder Dionysius engaged in the war with Carthage.

Engines to cast stones were of several sorts; some only for smaller stones, such as *σφενδοναί* slings; others for those also of a larger size, called sometimes only by the general names of *μάγχανα* and *μαγχανικά ὅργανα*, or *ἀφειθήρια ὅργανα*, the former of which seem to signify all sorts of engines, the latter all those designed to cast missive weapons; sometimes by more peculiar titles, as *λιθοβόλοι*, *πετροβόλοι*, *πετροβολικά ὅργανα*, which names are yet so general, as to comprehend all engines that cast stones: Nor is there any proper term, that I know of, for that famous engine,

(a) Lib. X.

(b) Demetrio.

(c) Lib. XX.

(d) Lib. XIV.

engine, out of which stones of a size not less than millstones were thrown, with so great violence, as to dash whole houses in pieces at a blow: It was called, indeed, by the Romans, *Ballista*; but this name, though of Grecian original, appears not to have been used in Greece; this engine, however, was known there, and was the same with that used by the Romans, the force of which is thus expressed by Lucan (a);

*At saxum quoties ingenti verberis ictu
Excutitur. qualis rupes, quam vertice montis
Abscidit impulsu ventorum adjuncta vetustas;
Frangit cuncta ruens, nec tantum corpora pressa
Exanimat, totos cum sanguine dissipat artus.*

Such is the force, when massy stones are thrown,
As when from some mount's top a rock falls down,
Which now worn out with age can't longer bear
The shock of winds, and fury of the year;
They break through all that in their passage lie,
And do through walls and houses force their way,
Not only kill the man, but spread all o'er
The ground his scatter'd limbs and reeking gore. H. H.

These were the most remarkable engines the Grecians used in taking towns. It will be expected, in the next place, that some account be given of the methods by which the besieged defended themselves.

Upon the enemy's approach, they gave notice to their confederates (if they had any) to hasten their assistance: In the day this was done by raising a great smoke; in the night by fires, or lighted torches, called *Φρυκτοί* and *Φρυκτωρίαι*, whence, to signify the coming of enemies, was called *Φρυκτωρεῖν* (b). These torches were termed *Φρυκτοὶ πόλεμοι*, to distinguish them from those they called *Φρυκτοὶ φίλοι*, which were lighted upon the approach of friends: They differed in this, that the latter were held firm and unmoved, the former tossed and waved to and fro in the air.

They seem not to have had any constant method of defending themselves; but thus much may be observed in general, that the walls were guarded with soldiers, who, with stones, and all sorts of missile weapons, assaulted the invaders; and the *καταπίλται*, with other engines of that kind, were planted within the town, and played upon them. Several other methods were practised against them, as when the Tyrians, heating brass bucklers red hot, and filling them with sand and lime, poured it upon Alexander's soldiers, which getting between their armour and flesh, burned vehemently, and caused them to fling off their armour, so that the besiegers wounded them at pleasure, without

(a) Lib. III.

(b) Theognidis Scholiastes, Homeri Scholiastes, Iliad. 6.

without receiving any hurt. Several ways they had to elude the force of their engines, and defeat their stratagems: Their mines they rendered ineffectual by counter-mines: Their mounts they let fall to the ground, by undermining the foundations: Their towers, and all their engines, they burned with fire-balls: Themselves they defended with skins, wool-packs, and other things proper to ward off stones, and other mis- sive weapons: The heads of battering rams they broke off with stones of a prodigious size from the walls; or (as we read of the Tyrians) rendered them useless, by cutting the ropes whereby they were govern- ed, with long scythes; and if there remained no hope of defending their walls, they sometimes raised new ones, with forts within. Many other contrivances were used, as the posture of affairs required, and as the besieged were ingenious in finding out methods for their own pre- servation.

The manner of treating the cities they had taken, was not always the same, depending upon the temper of the general who sometimes put all, at least all that were in arms, to the sword, demolished the walls and buildings, and made the rest slaves; sometimes graciously received them into favour, requiring only some tributary acknowledgment. The Athenians had a custom of sending colonies to inhabit the places they had depopulated, which they divided by lots among some of the com- monalty, when met together in a public assembly (a).

When they demolished a city, it was frequent to pronounce direful curses upon whoever should endeavour to rebuild it; which some ima- gine was the reason that Troy could never be raised out of its ashes, though several persons attempted it, being devoted to eternal and irre- parable ruin by Agamemnon (b): This seems to have been a very an- cient custom, and derived from the eastern nations; for (to omit other instances) we find Joshua, at the destruction of Jericho, to have fixed an imprecation upon the person that should rebuild it (c), which was accomplished in Hiel, the Bethelite, many ages after, in the reign of Ahab (d).

CHAP. XI.

Of the Slain, and their Funerals.

THE ancient Grecians seem to have treated the bodies of their dead enemies in a very indecent and inhuman manner, basely revenging the injuries they had received from them whilst living, by disfiguring and stabbing their carcases, and exposing them to scorn and ignominy; which cruel and barbarous practice was not thoroughly reformed in the Trojan war, as appears from divers instances in the Iliads, where

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dead

(a) Aristophanes Scholiastes Nubibus, p. 134. (b) Eustathius Iliad. 8. p. 356.
(c) Joshua, Cap. VI. 26. (d) 1 Reg. Cap. XXXIV.

dead enemies are dismembered by insulting conquerors, none of which is more remarkable than that of Hector, who lay unburied many days, was dragged round Troy's walls, and Patroclus's sepulchre, and suffered all sorts of indignities. This indeed might be imputed to Achilles's extravagant rage for the loss of Patroclus, or (as the Scholiast (a) affirms) to a peculiar custom of Thessaly, his native country, where it was their constant practice to drag at their chariots the murderers of their near friends, did it not appear that the rest of the Grecians used him in a manner no less brutish and barbarous, insulting over him, and stabbing his dead body (b):

Ἡ ῥὰ καὶ ἐκ νεκροῦ ἐρύσσατο χάλκεον ἔγχος,
 Καὶ τὸ γ' ἀνέθεν ἔθηχ'· ὃ δ' ἀπ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἐσύλα
 Αἱματόεντ'· ἄλλοι δὲ περιδραμον ὕψος Αἰχαιῶν,
 "Οἱ καὶ θηήσαντο φῦν καὶ εἶδος ἀγνῶτον
 Ἐκτορος, ἐδ' ἄρα οἱ τις ἀνστητεί γε παρεῖη·
 Ὡς δὲ τις ἐπέσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον,
 Ω πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ μαλακώτερος ἀμφαφάσθαι
 Ἐκτωρ, ἢ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλῆα.

Thus having said, with unrelenting force
 He rends his vengeful spear from Hector's corse;
 Too small the recompence one death could give,
 But, Hector dead, his manes still must grieve:
 He then the bloody, lifeless corse despoil'd;
 And soldiers with avenging fury fill'd,
 With eager haste about his body press,
 Admire his stature and his comeliness;
 Each vents his rage upon th' already slain,
 As though they meant to kill him o'er again;
 Then thus one pointing to his neighbour said,
 With vaunting words insulting o'er the dead,
 " Is this the Hector, whose tremendous name
 " Brought fear and terror wheresoe'er it came?
 " Gods! How he's chang'd since when he threw his fire
 " Amidst our ships, and made whole Greece retire. H. H.

Tydeus has no better treatment in Statius (c):

*Ducitur hostili (pro dura potentia fati!)
 Tydeus ille solo, modo cui Thebana sequenti
 Agmina, sive gradum, seu frena effunderet, ingens
 Limes utrimque datus: Nusquam arma, manusque quiescunt,
 Nulla viri feritas; juvat ora regentio leto,*

Et

(a) Iliad, χ'. v. 398.

(b) Ibid. v. 367.

(c) Thebaid. IX. v. 380.

*Et formidatos impune lædessere vultus ;
Hic amor, hoc unà timidi, fortesque sequuntur
Nobilitare manus, infectaque sanguine tela
Conjugibus servant, parvisque ostendere natis.*

At godlike Tydeus (wretched turn of fate !)
Avenging Tyrians level all their hate ;
At godlike Tydeus, whose commanding sway
Through Theban troops did propagate dismay ;
Whether he mounted on his horse appear'd,
Or for destructive war on foot prepar'd,
Th' opposing squadrons dar'd not long to stay,
But, where he led, submissively gave way ;
Yet he, brave chief, is dragg'd along the field,
And bears what foes, with pow'r and fury fill'd,
Cou'd e'er inflict ; his dreadful arms they seize,
All stab his corse, and tear his manly face ;
The most opposing minds in this conspire,
The tim'rous and the brave alike desire
To stab the body of their foe when slain,
And with his blood their glutted blades to stain :
These they as marks of highest honour prize,
And keep to show their wives, and blooming boys.

H. H.

Whence it appears to have been their constant practice, and looked on as very consistent with virtue and honour ; as Servius hath likewise observed, when Virgil's Mezentius was used in the same manner. The poet indeed does not expressly affirm any such thing, which, notwithstanding, plainly appears ; for, whereas he only received two wounds from Æneas (a), we find his breast-plate afterwards pierced through in twelve, i. e. a great many places, a determinate number being put for an indefinite (b) ;

——bis sex thoraca petiitum
Perfossūque locis.

Through twice six places was his breast-plate pierc'd.

The barbarous nations were not less guilty of this inhuman practice. Leonidas king of Sparta, having valiantly lost his life in fighting against Xerxes, had his head fixed upon a pole, and his body gibbeted (c) : But the Grecians were long before that time convinced of the villany and baseness of such actions ; and, therefore, when Pausanias the Spartan was urged to retaliate Leonidas's injury upon Mardonius, Xerxes's general overcome at Plataea, he refused to be concerned in, or to permit a revenge so barbarous, and unworthy a Grecian. Even in the times

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of

(a) Fine Æn. X.

(b) XI. v. 9.

(c) Herodotus Calliope.

of the Trojan war, the Grecians were much reformed from the inhumanity, as well of their own ancestors, as other nations. It had formerly been customary for the conquerors to hinder their enemies from interring their dead, till they had paid large sums for their ransom; and some footsteps of this practice are found about that time; Hector's body was redeemed from Achilles (a); Achilles's was again redeemed from the Trojans for the same price he had received for Hector (b);

Λαβὼν δὲ ταύρα τῇ πεφασμένῃ δάνει
Σκεδρῶν τάλαντῳ τευτάνης ἡγετημένον,
Αὔδις τὸν ἀντίποινον ἐκχέαις ἴσαν,
Πακτώλιον σαυμοῖσι τηλαυγῇ μύθεον,
Κρατῆρα Βάκχῃ δῶσιται——

A ransom large as that which Priam gave,
That royal Hector's mangled corse might have
The happy priv'lege of a decent grave,
By Argian chiefs shall be repaid to Troy,
And then the slain Achilles shall enjoy
That honourable urn the grateful god
Upon his mother Thetis had bestow'd.

H. H.

Nisus is introduced by Virgil, dissuading his friend Euryalus from accompanying him into danger, lest, if he were slain, there should be no person that would recover by fight, or redeem his body (c),

*Sit, qui me raptum pugna, pretiove redemptum
Mandet humo solita.*——

Let there be one, who, mov'd with pitying care,
Wou'd me redeem, made pris'ner of the war,
Or ransom'd, decently my corse inter.

Whence it appears, that redemption of the dead was practised in those days, and if neglected, they were frequently suffered to lie unburied; which misfortune happened to many of Homer's heroes, as we learn from the very entrance of the first Iliad, where he thus speaks of Achilles's anger,

Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
ἡρώων, αὐτὰς δ' ἑλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν,
Οἰωνοῖσι τε παῖσι.——

And num'rous crowds of valiant hero's ghosts
Sent mournful down unto the Stygian coasts,
Whilst uninterr'd on earth their bodies lay,
Expos'd to dogs, and rav'nous birds a prey.

But

(a) Iliad, 6.

(b) Lycophronis Cassandra, v. 269.

(c) Æneid, IX. v. 213.

But this was not so common as in more early ages; for we find Achilles himself celebrating the funeral of Eetion king of Thebes in Cilicia, and father of Andromache, whom the poet introduces speaking thus (a);

Ἦτοι γὰρ πατέρ' ἀμὼν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Ἐκ δὲ πόλιν πέρσεν Κιλικῶν εὖ ναιετάωσαν,
 Θήσῃν ὑψίπυλον, κατὰ δ' ἔκτανεν Ἡτίωνα·
 Οὐδέ μιν ἐξενάριξε, σφοδρῶσατο γὰρ τὸ γέθυμ'·
 Ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν κατέκχε συν' ἄντεσι δαιδαλίοισιν,
 Ἢδ' ἐπὶ σῆμ' ἔχεν. —

Then when the walls of Thebes he overthrew,
 His fatal hand my royal father slew,
 He slew Eetion, but despoil'd him not,
 Nor in his hate the fun'ral rites forgot;
 Arm'd as he was, he sent him whole below,
 And reverenc'd thus the manes of his foe;
 A tomb he rais'd. —

Dryden.

And Agamemnon granted the Trojans free leave to perform the funeral rites of all their slain, promising upon oath to give them no disturbance (b);

Ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκροῖσιν κατακείμεν' ἔ τι μεγάλα·
 Αὐτὰρ τις Φειδᾷ νεκρῶν κατατεθνηῶτων
 Γίγνεται, ἐπεὶ κε θάνωσι, πυρὸς μελίσσμεν ὤκα·
 Ὅρξια δὲ Ζεὺς ἴσῳ ἐρίγδεπος πόσις Ἡρῆς.

I envy not the privilege of the dead,
 I grant, that they upon the pile be laid,
 Let Jove be witness to the vows I make,
 Nor will I e'er the binding cov'nant break.

H. H.

Not long before, the Grecians were perfect strangers to this piece of humanity; for we are told that Hercules was the first that ever gave leave to his enemies to carry off their dead (c); and others report, that the first treaty made for the recovering and burying the bodies of the slain, was that of Theseus with the Thebans, to inter the heroes that lost their lives in the Theban war (d). In succeeding ages it was looked on as the greatest impiety to deny what they thought a debt to nature, and was rarely or never done to lawful enemies, except upon extraordinary and unusual provocations; for it was thought below a generous

(a) Iliad, ζ. v. 414.
 Cap. XXVII.

(b) Iliad, η. v. 408.
 (d) Plutarchus Theseo.

(c) Ælianus, Var. Hist. Lib. XII.

nerous temper, and unworthy Grecians, to vent their malice, when their enemies were deprived of all power to defend themselves.

The Athenians seem to have been careful to excess and superstition in procuring an honourable interment for the bodies of their own soldiers that had valiantly lost their lives; insomuch that the ten admirals that gained the famous victory over the Lacedemonians in the sea-fight at Arginusæ, were put to death chiefly on this pretence, that they were said not to have taken due care in gathering the bodies that floated on the waves; when yet they alleged that they were hindered by a tempest, which might have been dangerous to the whole fleet, had they not provided for their safety by a timely retreat (*a*): This, no doubt, was one cause why, after a battle upon the Corinthian territory, Nicias, the Athenian general, finding that two of his men were left by an oversight, when they carried off the dead, made an halt, and sent an herald to the enemy for leave to carry them off, hereby renouncing all title to the victory, which belonged to him before, and losing the honour of erecting a trophy; for it was presumed that he who asked leave to carry off his dead could not be master of the field (*b*). After that, Chabrias having put to flight the Lacedemonians at Naxos, rather than leave any of his soldiers, or their bodies, to the mercy of the waves, chose to desist from prosecuting his victory, when he was in a fair way to have destroyed the enemy's whole fleet (*c*).

When they carried their arms into distant countries, they reduced the bodies of the dead to ashes, that those at least might be conveyed to their relations, and repositied in the tombs of their ancestors: The first author of which custom (they say) was Hercules, who having sworn to Licymnius to bring back his son Argius, if he would give him leave to accompany him in his expedition against Troy, the young man dying, he had no other expedient to make good his oath, but by delivering his ashes to his father (*d*): However, we find it practised in the Trojan war, where Nestor advised the Grecians to burn all their dead, and preserve them there till their return into Greece (*e*);

Αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγρόενοι κυκλήσομεν ἰνδάδε νεκρὸς
Βροτὶ καὶ ἡμιονοῖσιν ἀτὰρ κατακόμεν αὐτὰς
Τυτθὸν ἀπο πρὸ νῆων, ὡς καὶ ὅττι παισὶν ἕκαστος
Οἶκαδ' ἀγῇ, ὅταν αὐτὲ νεώμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν.

Oxen and mules in solemn order led
To us assembled here, shall bring our dead,
That we their bodies near our ships may burn,
And save their snowy bones till we to Greece return,

H. H.

The

(*a*) Xenophon Græc. Hist. Lib. I. (*b*) Plutarchus Nicias. (*c*) Diodorus Siculus, Lib. XV. (*d*) Homeri Scholiaſtes Iliad, *æ*. v. 52. (*e*) Iliad, *æ*. v. 332.

The Lacedemonians thought this an unprofitable labour, and therefore buried their dead in the country where they died ; only their kings they embalmed with honey, and conveyed them home, as we learn from Plutarch (*a*), who reports, that when Agefilaus resigned his life at the haven of Menelaus, a desert shore in Africa, the Spartans having no honey to embalm his body, wrapped it in wax, and so carried it to Lacedemon.

The soldiers all attended at the funeral solemnities, with their arms turned upside down, it being customary for mourners, in most of their actions, to behave themselves in a manner contrary to what was usual at other times ; in those places where it was the fashion to wear long hair, mourners were shaved ; and where others shaved, mourners wore long hair. Their conjecture, therefore, is frivolous, who imagine the soldiers turned the heads of their shields downwards, lest the gods, whose images were engraven upon them, should be polluted with the sight of a corpse (*b*) ; since not the gods only, but any other figures, were frequently represented there ; nor some few only, but the whole company held them in the same posture : Besides, not the shields alone, but their other arms, were pointed downwards. Thus Evander's Arcadians, with the rest of Æneas's soldiers in Virgil (*c*), follow Pallas's example,

—*Tum mæssa phalanx, teucrique sequuntur,
Tyrrhenique duces, & versis Arcades armis.*

Next went the mournful troop, captains from Troy,
Tyrrhenia, and from pleasant Arcady,
With arms turn'd downward.—

The Grecian princes in Statius (*d*) observe the same custom ;

—*versis ducunt insignibus ipsi
Grajugenæ reges.*—

The Grecian chiefs the sad procession led
With ensigns downwards turn'd.—

Their tombs were adorned with inscriptions showing their names, and sometimes their parentage, and exploits ; which honour the Spartan lawgiver granted to none beside women who died in child-bed, and soldiers (*e*) that lost their lives in battle : These were buried with green boughs, and honoured with an oration in their praise. Such of them as had excelled the rest, and were judged complete and perfect warriors, had a farther honour of being interred in their red coats, which were the soldiers habit at Sparta (*f*). Their arms were likewise fixed upon their tombs ; whence Leonidas, the Spartan king, is introduced in the epigram refusing Xerxes's purple robe, and desiring no other ornament to beautify his tomb than his buckler.

Πελλὸ

(*a*) Agefilao. (*b*) Servius in Æneid. XI. 92. (*c*) Loc. citat. (*d*) Thebaid. VI.
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The Lacedemonians thought this an unprofitable labour, and therefore buried their dead in the country where they died ; only their kings they embalmed with honey, and conveyed them home, as we learn from Plutarch (*a*), who reports, that when Agefilaus resigned his life at the haven of Menelaus, a desert shore in Africa, the Spartans having no honey to embalm his body, wrapped it in wax, and so carried it to Lacedemon.

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(*e*) Plutarchus Lycurgo. (*f*) Ælianus Var. Hist. Lib. VI. Cap. VI.

Πεπλὺ Λεωνίδεω κατιδὼν δέμας αἰτοδαΐκτον

Ξέρξης, ἐχλαίνε φάρεϊ πορφύρεω

Κῆκ νεκύων δ' ἤχησεν ὁ τὰς Σπάρτας μέγας ἥρω·

“ Οὐ δέχομαι προδόταις μισθὸν ὀφειλόμενον.

“ Ασπίς μοι τύμβος κόσμος μέγας, ἔρρε τὰ Περσῶν,

“ Ἡξῶ κ' εἰς αἶδην ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος.

Whilst Xerxes mov'd with pitying care beheld

Th' unhappy Spartan, who himself had kill'd ;

The royal Persian, with officious haste,

His purple robe about the body cast ;

'Till dying Leonidas silence broke,

And thus that gen'rous Spartan hero spoke :

“ Forbear, fond prince, this unbecoming pride,

“ No Persian pomp shall e'er these relics hide.

“ Soft purple palls are only us'd by those,

“ Who have betray'd their country to their foes ;

“ My buckler's all the ornament I'll have,

“ 'Tis that which better shall adorn my grave.

“ Thā' 'scutcheon, or a formal epitaph ;

“ My tomb thus honour'd, I'll triumphant go,

“ Like some brave Spartan, to the shades below.”

H. H.

This custom was not peculiar to Sparta, but practised all over Greece ; where, besides their arms, it was usual to add the badge of whatever other profession they had born. Elpenor, appearing in the shades below to Ulysses, entreats him to fix the oar he used to row with upon his tomb, and to cast his arms into the funeral pile (a) ;

Ἀλλά με κάκκηαι σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄσσα μοι εἰσὶν,

Σῆμά τε μοι χεῦναι πολίης ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης

Ἀνδρὸς δυσήνοιο κ' ἐσσομένοισι πυδέσθαι.

Ταῦτά κ'ε μοι τελέσαι, πῆξαι τ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ ἑρετμόν,

Τῷ κ' ζωὸς ἔρυσσον, ἂν μετ' ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισιν.

Whatever arms remain to me when dead,

Shall with my corse upon the pile be laid ;

Then o'er my grave a lasting mon'ment rear,

Which to posterity my name shall bear ;

This do, then fix the oar upon my tomb,

With which I us'd to cut the silver foam.

H. H.

Misenus

Misenus, Æneas's trumpeter, has both his arms, oar and trumpet fixed upon his grave (a);

*At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque.*

A tomb of vast extent Æneas rear'd,
Where the dead corps was decently interr'd,
And on't his arms, his oar, and trumpet fix'd.

It was customary for the Spartan matrons, when there had been a fight near home, to examine the bodies of their dead sons; and such as had received more wounds behind than before, they conveyed away privately, or left them in the common heap; but those who had a greater number of wounds in their breasts, they carried away with joy and triumph, to be repositied amongst their ancestors (b): They were carried home upon their bucklers; whence that famous command of the mother to her son, related in Plutarch (c), ἡ τὰν, ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ, i. e. *either bring this* (meaning his buckler) *home with you, or be brought upon it*: To which custom Ausonius alludes (d);

Arma super veheris quid, Thrasymbule, tua?

Why are you thus upon your buckler borne,
Brave Thrasymbulus?

The Athenians used to place the bodies of their dead in tents, three days before the funeral, that all persons might have opportunity to find out their relations, and pay their last respects to them: Upon the fourth day, a coffin of cypress was sent from every tribe, to convey the bones of their own relations; after which went a covered herse, in memory of those whose bodies could not be found: All these, accompanied with the whole body of the people, were carried to the public burying place, called *Ceramicus*, and there interred: One oration was spoken in commendation of them all, and their monuments adorned with pillars, inscriptions, and all other ornaments usual about the tombs of the most honourable persons. The oration was pronounced by the fathers of the deceased persons, who had behaved themselves most valiantly. Thus, after the famous battle of Marathon; the fathers of Callimachus and Cynægirus were appointed to make the funeral oration (e). And upon the return of the day upon which the solemnity was first held, the same oration was constantly repeated every year (f). This was their ordinary practice at Athens (g); but those valiant men who were slain in

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the

(a) Virgil Æneid. VI. v. 232. (b) Ælianus Var. Hist. Lib. XII. Cap. XXI.
(c) Apophthegmat. (d) Epigram. XXIV. (e) Polemo in Argumento τῶν Ἐπι-
ταφίων λόγων. (f) Cicero de Oratore. (g) Thucydides, Lib. III.

Πελὺ Λεωνίδῳ κατιδὼν δέμας αἰτοδαΐκτον
 Ξέρξης, ἐχλαίνε Φάρει πορφυρέῳ
 Κῆκ νεκύων δ' ἤχησεν ὁ τὰς Σπάρτας μέγας Ἡρώς·
 " Οὐδέχομαι προδόταις μισθὸν ὀφειλόμενον.
 " Ἀσπίς μοι τύμβος κόσμος μέγας, ἔρρε τὰ Περσῶν,
 " Ἡζὼ κ' εἰς αἶδην ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος.

Whilst Xerxes mov'd with pitying care beheld
 Th' unhappy Spartan, who himself had kill'd ;
 The royal Persian, with officious haste,
 His purple robe about the body cast ;
 'Till dying Leonidas silence broke,
 And thus that gen'rous Spartan hero spoke :
 " Forbear, fond prince, this unbecoming pride,
 " No Persian pomp shall e'er these relics hide.
 " Soft purple palls are only us'd by those,
 " Who have betray'd their country to their foes ;
 " My buckler's all the ornament I'll have,
 " 'Tis that which better shall adorn my grave.
 " Than 'scutcheon, or a formal epitaph ;
 " My tomb thus honour'd, I'll triumphant go,
 " Like some brave Spartan, to the shades below."

H. H.

This custom was not peculiar to Sparta, but practised all over Greece ; where, besides their arms, it was usual to add the badge of whatever other profession they had born. Elpenor, appearing in the shades below to Ulysses, entreats him to fix the oar he used to row with upon his tomb, and to cast his arms into the funeral pile (a) ;

Ἀλλὰ με κάκκηαι σὺν τέχεσιν ἅσσα μοι εἰσιν,
 Σῆμά τε μοι χεῖναι πολίης ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης
 Ἀνδρὸς δυσήνοιο κ' ἐσσομένοισι πυδέσθαι.
 Ταῦτά κ' ἐμοὶ τελέσαι, πῆξαι τ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ ἐρετμόν,
 Τῷ κ' ζωὸς ἔρυσσον, ἔων μετ' ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισιν.

Whatever arms remain to me when dead,
 Shall with my corse upon the pile be laid ;
 Then o'er my grave a lasting mon'ment rear,
 Which to posterity my name shall bear ;
 This do, then fix the oar upon my tomb,
 With which I us'd to cut the silver foam.

H. H.

Misenus

Misenus, Æneas's trumpeter, has both his arms, oar and trumpet fixed upon his grave (a);

*At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque.*

A tomb of vast extent Æneas rear'd,
Where the dead corps was decently interr'd,
And on't his arms, his oar, and trumpet fix'd.

It was customary for the Spartan matrons, when there had been a fight near home, to examine the bodies of their dead sons; and such as had received more wounds behind than before, they conveyed away privately, or left them in the common heap; but those who had a greater number of wounds in their breasts, they carried away with joy and triumph, to be repositied amongst their ancestors (b): They were carried home upon their bucklers; whence that famous command of the mother to her son, related in Plutarch (c), *ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ, i. e. either bring this (meaning his buckler) home with you, or be brought upon it:* To which custom Ausonius alludes (d);

Arma super veheris quid, Thrasybule, tua?

Why are you thus upon your buckler borne,
Brave Thrasybulus?

The Athenians used to place the bodies of their dead in tents, three days before the funeral, that all persons might have opportunity to find out their relations, and pay their last respects to them: Upon the fourth day, a coffin of cypress was sent from every tribe, to convey the bones of their own relations; after which went a covered herse, in memory of those whose bodies could not be found: All these, accompanied with the whole body of the people, were carried to the public burying place, called *Ceramicus*, and there interred: One oration was spoken in commendation of them all, and their monuments adorned with pillars, inscriptions, and all other ornaments usual about the tombs of the most honourable persons. The oration was pronounced by the fathers of the deceased persons, who had behaved themselves most valiantly. Thus, after the famous battle of Marathon, the fathers of Callimachus and Cynægirus were appointed to make the funeral oration (e). And upon the return of the day upon which the solemnity was first held, the same oration was constantly repeated every year (f). This was their ordinary practice at Athens (g); but those valiant men who were slain in

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(a) Virgil Æneid. VI. v. 232.

(b) Ælianus Var. Hist. Lib. XII. Cap. XXI.

(c) Apophthegmat.

(d) Epigram. XXIV.

(e) Polemo in Argumento τῶν Ἑπὶ

τεφίων λόγων.

(f) Cicero de Oratore.

(g) Thucydides, Lib. III.

the battle of Marathon, had their bodies interred in the place where they fell, to perpetuate the memory of that wonderful victory.

It may be observed farther, that in their lists the names of the soldiers deceased were marked with the letter θ , being the initial of θ ανόντες, i. e. *dead*; those of the living with τ , the first in τ ηρέμενοι, i. e. *preserved*: Which custom was afterwards taken up by the Romans (a).

C H A P. XII.

Of their Booty taken in War, their Gratitude to their Gods after Victory, their Trophies, &c.

THEIR booty consisted of prisoners and spoils. The prisoners that could not ransom themselves were made slaves, and employed in the service of their conquerors, or sold.

The spoils were distinguished by two names, being either taken from the dead, and termed $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\lambda\alpha$, or from the living, which they called $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varphi\upsilon\rho\alpha$: They consisted of whatever moveables belonged to the conquered, whose right and title, by the law of arms, passed to the conquerors (b).

Homer's heroes no sooner gain a victory over any of their rivals, but, without farther delay, they seize their armour. Instances of this are as numerous as their combats. But, however this practice might be usual among the great commanders, who rode in chariots to the battle, fought by themselves, and encountered men of their own quality in single combat; yet inferior soldiers were not ordinarily permitted such liberty, but gathered the spoils of the dead, after the fight was ended: If they attempted it before, they were even then looked upon to want discipline. Nestor gives the Grecians a particular caution in this matter (c);

Νέστωρ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἐκέλευτο, μακρὸν αὖσας
 Ω φίλοι ἦρωες Δαναοί, δερᾶποντες Ἀρηῶ,
 Μήτις νῦν ἐνέρων ἐπιβαλλόμενος, μετόπισθε.
 Μιμνέτω, ὥς κεν πλεῖστα φέρων ἐπὶ νῆας ἵκηται,
 Ἀλλ' ἄνδρας κτείνωμεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔκρηλοι
 Νικηρὲς ἀμπεδίον σὺλητέτε τεθνεώτας.

Then Nestor thus began his sage advice;
 My friends, and valiant Greeks, be timely wise,

Auspicious

(a) Ruffinus in Hieronymum, Paulus Diaconis, De Notis Literarum, Isidorus Hispal. Lib. I. Cap. XXIII. (b) Plato de Legibus, Lib. I. Iliad. ζ'. v. 66.

Auspicious sons of Mars, let no delay,
No hopes of fordid booty cause your stay ;
But with united force rush on the foe,
Add certain death to each becoming blow ;
'Twill then be time enough for to prepare
To seize the booty of the horrid war,
To drag your mangled foes along the plain,
When welt'ring in their blood they lie all slain.

H. H.

This method was taken in succeeding ages ; for no sooner were their battles ended, but they fell to stripping and rifling the dead carcases of their enemies : Only the Lacedemonians were forbidden to meddle with the spoils of those they had conquered (*a*) ; the reason of which prohibition being demanded of Cleomenes, he replied, " That it was improper to offer the spoils of cowards to the gods, and unworthy " a Lacedemonian to be enriched by them (*b*) " ; but this seems only a pretence, since there are several instances of their dedicating part of their booty to the gods ; the true reason perhaps may be collected from the constitution of their state, whereby an equality was maintained amongst them, and nothing more severely prohibited, or more repugnant to the very foundation of their government, than to acquire or possess large estates : Wherefore, to prevent their soldiers from seizing upon the spoils, they had always three hundred men appointed to observe their actions, and to put the law in execution against delinquents (*c*).

The whole booty was brought to the general, who had the first choice, divided the remainder amongst such as had signalized themselves according to their quality and merits, and allotted the rest equal portions : Thus, in the Trojan war, when the captive ladies were to be chosen, Agamemnon, in the first place, took Astynome Chryses's daughter, next Achilles had Hippodamia daughter to Brises, then Ajax chose Tecmessa, and so on (*d*) ; whence Achilles complains of Agamemnon, that he had always the best part of the booty ; himself, who sustained the burden of the war, being content with a small pittance (*e*) ;

Οὐ μὲν σοί ποτε ἴσον ἔχω γέρας, ὅππότε Ἀχαιοὶ
Τρώων ἐκπέρσωσ' ἐνναϊόμενον πτολίεθρον.
Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πολυαῖκος πολέμοιο
Χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπρωσ'. ἄταρ ἢν ποτε δασμὸς ἴκηται,
Σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μείζον, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τε, φίλον τε
Ερχομ' ἔχων ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπὴν κικάρω πολέμιζων.

Yet when the Greeks some Trojan town invade,
And distribution of the spoils is made,

O 2

How

(*a*) Ælianus, Lib. VI. Cap. VI.

(*c*) Eustathius Iliad. ζ. v. 66.

v. 299.

(*e*) Iliad. ε. v. 163.

(*b*) Plutarchus Apophthegm. Laconicis.

(*d*) Isaac. Tzetzes in Lycophronicis Cassandra.

How small a part, compar'd to thine, I bear,
 I who have borne the burden of the war!
 Nor do you envy me in this the largest share.
 But when the so much wish'd for time arrives,
 That to each Greek th' allotted portion gives,
 Laden with spoils you haste into your tent,
 Whilst I with fighting quite fatigu'd and spent,
 Come to the navy with a grateful heart
 For that small pittance they to me impart.

H. H.

And whenever any booty of extraordinary value was taken, we find the soldiers reserving it for a present to their general, or the commander of their party: Instances of this sort are frequent, as in other writers, so especially in Homer; Ulysses's company always honoured him with the best and choicest part of what they took. Herodotus (a) reports, that after the victory over Mardonius, Xerxes's lieutenant, Pausanias the Spartan, being at that time general of all the Grecian forces, was presented with a great booty of women, money, horses, camels, &c. over and above what was given to any other: This practice indeed was so universal, that to be a commander, and to have the first share of the booty, are used by the poets as equivalent expressions: whence Lycophron (b),

Πολλὰς δ' ἀριστεῖς, πρωτόλειά δ' Ἑλλάδος
 Αἰχμῇ φέροντας, καὶ σποραῖς ἀγκυμένους
 Αἰσαὶ καταζάνουσιν ὁμοειμένοι χεῖρες.

Thy hands shall mighty potentates subdue,
 And brave commanders that the prize first share,
 Chiefs too, that so much boast their pedigree.

But before the spoils were distributed, they looked on themselves obliged to make an offering out of them to the gods, to whose assistance they were indebted for them all; those separated to this use were termed ἀκροθίνια, either γ. ἀκροθίνια, παρὰ τὸ σίνεσθαι ἐν μάχῃ πολλὰς, because the war, wherein they were collected, had destroyed many (c); or, ἀπὸ τῆς θινός, because after sea engagements they were exposed upon the shore (d); or rather, from their being taken ἀπ' ἀκρὸς τῆς θινός, from the top of the heap; because all the spoils being collected into one heap, the first-fruits were offered to the gods (e): In allusion to which custom, Megara in Euripides, telling what choice of wives she had made for her sons out of Athens, Sparta and Thebes, thus expresseth it,

Εγὼ δὲ νύμφας ἀκροθινιαζόμεν.

The

(a) Calliope (b) Cassandra, v. 298. (c) Eustathius Odyss. 8. (d) Buler-
 gerus, Lib. de Spoliis. (e) Sophocles Scholiafles Trachin.

The gods, to whom this honour was paid, were not only those, whom they looked on as having a peculiar concern in all affairs of war, such as Mars, Minerva, &c. but several others, as Jupiter, Juno, and any to whom they thought themselves obliged for success, those especially that were protectors of their city, or country, &c.

They had several methods of consecrating spoils: sometimes they collected them into an heap, and consumed them with fire; sometimes they made presents, which were dedicated and hung up in temples; so Pausanias the Spartan is reported to have consecrated out of the Persian spoils a tripod to Delphian Apollo, and a statue of brass, seven cubits long, to Olympian Jupiter (a).

It was very frequent to dedicate their enemy's armour, and hang it in temples; but the Lacedemonians were forbidden this custom; which perhaps may be the meaning of Cleomenes's forementioned reply; for that they were allowed to offer their other spoils, appears as from that of Pausanias, so from several other instances. This custom was very ancient (b), and universally received; nor in Greece alone, but most other countries: Hence Hector promises to dedicate his enemy's armour in Apollo's temple, if he would vouchsafe him victory (c):

Εἰ δὲ κ' ἐγὼ τὸν ἔλω, δῶν δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων,
Τεύκεια συλῆσας, οἶσω ποτὶ Ἴλιον ἱεῖν,
Καὶ κρεμῶν ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκατόιο.

If kinder Phœbus my proceedings bless,
And crown my bold attempt with good success,
Make Hector conquer, whilst his foe shall bleed,
And give me the honour of so brave a deed,
When I've despoil'd my foe, his arms I'll bring,
And there devote them in his temple.—

H. H.

Virgil alludes to this custom in his description of the temple, where Latinus gave audience to Æneas's ambassadors (d):

*Multaque præterea sacris in postibus arma,
Captivi pendent currus, curvæque secures,
Et crista capitum, et portarum ingentia claustra,
Spiculaque, clypeique, ereptaque rostra carinis.*

Axes and arms did sacred posts adorn,
And chariots from the conquer'd nations borne,
Crests too, and massy bars of gates, and spears,
And beaks of ships, and bucklers.—

5

Many

(a) Herodotus, Lib. IX.

(b) Eustathius Iliad. v. 81.

(c) Iliad. loco citato.

(d) Æneid. VII. v. 183.

Many other instances to the same purpose occur in authors. This custom seems to have been derived into Greece from the eastern nations, where no doubt it was practised; what else can be the meaning of Goliath's sword being repositied in the Jewish place of worship (a)?

Nor was it customary only to dedicate to the gods weapons taken from enemies, but their own likewise, when retired from the noise of war to a private life; which seems to have been done as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods, by whose protection they had been delivered from dangers. Horace alludes to this custom (b):

———*Vejanus, armis*
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Vejanus now consults his private ease,
Desists from war, and seeks retir'd peace,
Having hung up his arms to Hercules.

Ovid also speaks to the same purpose (c):

Miles ut emeritis non est satis utilis armis,
Ponit ad antiquos, quæ tulit, arma lares.

The batter'd soldier, harass'd out with age,
Not able longer in the war t' engage,
Devotes the arms which formerly he bore,
To's household gods, for their assisting pow'r.

But lest these arms should furnish malcontents, in sudden tumults and insurrections, they seem to have been usually some way or other rendered unfit for present service: The bucklers, for instance, were hung up without handles; whence a person, in one of the poets, seeing them otherwise, cries out in a fright,

Οἱ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας,

Unhappy wretch! the bucklers handles have.

The reason may be collected from the foregoing verses, where another saith,

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον, ἐκ προνοίας
Ταύτας εἶν' αὐτοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀναλεθῆναι.

If you sincerely wish the public good,
You should not suffer any to devote
Bucklers with handles.———

As

(a) 1 Sam. XXI. 9.

(b) Lib. I. Epist. I. v. 4.

(c) Trist. Lib. IV.

As a farther expression of their gratitude to the gods, it was customary to offer solemn sacrifices, and return public thanks to them. Here it may be observed, that the Lacedemonians, for their greatest successes by force of arms, offered no more than a cock to the god of war, but when they obtained a victory by stratagem, and without blood, they sacrificed an ox (*a*); whereby they gave their generals to understand, that policy as well as valour was required in a complete warrior, and that those victories were to be preferred, whereby they suffered the least damage; excelling herein the Roman constitution, which rewarded with greater honours the victors in open field, than those who gained a conquest by policy, which was esteemed less noble and becoming Romans; wherefore those were permitted to enter the city in triumph, but the latter were only honoured with an ovation (*b*). It may not be improper in this place to add, that the Grecians had a custom which resembled the Roman triumph, for the conquerors used to make a procession through the middle of their city, crowned with garlands, repeating hymns and songs, and brandishing their spears; the captives were also led by them, and all their spoils exposed to public view, to do which, they called *θιατριζεν* (*c*).

Trophies were called by the ancient Athenians *τροπαῖα*, by succeeding ages *τρόπαια* (*d*): They were dedicated to some of the gods, especially Jupiter, surnamed *Τρόπαιος*, and *Τροπαιῆχος* (*e*), and Juno, who shared in her husband's title, being called *Τροπαῖα* (*f*); whence Lycophron (*g*),

——— *Τροπαίης μασὸν εὐθελὸν θεῖς.*

The manner of adorning trophies, was hanging up all sorts of arms taken from the enemy, according to Euripides (*b*);

——— *Τρόπαια ἰδρύεται
Παντευχίαν ἔχοντα τῶν πολεμίων.*

All sorts of arms, that from the foe he took,
He hung about the trophy which he rais'd.

Hence also Juvenal (*i*) speaking of the Roman triumphal arches,

*Bellorum exuviae, truncis affixa tropæis
Lorica, & fracta de casside buccula pendens,
Et curtum temone jugum, victæque irremis
Aplustre.*———

The

(*a*) Plutarchus Institut. Laconic. (*b*) Idem Marcello. (*c*) Phavorinus.
(*d*) Aristophanis Scholiastes Pluto. (*e*) Pausanias Laconicis, Plutarchus Parallelis.
Phurnutus. (*f*) Phavorinus. (*g*) Cassandra, v. 1328. (*b*) Heraclid. v. 786.
(*i*) Satir. X. v. 133.

The spoils of war brought to Feretrian Jove,
 An empty coat of armour hung above
 The conqueror's chariot, and in triumph borne
 A streamer from a boarded galley torn,
 A chap-fall'n beaver loosely hanging by
 The cloven helm.——

Dryden.

To these they usually added the names of the god they were dedicated to, of the conquerors also, and of those overcome by them, with an account of all the spoils, and other remarkable occurrences in the war; this inscription was called ἐπιγραφή, or ἐπίγραμμα; and was frequently engraved, whence Lucian saith ἐπὶ τῷ τροπαίῳ ἐγκολᾶται; sometimes written with ink, whence Othryades the Lacedemonian, just surviving his victory over the Argians, caused a trophy to be erected, upon which, being supported by his spear, he inscribed with his own blood, instead of ink, Διὶ Τροπαιοχῶ (a).

The spoils were hung upon the trunk of a tree; the olive was frequently put to this use, being the emblem of peace, which is one of the consequents of victory: Several other trees also had the same honour, especially the oak, as being consecrated to Jupiter, who had a peculiar right to these respects; there is frequent mention of this in the poets: Sidonius (b),

—— quercusque tropæis
 Curvo gemit ——

The bended oak beneath the trophies groans.

Statius describes the same custom (c);

*Quercus erat teneræ jamdudum oblita juvenæ,
 Huic leves galeas, perfossaque vulnere crebro
 Inferit arma.——*

There stood an ancient oak, whose sprightly juice
 Decay'd by age cou'd not like life infuse
 Through ev'ry part, on this bright helmets hung,
 And batter'd arms.——

Virgil also concurs herein with them in several places, and adds farther, that Æneas's trophy was upon a hill; whence it may seem probable, that it was customary to set them upon eminent places, to render them more conspicuous: His words are these (d):

Vota

(a) Plutarchus Parallelis, Stobæus Tit. De Fortuna.
 (c) Thebaid.

(d) Æneid. XI. v. 4.

(b) Panegyric.



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Panegyric.

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*Vota Deum primo victor solvebat Eoo ;
Ingentem quercum, decisis undique ramis,
Constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, trophæum,
Bellipotens ; aptat rorantes sanguine cristas,
Telaque trunca viri, & bis sex thoraca petulum
Perfossūque locis, clypeumque ex ære sinistræ
Subligat, atque ensē collo suspendit eburnum.*

Soon as the morn her weaker beams display'd,
His vows to heaven the pious victor paid :
A stately oak, whose branches all around
Were first lopt off, he plac'd on rising ground,
With 'glitt'ring arms the hallow'd trunk he grac'd,
The spoils of king Mezentius, deceas'd ;
Which trophy, mighty arbiter of war,
The grateful prince did to thy honour rear ;
He hung his nodding plume, besmear'd with blood,
And broken spears upon the leafless wood ;
Then round the stock his much-pierc'd corslet bound,
The sad remembrance of each ghastly wound,
And on the left side fix'd the brazen shield,
With which Mezentius lost the fatal field.
Then round his neck the leathern belt he cast,
And in't his iv'ry hilted sword he plac'd.

H. H.

In the same manner, Pompey having subdued the Spaniards, erected a trophy upon the top of the Pyrenean mountains.

Instead of trees, succeeding ages erected pillars of stone, or brass, to continue the memory of their victories ; to raise these, they termed *ισάναι τρόπαιον*, which expression was likewise applied to the erection of trees ; for if the place they pitched upon was void of trees fit for their purpose, it was usual to supply that defect by fixing one there, as appears from the forementioned passage of Virgil.

To demolish a trophy was looked on as unlawful, and a kind of sacrilege, because they were all consecrated to some deity : Nor was it less a crime to pay divine adoration before them, or to repair them when decayed, as may be likewise observed of the Roman triumphal arches ; this being a means to revive the memory of forgotten quarrels, and engage posterity to revenge the disgrace of their ancestors : For the same reason those Grecians who first introduced the custom of erecting pillars for trophies, incurred a severe censure from the ages they lived in (a).

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P

The

(a) Plutarchus Romanis Quæstionibus.

The Macedonians never erected trophies, obliged hereto by a prescription observed from the reign of Caranus, one of whose trophies was demolished by wolves (*a*); which was the reason that Alexander the Great, however vain-glorious in other instances, never raised a trophy: As for those erected by the Macedonians of succeeding ages, in their wars with the Romans, they were inconsistent with the ancient custom of their country. In some ages after this, they seem to have been wholly laid aside.

Yet they were not still wanting to raise monuments to preserve the memory of their victories, and to testify their gratitude to the gods; some of which are likewise mentioned in authors, before the disuse of trophies. Sometimes statues were erected to the gods, especially to Jupiter, as appears from that which Pausanias dedicated out of the Persian spoils (*b*), and several others: there is frequent mention of this custom in Euripides (*c*),

——— Διὸς τροπαῖον ἰσάναι βρέτας,

Again,

——— Τροπαῖον Ζηνὸς ὀρθῶσαι βρέτας.

Several other instances may be produced: Sometimes the same god was honoured with a temple on such accounts, as appears from the story of the Dorians, who having overcome the Achæans, raised a temple to Jupiter Τροπαῖον (*d*).

Sometimes they erected towers, which they adorned with the spoils of their enemies; which was likewise a Roman custom, and practised by Fabius Maximus, and Domitius Ænobarbus, after the victory over the Allobroges (*e*).

It was also customary to raise altars to the gods; an instance whereof we have in Alexander, who, returning from his Indian expedition, erected altars in height scarce inferior to the most lofty towers, and in breadth exceeding them (*f*).

CHAP. XIII.

Of their Military Punishments and Rewards, with their Manner of conveying Intelligence.

THE Grecians had no constant method of correcting their soldiers, but left that to the discretion of their commanders; only in some few cases the laws made provision.

Αὐτομόλοι, runagates suffered death.

Ἀσεβέντες, such as refused to serve in the wars, and such as quitted their ranks, by one of Charondas's laws, were obliged to sit three days

(*a*) Pausanias, p. 315.
Laconicis.
Lib. V.

(*b*) Herodotus, Lib. IX.
(*e*) Lucius Florus, Lib. III. Cap. II.

(*c*) Phœniss. (*d*) Pausanias
(*f*) Arrianus Exped. Alexand.

days in the public forum in women's apparel (*a*). At Athens ἀσρά-
τουτοι, such as refused to serve in the wars; λαιποτάκται, they who de-
serted their ranks; and δειλοί, cowards, were neither permitted to wear
garlands, nor to enter the ἱερὰ δημοτηλῇ, public temples: And were far-
ther obliged by the Undecimviri to appear in the court called Heliæa,
where a fine, or other punishment was inflicted according to their de-
merit. If a fine was inflicted, the criminal was kept in bonds till he
made payment (*b*). To these are to be reckoned ῥηψάσπιδες, they who
lost their bucklers, which was accounted a token of extreme cowardice.
Hence, a law came to be enacted, that whoever should object this
crime to any person undeservedly, should be fined (*c*). But of all
others, the Lacedemonians inflicted the heaviest punishments on all
such offenders; for their laws obliged them either to conquer, or to
die upon the place; and such as quitted their bucklers, laid under as
great disgrace, as if they had forsaken their ranks. Runagates were
not only deprived of all honours, but it was likewise a disgrace to in-
termarry with them; whoever met them in the streets, had liberty to
beat them, nor was it permitted them to resist in their own defence;
and to make them more remarkable, whenever they went abroad, they
were obliged to wear a nasty habit, their gowns were patched with
divers colours, and their beards half sheaved, half unshaved (*d*). Their
scandal was likewise extended to their whole family, and therefore their
mothers frequently atoned for their crime, by stabbing them at their
first meeting; which was a common practice, and frequently alluded
to in the Greek epigrams; in one of which, a Spartan matron having
run her son through, thus insults over him,

Εἶρρε, κακὸν φύτουμα, διὰ σκότος, ἔ' διὰ μισ-
Εὐρώτας δειλαῖς μηδ' ἐλάφοισι ῥίοι·
Αχρεῖον σκυλάκουμα, κακὴ μερίς, ἔρρε ποδ' αἶδαν,
Εἶρρε, τὸ μὴ Σπάρτας ἄξιον, ἐδ' ἔτεκον.

Be gone, degenerate offspring, quit this light,
Eurotas is concern'd at thy loth'd sight,
For see he stops his course, ashamed to glide
By that polluted coast where you abide;
Hence then, unprofitable wretch, speed to the dead,
And hide in hell thy ignominious head;
Base dastard soul, unworthy to appear
On Spartan ground; I never did thee bear.

H. H.

Several others may be produced to the same purpose; and where the
same fate befel those that lost their bucklers. Now the reason being
demanded of Demaratus, why they punished so severely those who
quitted

P 2

(*a*) Diodorus Siculus. (*b*) Æschines in Ctesiphontem, Demosthenes in Timocra-
tem. (*c*) Lysias Orat. 4. in Theomnestum. (*d*) Plutarchus Agesilao.

quitted their bucklers, when the loss of their helmet, or coat of mail, was not looked on to be so scandalous, he replied, *That these were only designed for the defence of single persons, whereas bucklers were serviceable to the whole battalion.* Archilochus the poet was banished from Sparta for publishing the following epigram, wherein he glories in the loss of his buckler (a):

Ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἣν περὶ θάμνω,
 Ἐντὸς ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον ἐκ ἐθέλων.
 ——— ἀσπίς ἐκείνη
 Ἐρρέτω· ἐξαυθις κτήσομαι ἔκαστω.

To pawn their arms was also accounted a crime, and seems to have been forbidden by a law at Athens, as the Greek Scholiast hath observed in his explication of the following passage of Aristophanes (b):

Ποίαν γὰρ ἔθάρρακα, ποίαν ἀσπίδα,
 Οὐκ ἐνέχυρον τίθῃσιν ἢ μιαιωνάτη.

Where the poet describes the misfortunes to which men are exposed by poverty. Among the Romans, any soldier who pawned his shoulder-piece, or any other of the less considerable parts of his armour, was corrected with stripes: But such as pawned their helmet, buckler, coat of mail, or sword, were punished as deserters (c).

Beside the rewards of valour already mentioned in the foregoing chapters, there were several others: The private soldiers were put into office, and the subordinate officers were honoured with greater commands. It was likewise customary for the general to reward those that signalized themselves with large presents; whence Telamon, being the first that gained the top of Troy's walls, when it was besieged by Hercules, had the honour to have Hesione the king's daughter for his captive: Theseus was presented by the same hero with Antiope the Amazonian queen, for his service in the expedition against the Amazons. The poets frequently introduce commanders encouraging their soldiers with promises of this nature: Thus, Agamemnon animates Teucer to behave himself courageously, by assuring him of a considerable reward, when the city should be taken (d);

Πρώτῳ τοι μετ' ἐμὲ προσέηκον ἐν χειρὶ θῆσω,
 Ἡ τρίποδ', ἢ δὴν ἵππας αὐτοῖσιν ὀχεσφιν,
 Ἡ γυναιχ' ἢ κέν τοι ὁμὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνοι.

Next after mine, yours is the best reward,
 A tripod, or a chariot stands prepar'd

For

(a) Strabo Geograph. Lib. XII. Plutarchus Institut. Lacon. p. 239. Edit. Paris.
 (b) Pluti Aet. II. Scen. IV. (c) Paulus libro singulari de Poenis Militum.
 (d) Iliad. ℥. v. 289.

For your acceptance; else some captive maid
Shall, big with charms, ascend your joyous bed.

H. H.

Ascanius, in Virgil, makes no less promises to Nisus (a);

*Bina dabo argento perfecta, atque aspera signis
Pocula, devicta Genitor quæ cepit Arisba,
Et tripodas geminos, auri duo magno talenta;
Cratera antiquum, quem dat Sidonia Dido:
Si vero capere Italiam, sceptrisque potiri
Contigerit victori, & prædæ ducere sortem;
Vidisti quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis
Aureus, ipsum illum clypeum, cristasque rubentes
Excipiam sorti, jam nunc tua præmia, Nise:
Præterea bis sex genitor lectissima matrum
Corpora, captivosque dabit, suaque omnibus arma;
Insuper id campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus.*

Your common gift shall two large goblets be
Of silver wrought with curious imagery,
And high emboss'd, which, when old Priam reign'd,
My conqu'ring fire at sack'd Arisba gain'd;
And more, two tripods cast in antic mould,
With two great talents of the finest gold,
Beside, a costly bowl engrav'd with art,
Which Dido gave, when first she gave her heart:
But if in conquer'd Italy we reign,
When spoils by lot the victor shall obtain,
Thou saw'st the courser by proud Turnus prest;
That Nisus, and his arms, and nodding crest,
And shield from chance exempt shall be thy share;
Twelve lab'ring slaves, twelve handmaids young and fair,
All clad with rich attire, and train'd with care,
At last, a Latian field with fruitful plains,
And a large portion of the king's domains.

Dryden.

Several other promises they encouraged them with, according to every man's temper or condition: Wherefore Ascanius thus proceeds to Euryalus, Nisus's companion in danger;

*Te vero, mea quem spatius propioribus atas
Insequitur, venerande puer, jam pectore toto
Accipio, & comitem casus complector in omnes;
Nulla meis sine te quæretur gloria rebus,*

Seu

(a) Æneid. IX. 263.

*Seu pacem, seu bella geram, tibi maxima rerum,
Verborumque fides.*—

But thou, whose years are more to mine ally'd,
No fate my vow'd affection shall divide
From thee, heroic youth; be wholly mine,
Take full possession, all my soul is thine;
One faith, one fame, one fate shall both attend,
My life's companion, and my bosom friend,
My peace shall be committed to thy care,
And to thy conduct my concerns in war.

Dryden,

Sometimes crowns were presented, and inscribed with the person's name and actions that had merited them, as appears from the inscription upon the crown presented by the Athenians to Conon, Κόνων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους.

Others were honoured with leave to raise pillars, or erect statues to the gods, with inscriptions declaring their victories; which Plutarch supposeth to have been a grant rarely yielded to the greatest commanders: Cimon indeed was favoured therewith, but Miltiades and Themistocles could never obtain the like; nay, when Miltiades only desired a crown of olive, one Sochares stood up in the midst of the assembly, and replied, *When thou shalt conquer alone, Miltiades, thou shalt triumph so too*; which words were so agreeable to the populace, that his suit was rejected. The reason why Cimon was more respected than the rest, our author (a) thinks, was because under other commanders they stood upon the defensive; but by his conduct they not only repulsed their enemies, but invaded them in their own country. But perhaps a more true and real account may be taken from the change of times; for the primitive ages seem not to have been so liberal in the distribution of rewards as those that succeeded; for later generations degenerating from their ancestors, and producing fewer instances of magnanimity and true valour, the way to honour became easier, and men of common performances without difficulty obtained rewards, which before were only paid to persons of the first rank for virtue and courage (b).

Another honour conferred at Athens upon the valiant, was to have their arms placed in the citadel, and to be called *Cecropidæ*, citizens of the true old blood; to which custom the poet alludes,

Οὐ καλλινίκης Κεκροπίδας ἔθνη' ἐγώ.

Some were presented with a *πανοπλία*, or complete suit of armour; as we find of Alcibiades, when he was very young, and returned from the expedition against Potidæa (c).

Others

(a) Plutarchus Cimone. (b) Æschines in Ctesiphontem. (c) Plutarchus Alcibiade.

Others were complimented with songs of triumph, the first of which were composed in honour of Lyfander the Spartan general (a).

They who lost any of their limbs in the war, whom they called ἀδύνατοι, were maintained at the public expence, provided they had not an estate of three Attic pounds yearly: on which account they were examined by the senate of five hundred. Their allowance was an obolus by the day. Some affirm they had two oboli every day. Others relate, that they received nine drachmæ, that is, fifty-four oboli, every month. And it is probable, that their maintenance was raised or diminished according to the exigency of affairs, as hath been elsewhere observed concerning the military stipend. This custom of maintaining disabled soldiers was introduced by Solon, who is said to have given an allowance to one Therippus: Afterwards it was established by a law during the tyranny of Pisistratus (b).

Many other honours were paid to such as deserved well of their country; but I shall only mention one more, which consisted in the care of the children of such as valiantly sacrificed their lives for the glory and preservation of the Athenian commonwealth (c): They were carefully educated at the public charge, till they came to maturity, and then presented with a complete suit of armour, and brought forth before the people, one of the public ministers proclaiming before them, "That hitherto, in remembrance of their fathers merits, the commonwealth had educated these young men, but now dismissed them so armed, to go forth, and thank their country by imitating their fathers examples." For their farther encouragement, they had the honour of προσεδρία, or having the first seats at shows, and all public meetings.

The laws of Solon made a farther provision for the parents of those that died in the wars, it being extremely reasonable that they should be maintained at the public expence, who had lost their children, the comfort and support of their declining age, in the service of the public (d).

It may not be improper to add something concerning their way of sending intelligence: This was done several ways, and by several sorts of messengers; such were their Ημεροδρομοί, who were lightly armed with darts and hand-grenadoes, or bows and arrows (e): one of these was Phidippides, famous in the story of Miltiades, for his vision of Pan (f).

But the contrivance, of all others the most celebrated for close conveyance of intelligence, was the Lacedemonian σκυτάλη, which was a white roll of parchment wrapped about a black stick; it was about four cubits in length (g), and so called from σκύτος, i. e. skin. The manner and use of it was thus: When the magistrates gave commission

(a) Plut. Lyfandro.

Suid. v. Ἀδύνατοι.

genes Laert. Solone.

(g) Pindari Schol. Olymp. Ode VI.

(b) Plut. Solone, Lyfias πρὸς ἀδύνατους, Hesych. Harpocr.

(c) Æsch. in Ctesiph.

(e) Suidas.

(d) Plato Menexeno, Dio-

(f) Cornelius Nepos Miltiade.

sion to any general or admiral, they took two round pieces of wood, exactly equal to one another; one of these they kept, the other was delivered to the commander, to whom, when they had any thing of moment to communicate, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff, one fold close upon another, they wrote their business upon it; then taking it off, dispatched it away to the commander, who, applying it to his own staff, the folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the writing, and the characters, which, before it was wrapped up, were confusedly disjoined and unintelligible, appeared very plain (a).

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Invention, and different Sorts of Ships.

MOST of those useful arts, and admirable inventions, which are the very support of mankind, and supply them with all the necessities and conveniencies of life, having at first been the productions of some lucky chance, or from slight and contemptible beginnings, have been, by long experience, curious observations, and various improvements, matured, and brought to perfection: Instances of this kind are every where frequent and obvious, but none can be produced more remarkable than in the art of navigation, which, though now arrived to a pitch of perfection beyond most other arts, by those successful additions it has received from almost every age of the world, was in the beginning so mean and imperfect, that the pleasure or advantage of those who first applied themselves to it, was very small and inconsiderable.

Those who adventured to commit themselves to the liquid element, made their first essays in shallow waters, and trusted not themselves at any considerable distance from the shore; but being emboldened by frequent trials, proceeded farther by degrees, till at length they took courage, and launched forth into the main ocean. To this purpose Claudian (b).

*Inventa secuit primus qui nâve profundum,
Et rudibus remis sollicitavit aquas,
Tranquillis primum trepidus se credidit undis,
Littora securo tramite summa legens;
Mox longos tentare sinus, et linquere terras,
Et leni cœpit pandere vela noto:
At ubi paulatim præceps audacia crevit,
Cordaque languentem dedidicere metum,*

(a) Plut. Lyfandro, Aristoph. Schol. in Avibus, A. Gellius, &c.

(b) Præfat. in Rap. Proserpinæ.

*Jam vagus irrupit pelago, cælumque secutus,
Ægeas hyemes, Ioniasque domat.*

Whoever first with vessels cleav'd the deep,
And did with uncouth oars the water sweep,
His first attempt on gentle streams he made;
And near the shore, affrighted, always staid;
He launch'd out farther next, and left the land,
And then erected sails began to stand;
Till by degrees, when man undaunted grew,
Forgetting all those fears before he knew,
He rush'd into the main, and harmless bore,
Guided by stars, the storms that loudly roar
In the Ægean and Ionian seas. —————

E. D.

To whom the world is obliged for the invention of ships, is, like all things of such antiquity, uncertain: There are divers persons who seem to make equal pretensions to this honour; such are Prometheus, Neptune, Janus, Atlas, Hercules, Jason, Danaus, Erythræus, &c.; but by common fame it is given to Minerva, the happy mother of all arts and sciences. Some, who leaving these antiquated fables of the poets, pretend to something more of certainty in what they deliver, ascribe it to the inhabitants of some of those places that lie upon the sea-coasts, and are by nature designed, as it were, for harbouring ships, such as the Æginetians, Phœnicians (a), &c. The reason of this disagreement seems to have proceeded partly from the different places where navigation was first practised (for it was never peculiar to any one people, and from them communicated to the rest of the world, but found out in countries far distant from one another), and in part from the various sorts of ships, some of which being first built by the persons above-mentioned, have entitl'd them to the whole invention.

The first ships were built without art or contrivance, and had neither strength nor durableness, beauty nor ornament; but consisted only of planks laid together, and just so compacted as to keep out the water (b): In some places they were nothing else but hulks of trees made hollow, which were called *πλοῖα μονόξυλα*, as consisting only of one piece of timber; of these we find mention in Virgil,

*Tunc alnos fluvii primum sensere cavatas,
Navita tum stellis numeros, & nomina fecit.*

Then hollow alders first on rivers swam,
Then to the stars both names and numbers came,
Impos'd by mariners. —————

Vol. II.

Q

In

(a) Plin. Lib. V. Cap. XII. Strabo, Lib. XVI. Mela, Lib. I. Cap. XII.

(b) Maximus Tyr. Dissert. Isidorus.

(c) Georgic. Lib. I. ver. 136.

In later ages, also, they were made use of at some places, being the same with those called σκάφη, in the strict and most proper acceptation of that word (*a*), from σκάπτειν, as made by hollowing, and, as it were, digging in a tree. Nor was wood alone applied to this use, but any other materials that float upon the water without sinking, such as the Egyptian reed papyrus, or (to mention no more) leather, of which the primitive ships were frequently composed, and called πλοῖα διφθέρια, or δερμάτινα. These were sometimes begirt with wickers, and frequently used in that manner upon the rivers of Ethiopia, Egypt, and Sabæan Arabia, even in later times; but in the first of them, we find no mention of any thing but leather, or hides sewed together: In a ship of this sort, Dardanus secured his flight to the country afterwards called Troas, when, by a terrible deluge, he was forced to leave Samothrace, his former place of residence (*b*). Charon's infernal boat was of the same composition, according to Virgil (*c*),

—————*Gemit sub pondere cymba*
Sutis, & multam accepit rimosa paludem.

Under the weight the boat of leather groan'd,
And leaky grown, th' impetuous water found
An easy passage through.—————

When ships were brought to a little more perfection, and increased in bigness, the sight of them struck the ignorant people with terror and amazement; for it was no small surprise to behold great floating castles of unusual forms, full of living men, and with wings (as it were) expanded, flying upon the sea (*d*): What else could have given occasion to the fiction of Perseus's flight to the Gorgons, who, as Aristophanes (*e*) expressly tells us, was carried in a ship:

Περσεὺς πρὸς Ἀργεὺς ναυσολῶν τὸ Γοργόνης παρακοιμίζων.

What other original could there be for the famous story of Triptolemus, who was feigned to ride upon a winged dragon, only because, in a time of dearth at Athens, he sailed to more fruitful countries to supply the necessities of his people; or to the fable of the winged horse Pegasus, who, as several mythologists (*f*) report, was nothing but a ship of that name with sails, and for that reason feigned to be the offspring of Neptune the emperor of the sea (*g*)? Nor was there any other ground for the stories of griffins, or of ships transformed into birds and fishes, which we frequently meet with in the ancient poets.

(*a*) Polyænus, Lib. V. (*b*) Lycophronis Cassandr. ejusque Scholiastes, ver. 75.
(*c*) Æneid. VI. 414. (*d*) Apollonius, ejusque Scholiastes. (*e*) Theophrastus.
(*f*) Palæphatus, Artemidorus. (*g*) Vossius Idol, Lib. III. Cap. XLIX.

So acceptable to the first ages of the world were inventions of this nature, that whoever made any improvements in the art of navigation, built new ships, of forms better fitted for strength or swiftness than those before used, rendered the old more commodious by any additional contrivance, or discovered countries, untraced by former travellers, were thought worthy of the greatest honours, and (like other common benefactors to mankind) ascribed into the number of the deified heroes; they had their inventions also consecrated, and fixed in the heavens: Hence we have the signs of Aries and Taurus, which were nothing but two ships; the former transported Phryxus from Greece to Colchos, the latter Europa out of Phœnicia into Crete: Argo likewise, Pegasus, and Perseus's whale, were new sorts of ships, which being had in great admiration by the rude and ignorant mortals of those times, were, in memory of their inventors, translated amongst the stars, and metamorphosed into constellations by the poets of those, or the succeeding ages. Thus much concerning the invention of ships.

At their first appearance in the world, all ships, for whatever use designed, were of the same form; but the various ends of navigation, some of which were better answered by one form, some by another, soon gave occasion to fit out ships, not in bigness only, but in the manner of their construction and equipment, differing from one another. Not to trouble you with a distinct enumeration of every little alteration, which would be endless, they were chiefly of three sorts, ships of *burden*, of *war*, and of *passage*. Ships of *passage* were distinguished by several names, taken usually from their carriages; those that served for the transportation of men, being called by the general names of *πορεία* and *ἐπιβάδες*; or, when filled with armed men, by the particular titles of *ἐπιταγῶνοι*, and *στρατιώτιδες*; those in which horses were transported, were named *ἵππηγοι*, *ἵππαχῶνοι*, and *hippagines*, to mention no more.

Ships of *burden* were called *ὀλκάδες*, *φορτηγοι*, and *πλοῖα*, to distinguish them from ships of war, which were properly termed *νῆες*: they were usually of an orbicular form, having large and capacious bellies to contain the greater quantity of victuals, provisions, and other necessities, with which they were laden; whence they are sometimes called *στρογγύλαι*, as on the contrary, ships of war we find named *μακραι* (a), being extended to a greater length than the former, wherein they agreed in part with the transport vessels, which were of a form betwixt the ships of war and burden, being exceeded by the latter in capacity, by the former in length. There was likewise another difference amongst these ships; for men of war, though not wholly destitute of sails, were chiefly rowed with oars, that they might be the more able to tack about upon any advantage, and approach the enemy on his weakest side; whereas the vessels governed by sails, being left to the mercy of the winds, could not be managed by so steady a conduct; hence the ships of war were usually styled *ἐπικωποί*, and *κωπήναι*.

Q 2

Ships

(a) Ulpianus in Demosth. Orat. adv. Leptinem.

Ships of burden were commonly governed with sails, and those of transport often towed with cords: not but that in both these all the three ways of government, viz. by sail, oar and cords, were upon occasion made use of.

Ships of war are said to have been first rigged out by Parhalus, or Samyres, or others by Semiramis, but according to some (a) by Ægeon. They were further distinguished from other sorts of ships by various engines, and accessions of building, some to defend their own soldiers, others to annoy enemies, an account of which shall be inserted in the following chapters; and from one another in later ages, by several orders, or ranks of oars, which were not, as some vainly imagine, placed upon the same level in different parts of the ship; nor yet, according to others, directly and perpendicularly above one another's heads; but their seats, being fixed one at the back of another, ascended gradually in the manner of stairs. The most usual number of these banks was three, four, and five; whence there is so frequent mention of νῆες τριῆρεις, τετράρεις, and πεντήρεις, i. e. trireme, quadrireme, and quinquereme galleys, which exceeded one another by a bank of oars, and consequently were built more high, and rowed with greater strength. In the primitive times, the long ships had only one bank of oars, whence they are sometimes termed μονήρεις, and κέλητες, from the name of a single horse; and and therefore, when we find them called πεντακόντοροι, and upwards as far as εκατόντοροι, we are not to suppose they were rowed with fifty, or an hundred banks, but only with so many oars: One of these was the ship Argo, which was rowed with fifty oars, being the first of the long ships, and invented by Jason; whereas, till that time, all sorts of vessels had been of a form more inclining to oval: Others (b) carry the invention of long ships something higher, referring it to Danaus, who, they tell us, sailed from Ægypt into Greece in a ship of fifty oars; and however Jason should be allowed to have introduced them in Greece, yet he cannot be thought their first contriver, but rather imitated the Egyptian or African model, the latter of which was some time before composed by Atlas, and much used in those parts. The first that used a double bank of oars, were the Erythræans (c); which was further enlarged by Aminocles of Corinth with the accession of a third, as Herodotus, Thucydides and Diodorus the Sicilian report; but Clement of Alexandria (d) will have this invention to belong to the Sidonians: To these Aristotle, a Carthaginian, added a fourth; Nesithon of Salamis (according to Pliny). or Dionysius the Sicilian (according to Diodorus), a fifth; Xenagorus the Syracusan, a sixth; Nesigiton increased the number to ten; Alexander the Great to twelve; Ptolemy Soter to fifteen; Philip, father to Perseus, had a ship of sixteen banks (e); then (it being easy to make additions, the method of erecting one bank above another once found out), Demetrius the son of Antigonus built a ship of thirty banks, and

(a) Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. VII. Cap. ult. (b) Apollodorus Biblioth. Lib. II.
(c) Plinius. (d) Stromat. I. (e) Polybius in Fragment. et Livius.

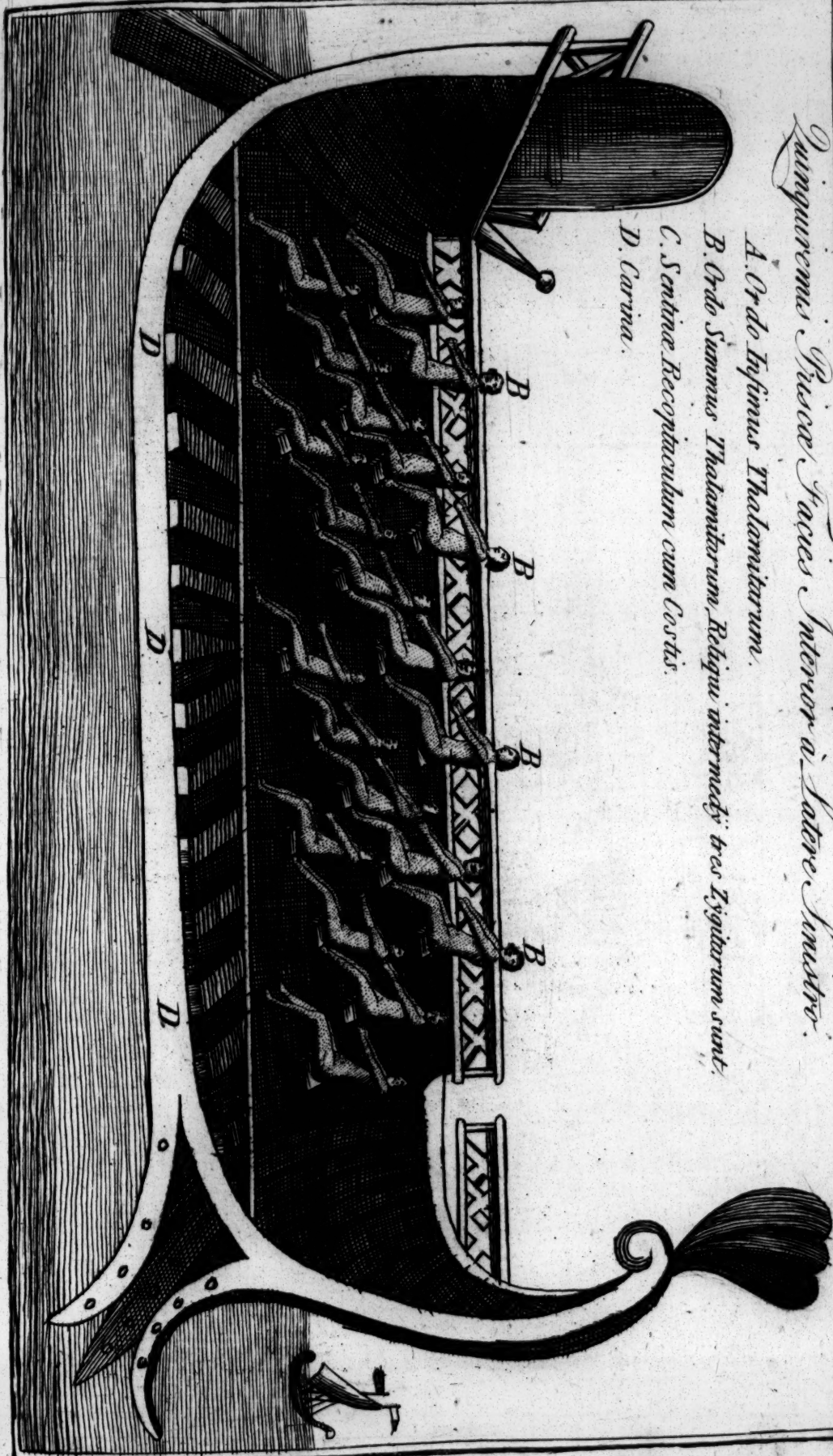
Quinquiesmus Præce Facies Interior à latere Sinistro.

A. Ordo Infimus Thalamitarum.

B. Ordo Summus Thalamitarum, Reliqui intermedii tres Zygitarum sunt.

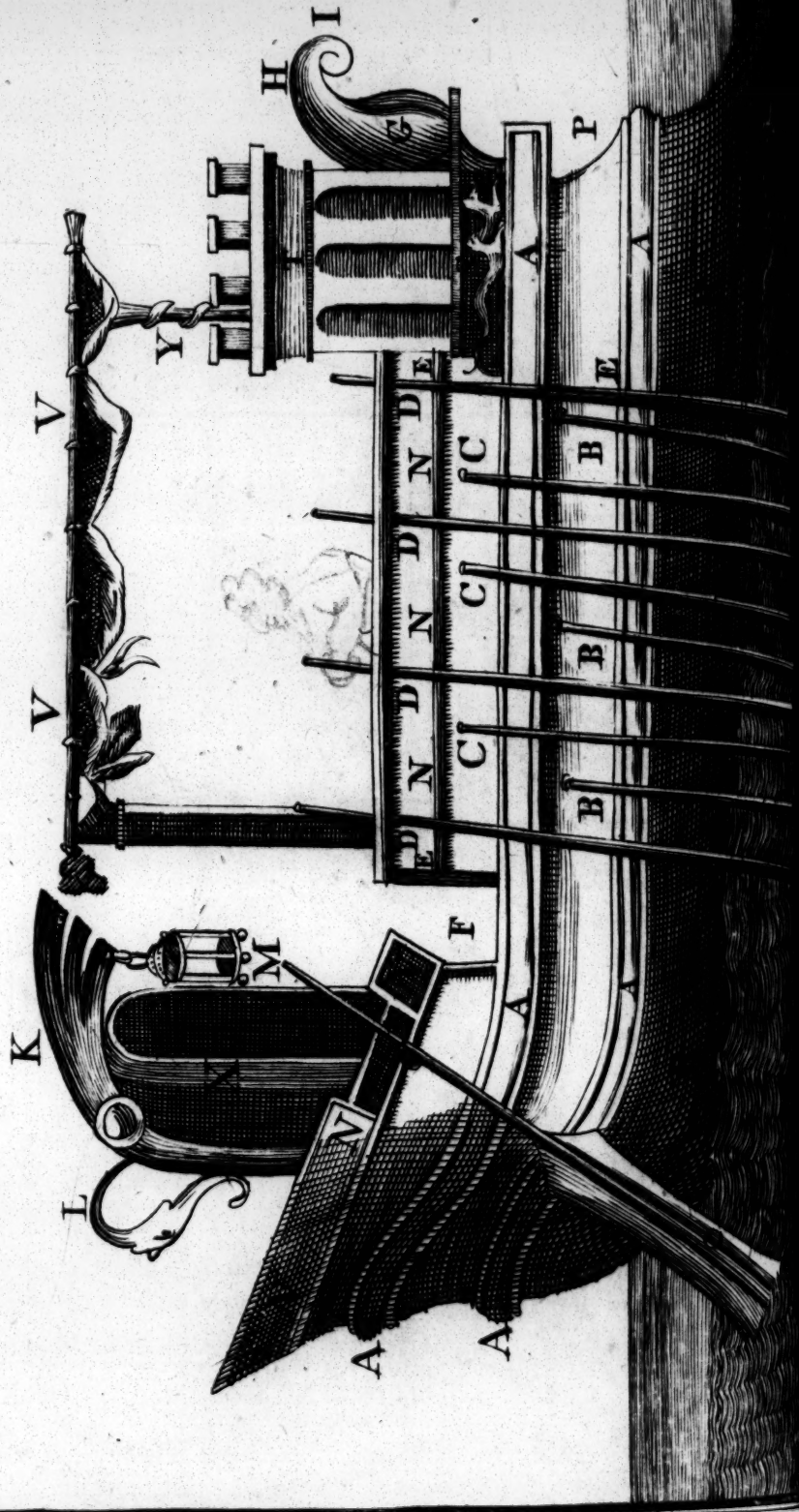
C. Sentinae Receptaculum cum Costis.

D. Carina.



Turrem Præcipue Effigies.

*Al'no'alu'ala, Vel Sponde B. Thalamus. C. Zyga. D. Ithraus. E. Totum Spacium his litteris inclusum Græcis est ἑρμαῖον.
F. Paradus, vel ager. G. Stolis. H. Acrostoli locus, Nam ipsum abest. I. Oculis, vel Scutulum. K. Aplustre. L. Anser-
culus. M. Lucerna, in quofaces, Seu lumina nocturna. N. Peritoneum. O. Gubernaculum. P. Dextrum, Sinistrum
non conspicitur. Q. Parasemi locus, ipsum abest. R. Rostrum. S. Intela. T. Turris. V. velum Com-
plicatum Cum antenna. X. Dieta. Y. Stylus Cum tenia.*



and Ptolemy Philopater, out of a vain-glorious humour of out-doing all the world besides, farther enlarged the number to forty (*a*), which (all other parts bearing a just proportion) raised the ship to that prodigious bigness, that it appeared at a distance like a floating mountain, or island, and upon a nearer view, seemed like a huge castle upon the floods. It contained four thousand rowers, four hundred mariners employed in other services, and almost three thousand soldiers. But this, and such like fabrics served only for show and ostentation, being by their great bulk rendered unwieldy, and unfit for use. Athenæus tells us the common names they were known by, were Cyclades, or Ætna, i. e. islands or mountains, to which they seemed almost equal in bigness, consisting, as some report, of as many materials as would have been sufficient for the construction of at least fifty triremes.

Beside those already mentioned, there were other ships with half banks of oars; such as ἡμιολία or ἡμιόλος, which seems to have been betwixt an unireme and bireme, consisting of a bank and an half; likewise τετραημιολία, betwixt a bireme and trireme, having two banks and an half: these, though perhaps built in other respects after the model of the long ships, or men of war, are seldom comprehended under that name, and sometimes mentioned in opposition to them. Several other ships are mentioned by authors, which differed from those already enumerated, being fitted for particular uses, or certain seas, employed upon urgent necessities in naval fights, but more commonly as ὑπηρέτικαι, tenders, and victualling ships, to supply the main fleet with provisions, and sometimes built for expedition to carry expresses, and observe the enemy's motions without danger of being seized by the heavier, and armed vessels. These were distinguished from the former by the manner of their construction and equipment, being in part like the men of war, partly resembling the ships of burden, and in some things differing from both, as the various exigencies they served in, seemed to require.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Parts, Ornaments, &c. of Ships.

HAVING treated of the different sorts of ships used amongst the ancient Grecians, I shall, in the next place, endeavour to describe the principal parts whereof they consisted, the ignorance of which has occasioned many mistakes and much confusion in those who have conversed with authors of antiquity. Herein I shall chiefly follow the account

(*a*) Plut. Demetrio, Athenæus, Lib. V.

account of Scheffer, who hath so copiously treated on this subject, and with such industry and learning collected whatever is necessary to its illustration, that very little room is left for further enlargement.

Now the principal parts of which ships consisted, were three, viz. the *belly*, the *prow*, and the *stern*: These were again composed of other smaller parts, which shall briefly be described in their order.

1. In the *belly*, or middle part of the ship, there was *τρόπις*. *carina*, or the *keel*, which was composed of wood, and therefore, from its strength and firmness called *σειρή*: It was placed at the bottom of the ship, being designed to cut and glide through the waves (a), and therefore was not broad, but narrow and sharp; whence it may be perceived that not all ships, but only the *μακραί*, whose bellies were strait, and of a small circumference, were provided with keels, the rest having usually flat bottoms (b). Round the keels were placed pieces of wood, to save it from receiving damage when the ship was first launched into the water, or bulged against rocks; these were called *χειλίσματα*, in Latin *cunei*, according to Ovid (c),

*Jamque labant cunei, spoliataque tegmine ceræ
Rima patet.*——

The wedges break, and, loosing all its wax,
A hole lets in the water.——

Next to the keel was *φάλλις* (d); within which was contained the *μντήλια*, or *pump*, through which water was conveyed out of the ship (e).

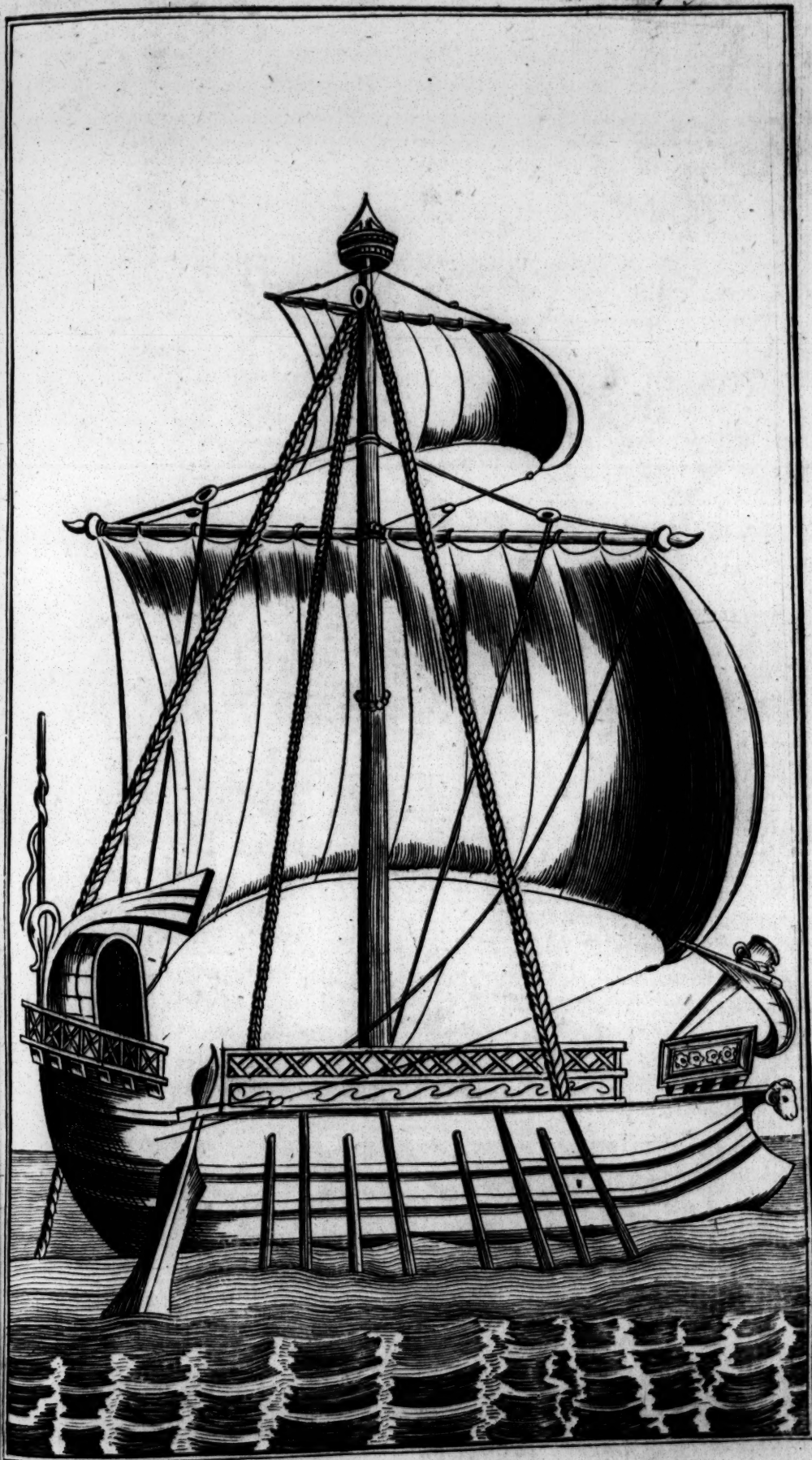
After this was *τρίτη τροπις*, or *second keel*, being placed beneath the pump, and called *λίσθιον*, *χαλχρήνη*, *κλειτοπόδιον* (f): By some it is falsely supposed to be the same with *φάλλις*.

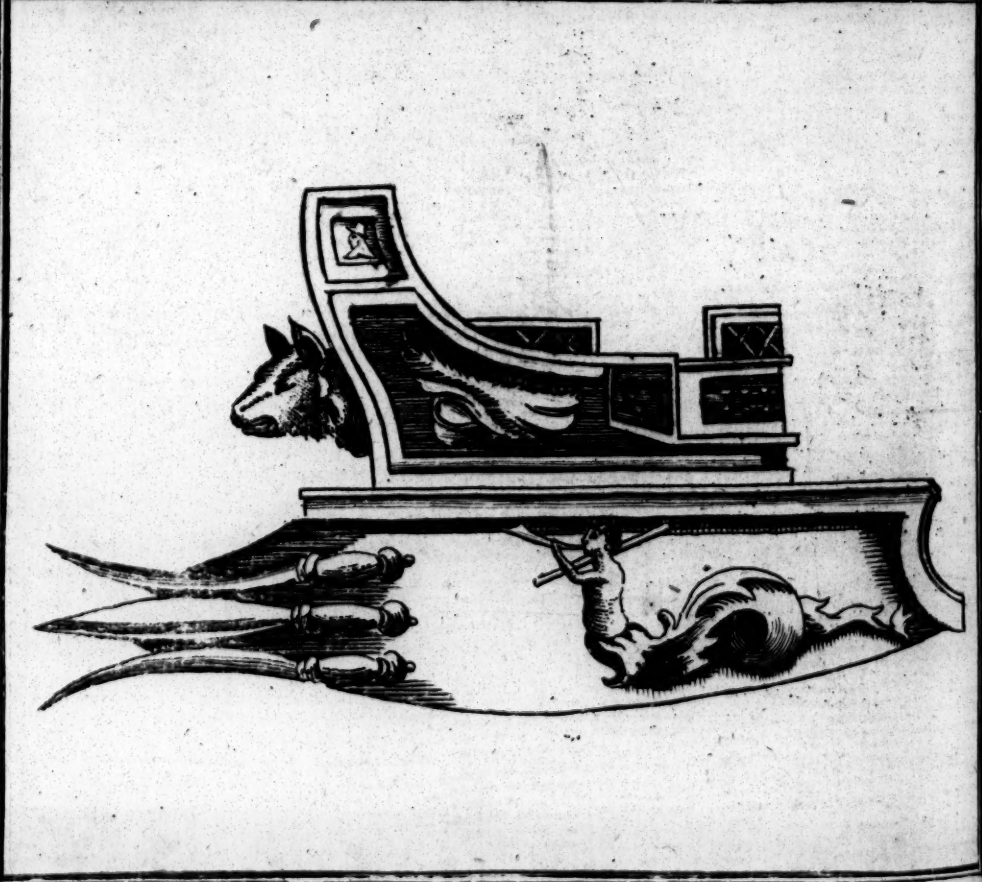
Above the pump was an hollow place, called by Herodotus *κοίλη τῆς γῆς*, by Pollux *κύνθη* and *γάστρα* (because large and capacious, after the form of a vessel or belly), by the Latins, *testudo*. This was surrounded with ribs, which were pieces of wood rising from the keel upwards, and called by Hesychius *νομῆς*, by others *ἐγκοίλια* (the belly of the ship being contained within them), in Latin, *costæ*: Upon these were placed certain planks, which Aristophanes calls *ἐντερανείας*, or *ἐντερανίδας*.

Hence proceed we to the *πλευραί*, *lateræ*, or sides of the ship, which encompassed all the former part on both hands: These were composed of large rafters, extended from prow to stern, and called *ὑποζώματα* (g), *ζωσῆες* (h), and *ζωμιάματα* (i), because by them the whole fabric was begirt or surrounded.

In

(a) Homeri Scholiast. Odyss. μ'. (b) Isidor. Lib. XIX. Cap. I. (c) Metam. XI. v. 516. (d) Pollux. (e) Aristoph. Schol. Equit. (f) Pollux. (g) Plate de Rep. Lib. X. (h) Heliodorus Æthiopis. (i) Aristop. Equitibus.





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In both these sides, the rowers had their places, called τοῖχοι, and ἰθάλια, in Latin *fori* and *transtra*, placed above one another: The lowest was called θάλαμος, and those that laboured therein θαλάμιοι: The middle ζυγά, and the men ζυγιοί: The uppermost θράνοι, whence the rowers were termed θρανῖται (a). In these were spaces through which the rowers put their oars; these were sometimes one continued vacuity from one end to the other, called τράφηξ, but more usually distinct holes, each of which was designed for a single oar; these were styled τρήματα, τρυπήματα, as also ὀφθαλμοί, because not unlike the eyes of living creatures: All of them were by a more general name termed ἔγκωπα, from containing the oars (b); but ἔγκωπιν seems to have been another thing, signifying the spaces between banks of oars on each side, where the passengers seem to have been placed: On the top of all these, was a passage, or place to walk in, called πάραδος, and παράθρανος, as joining to the θράνοι, or uppermost bank of oars.

2. Πῶρα, the prow or fore-deck, whence it is sometimes called μέτωπον, the forehead, and commonly distinguished by other metaphorical titles taken from human faces. In some ships there is mention of two prows, as likewise of two sterns. Thus was Danaus's ship adorned by Minerva, when he fled from Egypt. It was customary to beautify the prow with gold, and various sorts of paint and colours. In the primitive times, red was most in use; whence Homer's ships were commonly dignified with the titles of μιλοπαῖρες, and φοινικοπαῖρες, or red-faced. The blue likewise, or sky colour, was frequently made use of, as bearing a near resemblance to the colour of the sea, whence we find ships called by Homer κυανόπρωροι, by Aristophanes κυανέμοδοι. Several other colours were also made use of, nor were they barely varnished over with them, but very often annealed by wax melted in the fire, so as neither the sun, winds, or water, were able to deface them. The art of doing this was called, from the wax, πηρογραφία; from the fire, ἑγκαυστική; it is described by Vitruvius (c), and mentioned in Ovid (d),

—————*Picta coloribus uestis*
Ceruleam matrem concava puppis habet.

The painted ship, with melted wax anneal'd,
Had Tethys for its deity. —————

In these colours, the various forms of gods, animals, plants, &c. were usually described, which were often added as ornaments to other parts also of the ships, as plainly appears from the ancient monuments presented to the world by Bayfius.

The

(a) Pollux.
(d) Fastorum, Lib. IV.

(b) Athenæus, Lib. V.

(c) Lib. VII. Cap. IX.

The sides of the prow were termed *πτερά*, or *wings*; and *παρία*, according to Scheffer, or rather *παρειαι*; for since the prow is commonly compared to an human face, it will naturally follow that its sides should be called cheeks. The top of these, as likewise of the stern, was called *παριζευρεσία* (*a*), because void of rowers.

3. *Πρύμνη*, the hind deck or stern, sometimes called *ἔρα*, the *tail*, because the hindmost part of the ship. It was of a figure more inclining to round than the prow, the extremity of which was sharp, that it might cut the waters; it was also built higher than the prow, and was the place where the pilot sat to steer: The bow of it was called *ἐπισείων*, the planks of which that was composed *τὰ περιτόνεια*. There was another place something below the top, called *ἀσάνδιον*, the interior part of which was termed *ἐνθέρμιον*.

Some other things there are in the prow and stern that deserve our notice; as those ornaments wherewith the extremities of the ship were beautified, commonly called, in general, *ἀκρόνια* (*b*), or *νεῶν κορωνίδες* (*c*), in Latin *corymbi*; which name is taken from the Greek *κόρυμβος* used in Homer,

——— νεῶν ἀποκόψιν ἄκρα κόρυμβος.

Though this word, in Greek, is not, as in the Latin, applied to the ornaments of both ends, but only those of the prow (*d*): These are likewise called *ἀκροσόλια*, because placed at the extremity of the *σόλος*, which was a long plank at the head of the prow, and therefore sometimes termed *περικεφαλαία* (*e*). The form of them sometimes resembled helmets, sometimes living creatures, but most frequently was winded into a round compass, whence they are so commonly named *corymbæ* and *coronæ*.

To the *ἀκροσόλια* in the prow, answered the *ἄφλας* in the stern, which are often of an orbicular figure, or fashioned like wings, to which a little shield, called *ἄσπιδιον*, or *ἀσπιδίσκη*, was frequently affixed: Sometimes a piece of wood was erected, whereon ribbands of divers colours were hung, and served instead of a flag (*f*) to distinguish the ship, and of a weather-cock, to signify the quarters of the wind.

Χηνίσκος, was so called from *χην*, a *goose*, whose figure it resembled, because geese were looked on as fortunate omens to mariners, for that they swim on the top of the waters, and sink not. This ornament, according to some, was fixed at the bottom of the prow, where it was joined to the foremost part of the keel, and was the part to which anchors were fastened when cast into the sea; but others carry it to the other end of the ship, and fix it upon the extremity of the stern (*g*).

Παράσημον was the flag, whereby ships were distinguished from one another: It was placed in the prow, just below the *σόλος*, being some

(*a*) Thucydides Scholiastes. (*b*) Suidas. (*c*) Homerus. (*d*) Etymologici Auctor. (*e*) Pollux. (*f*) Pollux, Eustathius. (*g*) Etymologici Auctor.

sometimes carved, and frequently painted, whence it is in Latin termed *pictura*, representing the form of a mountain, a tree, a flower, or any other thing; wherein it was distinguished from what was called *tutela*, or the safeguard of the ship, which always represented some of the gods, to whose care and protection the ship was recommended; for which reason it was held sacred, and had the privilege of being a refuge and sanctuary to such as fled to it; prayers also and sacrifices were offered, and oaths confirmed before it, as the mansion of the tutelar and presiding deity of the ship: Now and then we find it taken for the *παράσημον* (a), and perhaps some few times the image of the god might be represented upon the flags: By some it is placed also in the prow (b), but by most authors of credit assigned to the stern: Thus, Ovid (to omit more instances) in his epistle of Paris,

Accipit & pictos puppis adunca Deos.

The stern with painted deities richly shines.

Farther, the tutela and *παράσημον* are frequently distinguished in express words, that being always signified by the image of a god; this usually of some creature, or feigned representation: Hence, the same author (c),

*Est mihi, sitque, precor, flavæ tutela Minerva,
Navis & à pictâ casside nomen habet.*

Minerva is the goddess I adore,
And may she grant the blessings I implore;
The ship its name a painted helmet gives.

Where the tutelar deity was Minerva, the *παράσημον* the helmet. In like manner the ship wherein Europa was conveyed from Phœnicia into Crete, had a bull for its flag, and Jupiter for its tutelar deity; which gave occasion to the fable of her being ravished by that god in the shape of a bull. It was customary for the ancients to commit their ships to the protection of those deities, whom they thought most concerned for their safety, or to whom they bore any sort of relation or affection: Thus, we learn from Euripides (d), that Theseus's whole fleet, consisting of sixty sail, was under the care of Minerva the protectress of Athens; Achilles's navy was committed to the Nereids, or sea-nymphs, because of the relation he had to them on the account of his mother Thetis, who was one of their number; and (to mention no more) the Bœotian ships had for their tutelar god, Cadmus represented with a dragon in his hand, because he was the founder of Thebes, the

Vol. II.

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principal

(a) Lactantius, Lib. I. Cap. I. Servius Æneid. V. Glossæ veteres.
in Eusebii, Cap. II. Cyrillus in catena ad eundem Prophetam.
(d) Iphigenia.

(b) Procopius
(c) De Tristibus.

principal city in Bœotia. Nor were whole fleets only, but single ships recommended to certain deities, which the ancients usually chose out of the number of those who were reputed the protectors of their country or family, or presided over the business they were going about; thus merchants committed themselves and their ships to the care of Mercury, soldiers to Mars, and lovers to Venus and Cupid; so Paris tells his mistress in Ovid,

*Qua tamen ipse vehor, comitata Cupidine parvo
Sponsor conjugii stat Dea picta sui.*

Venus, who has betroth'd us, painted stands
With little Cupid on my ship.——

On the prow of the ship, about the *σόλος*, was placed a round piece of wood called *πρυγίς*, and sometimes *ὀφθαλμὸς*, the eye of the ship, because fixed in its fore-deck (a); on this was inscribed the name of the ship, which was usually taken from the flag, as appears in the fore-mentioned passage of Ovid, where he tells us his ship received its name from the helmet painted upon it; hence, comes the frequent mention of ships called Pegasi, Scyllæ, Bulls, Rams, Tygers, &c. which the poets took liberty to represent as living creatures that transported their riders from one country to another; nor was there (according to some) any other ground for those known fictions of Pegasus, the winged horse of Bellerophon, or the ram that is reported to have carried Phryxus to Colchos, with several others, that occur every where in the poets.

The whole fabric being completed, it was fortified with pitch to secure the wood from the waters; whence it comes that Homer's ships are every where mentioned with the epithet of *μέλαιναί*, or black. The first that made use of pitch, were the inhabitants of Phæacia (b), called afterwards Corfica. Sometimes wax was employed in the same use; whence Ovid (c),

Cærulea ceratas accipit unda rates.

The azure sea receives the waxy ships.

Now and then it was applied with a mixture of rosin, or other materials fit for the same purpose; whence the colour of ships was not always the same, and the epithets ascribed to them in the poets are various.

After all, the ship being bedecked with garlands and flowers, the mariners also adorned with crowns, she was launched into the sea with loud acclamations, and other expressions of mirth and joy (d); and
being

(a) Pollux, Eustathius, Apolonii Scholiastes Argon. Lib. I. v. 1089. (b) Suidas, V. *Ναυσίκαα*. (c) Epist. Oenon. v. 42. (d) Athenæus, Lib. V.

being purified by a priest with a lighted torch, an egg and brimstone (*a*), or after some other manner, was consecrated to the god whose image she bore.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Tackling, and Instruments required in Navigation.

THE instruments used in navigation were of divers sorts, being either necessary to all sorts of navigation, or only some form of it, as that by sails, or oars, &c. The chief of the former sort were as follow.

Πηδάλιον, *gubernaculum*, the rudder, placed in the hindmost deck, whereby the pilot directed the course of the ship. The smaller sort of ships had only one rudder, but those of greater bulk, as often as occasion required, had more, insomuch that sometimes we read of four rudders in one vessel: The places of these are uncertain, being perhaps not always the same; but it seems probable, that when there were only two rudders, one was fixed to the fore-deck, the other to the hindmost; whence we read of νῆες ἀμφίπρυμνοι, or ships with two sterns; when there were four rudders, one seems to have been fixed to each side of the vessel.

Ἀγκυρα, an anchor, the first invention of which, some ascribe to the Tyrrhenians (*b*); others to Midas the son of Gordius, whose anchor, Pausanias tells us, was preserved in one of Jupiter's temples till his days: Since there were divers sorts of anchors, it is not improbable that both these may justly lay claim to part of the invention. The most ancient anchors are said to have been of stone (*c*) and sometimes of wood, to which a great quantity of lead was usually fixed: In some places baskets full of stones (*d*), and sacks filled with sand, were employed to the same use: All these were let down by cords into the sea, and by their weight stayed the course of the ship. Afterwards, anchors were composed of iron, and furnished with teeth, which being fastened to the bottom of the sea, preserved the vessel immovable; whence ὀδόντες, and *dentes*, are frequently taken for anchors in the Greek and Latin poets. At first there was only one tooth, whence anchors were called ἑτεροσομοι (*e*); but in a short time a second was added by Eupalamus (*f*), or Anacharsis the Scythian philosopher (*g*): The Scholiast upon Apollonius (*b*) confidently affirms, that this sort of anchors was used by the Argonauts, yet herein he seems to deserve no

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great

(*a*) Athenæus Lib. V. (*a*) Apuleius Afin. Lib. XI. (*b*) Plin. Lib. VIII. Cap ult.
 (*c*) Apollonius Argonaut. Arrianus in Periplo Ponti Euxini. (*d*) Josephus & Suidas,
 v. Ζεύγμα. (*e*) Pollux. (*f*) Plin. Lib. VII. Cap. ult. (*g*) Strabo Lib. X. α
 Ephoro. (*b*) Argon. l. v. 1271,

great credit, for that he runs contrary to the testimonies of other writers, and his own author Apollonius makes mention of none but those of stone. The anchors with two teeth were called ἀμφίβολοι, or ἀμφίστομοι, and from ancient monuments appear to have been much what the same with those used in our days, only the transverse piece of wood upon their handles is wanting in all of them. Every ship had several anchors, one of which surpassing all the rest in bigness and strength, was peculiarly termed ἱερὰ. in Latin, *sacra*, and was never used but in extreme danger; whence *sacram anchoram solvere* is proverbially applied to such as are forced to their last refuge.

Ἔρμα, θυμέλιον, ἔρισμα, *faburra*, ballast, wherewith ships were poised, whence it is called ἀσφάλισμα πλοῖς; it was usually of sand, but sometimes of any other ponderous matter: Diomedes, in his voyage from Troy, is said to have employed the stones of that city's walls to this use (a). It is sometimes called κεφαλὸς and κέφαλον (b).

Βόλις, called by Herodotus καταπειρητήρη (c), by Lucilius, *catapirates* (d), was an instrument wherewith they sounded the depth of the sea, and discovered whether the bottom was firm and commodious for anchoring, or dangerous by reason of quick-sands, or other obstructions. It was commonly of lead or brass, or other ponderous metals, and let down by a chain into the deep (e).

Κοντοί, called by Sophocles πλῆκτρα (f), in Latin *conti*; long poles, used to sound the depth of shallower waters, to thrust the ship from rocks and shelves, and to force her forwards in fords and shallows where the waters had not strength enough to carry her.

Αποβάδραι, ἐπιβάδραι, or κλίμακες, were little bridges or stairs joining the land to ships, or one ship to another.

Αντλίων ἄντλον, in Latin, *hausstrum*, *tolleno*, or *tollena*, &c. a swipe or engine to draw up water.

To some of the above-mentioned instruments certain ropes were required, and distinguished according to their several uses; as,

Πείσματα, *ancoralia*, or *ancorarii*, the cables wherewith anchors were cast into the sea, called sometimes κάμιλοι (g), or κάμηλοι (h): Whence in the place of St. Matthew, where Christ speaking of the difficulty of a rich man's entering into heaven, tells his disciples, it is harder than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle; Theophylact and some others interpret the word κάμηλον, not of the animal called a camel, but a cable (i).

Ρύματα, ὀλκοί, or σπείραι, *parolcones*, *remulci*, ropes by which ships are towed.

Απογεία, ἐπιγεία, πείσματα, πρυμνήσια, *retinacula*, cords wherewith ships were tied to the shore. In most harbours stones were erected for this purpose, being bored through like rings, and thence called δακτύλιοι; to these the cords cast out of the stern were bound: This custom was always observed when ships came into port; and there.

(a) Lycophronis *Cassandr.* v. 618. (b) Hesychius. (c) Euterpe. (d) Lib. XIX. Cap. IV. (e) Glossæ in Act. Apost. Cap. XXVII. (f) Pollux. (g) Aris. Scholiastes. (h) Phavorinus. (i) Matthæi Evangel. Cap. XIX.

therefore, when they put to sea, it is usually said they did *solvere funes*, loose their cords: Instances of this are every where frequent; but I shall only give you one out of Ovid (a), who speaks thus of Æneas's followers,

*Æneadæ gaudent, cæsoque in littore tauro,
Torta coronatæ solvunt retinacula navis.*

A bull the joyful Trojans sacrific'd
Upon the shore, then loos'd the rope that ty'd
The ship all crown'd with garlands. —

The end of doing this, was, that the ships might be secured from the violence of the winds and waves; for which reason, in those commodious harbours that lay not exposed to them, ships remained loose and untied; whence Homer (b),

Εν δὲ λιμὴν εὐορμος, ἣν ἔχρεα πέσματος ἔστιν.

So still the port, there was no need of ropes.

I proceed to the instruments, which were only necessary to some sort of navigation; where I shall first treat of those required in rowing, which were as follow:

Κῶπαι, *remi*, oars, so called from one Copas, by whom, it is said, they were first invented. Πλάτη, in Latin, *palmula*, or *tonsa*, was the blade, or broad part of the oar, which was usually covered with brass, that it might with greater strength and force repel the waves, and endure the longer. There were several banks of oars placed gradually above one another; the oars of the lowest bank were shorter than the rest, and called θαλάμιαι, or θαλαμίδαι: Those of the middle banks were termed ζύγαι; those of the uppermost, θρανητικαὶ and θρανίτιδες, and were the longest, being at the greatest distance from the water; wherefore, that the rowers might be the better able to wield and manage them, it was customary to put lead upon their handles (c), lest the bottom should out-poise the top.

Σκαλμοὶ, were round pieces of wood, whereon the rowers hung their oars when they rested from their labours: Hence, ναὺς τρεῖςκαλμος, i. e. a ship with three rows of scalmi, or a trireme.

Τρόποι, τροπωτήρες, *stropbi*, or *struppi*, were leathern thongs (d), where-with the oars were hung upon the scalmi; those also with which the rudder was bound. Leather, and skins of beasts were applied also to several other uses, as to cover the scalmi, and the holes through which the oars were put forth, to preserve them from being worn (e). There were skins under the rowers, called ὑπηρέσια, and sometimes ὑπαγκώνια,

(a) Metam. Lib. XV. v. 695. (b) Odyss. i. v. 136. Vide Annotationes nostras in Lycophronis Cassandr. v. 20. (c) Athenæus, Lib. V. (d) Etymologici Auctor. Hemeri Scholiast. Odyss. δ' (e) Suidas, v. Διφθέρα.

κάνια, or ὑποπύγια τῶν ἐρετῶν, from saving the elbows or breeches of the rowers.

Εἰδάλια, σέλματα, ζυγά, in Latin, *transstra* and *juga*, were the seats of the rowers.

The instruments used in sailing were as follow :

Ἰσία, Φάσσωνες, ἄρμενα, *vela*, sails, which are by some thought to have been first invented by Dædalus, and to have given original to the fable of his using wings: Others refer this invention to Icarus, making Dædalus the contriver of masts and sail yards (a): At first there was only one sail in a ship, but afterwards a greater number was found convenient, the names of which were these:

Ἀρτέμων, by some taken for *supparum*, or the top-sail, which hung on the top of the mast.

Ἀκάτια, the great sails (b),

Δόλων, the *trinket*, or small sail in the fore-deck (c): Others make ἀκάτιον and δόλων the same.

Ἐπίδρομος, the *misen-sail*, which was larger than the former, and hung in the hind-deck (d).

Sails were commonly of linen, sometimes of any other materials fit for receiving and repelling the winds: In Dio (e), we have mention of leathern sails; it was likewise usual, for want of other sails, to hang up their garments; whence came the fable of Hercules, who is feigned to have sailed with the back of a lion, because he used no other sail but his garment, which was a lion's skin (f).

Κεραῖα, κέρατα, *antennæ*, the sail yards, pieces of wood fixed upon the mast, to which the sails were tied (g): The name signifies an horn; whence its extremities are called ἀκροκέραια, its arms inclining to an orbicular figure, are termed ἀγκύλαι. The Latin poet hath used *cornua* in the same sense (h).

———*Veloque superba capaci*
Cum rapidum hauriret boream, & cornibus omnes
Colligerit flatus.———

Other parts it had, close to the mast, called ἄμβολα, and σύμβολα, being those by which it was moved.

Ἰσός, *malus*, the mast. Every ship had several masts; but we are told by Aristotle, that at first there was only one mast, which being fixed in the middle of the ship, the hole into which the foot of it was inserted, was named μεσοδομη (i), in Latin, *modius*. When they landed, the mast was taken down, as appears every where in Homer, and placed on a thing called ἰσοδόκη, which, according to Suidas, was a case, wherein the mast was reposit; but Eustathius will have it to be nothing but a piece of wood, against which it was reared. The parts of the mast were these: Πῆγνα, or the foot. Δινὰς, or, according to

(a) Plin. Lib. VII. Cap. LVI. (b) Hesychius. (c) Suidas, v. Δόλων. Isidorus. (d) Hesychius, Isidorus. (e) Lib. XXXIX. (f) Servius Æn. VIII. (g) Homeri Scholiastes, Iliad. ε'. (h) Silius Italicus, Lib. XIV. (i) Homeri Scholiastes, Odyss. β'.

to Athenæus, λινός, or τράχηλος, to which the sail was fixed. Καρχήσιον, the pulley, by which the ropes were turned round. Θωράκιον, built in the manner of a turret, for soldiers to stand upon, and cast darts: Above this was a piece of wood, called ικρίον, the extremity of which was termed ἡλακάτη, on which hung a ribband called, from its continual motion, ἐπιστάων, turning round with the wind.

The names of the ropes required to the use of the above-mentioned parts, were these that follow, as enumerated by Scheffer:

Ἐπίτονοι were the ropes called in Latin *anquinae*, wherewith the sail-yards were bound to the main-mast (a): Others will have them to be the same with the Latin *rudentes*, which were those that governed the sail-yards, so as one part of the sails might be hoisted, the other lowered (b), according to the pleasure of the pilot. Others will have the cord wherewith the sail-yards were tied to the mast, to be termed κάλων, *ceruchus*, *anchonis*, and *rudens*; that whereby they were contracted or dilated, ὑπέρμα (c), in Latin *opifera* (d).

Πόδες, in Latin *pedes*, were cords at the corners of the sails (e), whereby they were managed as occasion required. Πρόποδες were small cords below the *pedes*, which were so contrived, as to be loosed and contracted by them: The use of both these was in taking the winds, for by them the sails were contracted, dilated, or changed from one side to another, as there was occasion.

Μεσσερίαι were those whereby the mast was erected or let down (f); others will have them to belong to the sails.

Πρότονοι were cords, which passing through a pulley at the top of the mast, were tied on one side to the prow, on the other to the stern, to keep the mast fixed and immoveable.

The materials of which these and other cords were composed, were at first seldom any thing but leathern thongs; afterwards they used hemp, flax, broom, palm-leaves, philyry, the bark of trees, as the cherry, teil-tree, vine, maple, carpine, &c.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Instruments of War in Ships.

WHAT I have hitherto delivered concerning the parts and construction of ships has been spoken of in general, without respect to any particular sort of them; it remains, therefore, that, in the next place, I give you a brief account of what was farther necessary to equip a man of war.

Ἐμβόλον, *rostrum*, was a beak of wood, fortified with brass; whence it is called χάλκωμα νῆων in Diodorus (g), and ships have sometimes the

(a) Suid. (b) Phavor. (c) Suid. (d) Isidor. (e) Aristoph. Schol. Equit. Act. I. Scen. I. Apollonii Schol. Vide meum, et Mearsii Comment. in Lycoph. Cassandr. v. 1015. (f) Apollonii Schol. (g) Lib. XX.

the epithet of χαλκίμβολοι: One or more of these was always fastened to the prow, to annoy the enemy's ships, and the whole prow was sometimes covered with brass, to guard it from rocks and assaults. The person that first used these beaks is said to have been one Pisæus, an Italian (a); for it will not be allowed that the primitive Greeks had any knowledge of them, since no such thing is mentioned in Homer, which could scarce have happened, had they been invented at the time of the Trojan war: Yet Æschylus (b) gives Nestor's ship the epithet of δακτύβολος, or armed with ten beaks, and Iphigenia in Euripides speaks of brazen beaks,

Μή μοι χαλκίμβολάδων
Πρύμνας ἄδ' Αὐλὶς δεῖξασθαι
Τῶσδ' εἰς ὄρμης. — — —

O! that these ships with brazen beaks
Had never enter'd Aulis ports.

But it may justly be questioned, whether these beaks do not take their description from the practice of their own times, a thing frequent enough with men of that profession. These beaks were at first long and high, but afterwards it was found more convenient to have them short and firm, and placed so low as to pierce the enemy's ships under water; this was the invention of one Aristo, a Corinthian, who communicated it to the Syracusans, in their war with the Athenians, against whom it proved a considerable advantage; for, by these new beaks, several of the Athenian men of war were overturned, or torn in pieces at the first shock (c). Above the beak was another instrument, called προμ-
βολίς; and it appears from ancient medals, that the beaks themselves were usually adorned with various figures of animals, &c.

Επωτίδες were pieces of wood placed on each side of the prow (d), to guard it from the enemy's beaks, because prows are usually compared to faces, these were thought to resemble ears, whence their name seems to have been derived; for those are mistaken that would have them belong to the hind-deck (e).

Καταστέματα, σανιδώματα, or hatches, sometimes called καταφράγματα, whence we meet with νέες πεφραγμέναι, κατάφρακτοι, and τετρα, covered ships, or men of war; which are frequently opposed to ships of passage or burden, which were ἀφρακτοι, and ἀπερτα, uncovered, or without hatches: This covering was of wood, and erected on purpose for soldiers, that they, standing as it were upon an eminence, might level their missile weapons with greater force and certainty against their enemies. In the primitive ages, particularly about the time of the Trojan war, we are told by Thucydides, that the soldiers used to fight upon the foremost and hindmost decks (f), and therefore, whenever we find Homer speak of ἰκρία νηός, which his

Scho-

(a) Plin. Lib. VII. Cap. LVI.

(d) Thucyd. Schol. Lib. VII.

(b) Μυρμιδόσιν.

(e) Etymolog. Auctor.

(c) Diod. Sic. Lib. XIII.

(f) Lib. I.

Scholiasts interpret *hatches*, we are only to understand him of these parts, which alone used to be covered in those days. Thus he tells us of Ajax defending the Grecian ships against the attack of the Trojans (a),

——— νηῶν ἐκρὶ ἐπ' ὤχετο μακρὰ βιβιάων.

He march'd upon the hatches with long strides.

And of Ulysses preparing himself for the encounter with Scylla, he speaks thus (b),

——— εἰς ἱκρία νηὸς ἔβαινε

Πρώτης.———

Upon the hatches of the foremost deck

He went.———

The other parts of the ship are said to have been first covered by the Thasians (c).

Beside the coverings of ships already mentioned, and called *καταφράγματα*, there were other coverings to guard the soldiers from their enemies, called *παραφράγματα*, *περιφράγματα*, *παραπιτάσματα*, *παραβολήματα*, *προκαλύμματα*, in Latin, *Plutei*, and sometimes *Propugnacula*: These were commonly hides, or such like materials, hung on both sides of the ship, as well to hinder the waves from falling into it, as to receive the darts cast from the adverse ships, that under these, as walls on both sides, the soldiers might, without danger, annoy their enemies.

Δελφιν, a certain machine, which, being usually a part of these ships, cannot be omitted in this place: It was a vast and massy piece of lead or iron cast in the form of a *dolphin*, and hung with cords and pulleys to the sail-yards or mast, which being thrown with great violence into the adverse ships, either penetrated them, and so opened a passage for the rising floods, or by its weight and force sunk them to the bottom of the sea (d).

Another difference betwixt men of war and other ships was, that the former commonly had an helmet engraven on the top of their masts (e).

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CHAP.

(a) *Iliad*. δ. (b) *Odyss.* μ'. (c) *Plin. Lib. VII. Cap. LVII.* (d) *Aristo-*
phanis Scholiastes, Suidas. (e) *Gyraldus de Navigat. Cap. XII.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Mariners and Soldiers.

WE are told by Thucydides, that amongst the ancients there were no different ranks of seamen, but the same persons were employed in those duties, which were in later ages executed by divers, to whom they gave the several names of rowers, mariners, and soldiers; whereas, at first, all these were the same men who laid down their arms to labour at the oar, and perhaps what was farther necessary to the government of their ships, but, as often as occasion required, resumed them to assault their enemies: This appears every where in Homer, out of whom I shall observe this one instance;

ἕρεται δ' ἐν ἑκάσῃ πεντήκοντα
Εὐρέεσσιν ὅζων εὖ εἰδοτές.

Each ship had fifty rowers that were skill'd
Well in the shooting art.

These were termed *αὐτερέται* (a). This was the practice of those times wherein no great care was taken, no extraordinary preparations made, for equipping men of war, but the same vessels were thought sufficient for transportation and fight: Afterwards, when the art of naval war began to be improved, it was presently understood that any one of the forementioned occupations was enough to require the whole time and application of the persons employed therein; whence it became customary to furnish their ships of war with the three following sorts of men:

Ἑρέται, *καπηλάται*, called by Polybius (b) *οἱ ὑπάρχοντες*, and by the same author (c), with Xenophon (d), *τὰ πληρώματα*, though we are told by the Scholiast upon Thucydides, that this is a name of very large extent comprehending not only those that rowed, but all other persons in the ship, and sometimes applied to any thing else contained therein. When ships had several banks of oars, the uppermost rowers were called *θρανῖται*, and their bank *θράνος* (e): The lowest *θαλάμιοι*, *θαλαμίται*, and *θαλάμακες*, and their bank *θάλαμος*: Those in the middle *ζυγῖται*, and *μεσοζύγιοι*, and all their banks, how many soever in number, *ζυγά*. Every one had a distinct oar, for, except in cases of necessity, one oar was never managed by above one person, as Scheffer hath proved at large; yet their labour and pay were

(a) Suidas, Pollux, Lib. I. Cap. IX. Thucydides.

(b) Histor. Lib. X.

(c) Lib. I.

(d) Histor. Lib. I.

(e) Pollux, Aristophanis Scholiastes, Suidas, Etymologici Auctor.

were not the same; for such as were placed in the uppermost banks, by reason of their distance from the water, and the length of their oars, underwent more toil and labour than those in the inferior banks, and therefore were rewarded with greater wages. The rowers in ships of burden were called *τρογυλοναῦται* (a), those in triremes *τριηρέται*, and the rest seem to have had different appellations from the names of the ships they laboured in. Those that were foremost in their respective banks, and sat nearest the prow, were called *πρόκρημοι*; and on the other side, those who were placed next the stern were termed *ἐπικρημοι*, as being *behind* their fellows. Their work was esteemed one of the worst and most wretched drudgeries, and therefore the most notorious malefactors were frequently condemned to it; for, beside their incessant toil in rowing, their very rest was uneasy, their being no place to repose their wearied bodies besides the seats whereon they had laboured all the day: Therefore, whenever the poets speak of their ceasing from labour, there is mention of their lying down upon them. Thus Seneca (b),

—————*credita est vento ratis,*
Fususque transiris miles.—————

Unto the wind the ship was left,
The soldiers lay along their seats,

To the same purpose Virgil (c),

—————*placida laxarant membra quiete*
Sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautæ.

And now along their seats the rowers laid,
Had eas'd their weary'd limbs with sleep.

The rest of the ship's crew usually took their rest in the same manner, only the masters (d), or persons of quality, were permitted to have clothes spread under them; so we read of Ulysses in Homer (e),

Κάθ' δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐόρεσαν ῥῆγός τε, λίνοντε
Νηὸς ἐπ' ἱερὶοφιν γλαφυρῆς (ἵνα νήγρετον εὐδῇ)
Περύμνης, ἂν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐόησατο, καὶ κατέλειπτο
Σιγῇ.—————

But clothes the men for great Ulysses spread,
And plac'd an easy pillow for his head,
On these he undisturb'd securely slept,
Lying upon the stern.—————

S 2

Such

(a) Pollux, Lib. VII.

(b) Agamemnon, v. 437.

(c) Æneid. V. v. 836.

(d) Theophrastus *περὶ ἀνελευθερίας*.

(e) Odyss. v. v. 74.

Such as would not be contented with this provision were looked upon as soft and delicate, and unfit to endure the toil and hardships of war; which censure the Athenians passed upon Alcibiades, because he had a bed hung on cords, as we read in Plutarch (*a*).

Naῦται, mariners, were exempt from drudging at the oar, but performed all other duties in the ship; to which end, that all things might be carried on without tumult and confusion, every one had his proper office, as appears from Apollonius and Flaccus's *Argonautics*, where one is employed in rearing the mast, another in fitting the sail-yards, a third in hoisting the sails, and the rest are bestowed up and down the ship, every one in his proper place: Hence they had different titles, as from *ἀρμεναί*, *sails*, the persons appointed to govern them were called *ἀρμενισταί*, those that climbed up the ropes to descry distant countries or ships, were termed *χοινοβάται*, and the rest in like manner. There were a sort of men inferior to the former, and called *μεσωναῦται*, who were not confined to any certain place or duty, but were ready on all occasions to attend on the rest of the seamen, and supply them with whatever they wanted (*b*). The whole ships crew were usually wicked and profligate fellows, without any sense of religion or humanity, and therefore reckoned by Juvenal (*c*) amongst the vilest rogues,

*Invenies aliquo cum percussore jacentem,
Permixtum nautis, aut furibus, aut fugitivis,*

You'll surely find his company, some tars,
Cut-throats, or rogue vagabonds.—

The soldiers that served at sea were, in Latin, termed *classarii*; in Greek *ἐπιβάται*, either because they did *ἐπιβαίνειν τὰς νῆας*, ascend into ships; or *ἀπὸ τῆ ἐπιβαίνειν τὰ καταστώματα*, from ascending the hatches where they fought. They were armed after the same manner with those designed for land-service, only there seems always to have been a greater number of heavy armed men than was thought necessary by land; for we find in Plutarch (*d*), that of Themistocles's ships, only four were light armed: Indeed it highly imported them to fortify themselves in the best manner they could, since there was no possibility of retiring or changing places, but every man was obliged to fight hand to hand, and maintain his ground till the battle was ended; wherefore their whole armour, though in form usually the same with that employed in land-service, yet exceeded it in strength and firmness. Beside this we find also some new instruments of war never used on land, the principal of which are these that follow:

Δόρυ

(*a*) Alcibiade.
(*d*) Themistocle.

(*b*) Cælius Rhodiginus, Lib. XXV. Cap. XL. Satir. VIII.

Δόρατα ναύμαχα (a), spears of an unusual length, sometimes exceeding twenty cubits, whence they are called in Livy (b) *hastæ longæ*, and by Homer ξυστὰ ναύμαχα, and μακρὰ (c);

Οἳ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν ἰψιμελαινάων ἐπιβάντες
Μακροῖσι ξυστοῖσι, τὰ ρά σφ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἔκειτο
Ναύμαχα, καλλήεντα. ———

With spears, that in the vessels ready lay,
These strove to make the enemy give way;
Long spears, for sea-fights only made, compos'd
Of sev'ral pieces. ———

Again, in another place (d),

Νάμα δὲ ξυστὸν μέγα ναύμαχον ἐν παλάμῃσι
Κολλητὸν βλήτροισι, δυοκαικισσίπηχυ.

A spear, with nails compacted and made strong,
That was full two and twenty cubits long,
He brandish'd. ———

Δρεπανον (e), called by Appian δρευδρέπανον, by Diodorus (f) δρεπανηφόρος *περαια*, was an engine of iron, crooked like a sickle (g), and fixed to the top of a long pole, wherewith they cut in sunder the cords of the fail-yards, and thereby letting the sails fall down, disabled the light ships. Not unlike this was another instrument, armed at the end with a broad iron head, edged on both sides, wherewith they used to cut the cords that tied the rudder to the ship.

Κεραῖαι (h) were engines to cast stones into the enemies ships.

We find another engine mentioned by Vegetius, which hung upon the main-mast, and resembled a battering ram; for it consisted of a long beam and an head of iron, and was with great violence pushed against the sides of adverse ships.

Χεῖρ σιδηρᾶ, in Latin, *manus ferrea*, was a grappling-iron, which they cast out of an engine into the enemy's ship: It is said to have been first used in Greece by Pericles the Athenian (i), at Rome by Duilius (k). Different from these were the ἄρπαγες, *harpagines*, said to be invented by Anacharsis (l) the Scythian philosopher; which, as Scheffer collects out of Athenæus, were hooks of iron hanging on the top of a pole, which, being secured with chains to the mast, or some other lofty part of the ship, and then cast with great force into the enemy's vessel, caught it up into the air. The means used to defeat these engines, was to cover their ships with hides, which cast off, or blunted the stroke of the iron (m).

The

(a) Herodotus. (b) Histo. Lib. XXVIII. Cap. XLV. (c) Iliad. ὁ. v. 387.
(d) Iliad. ὁ. v. 677. (e) Pollux. (f) Lib. XXII. (g) Vegetius, Lib. IV.
Cap. ult. (h) Diodorus Siculus, Lib. XII. Athenæus. (i) Plin. Lib. VII.
Cap. LXI. (k) Julius Frontinus, Lib. II. Cap. III. (l) Plin. Lib. VII. Cap. LVII.
(m) Thucydides, Lib. VIII. Pollux.

The dominion of the seas was not confined to any one of the Grecian states; they were continually contending for empire, and by various turns of fortune sometimes possessed and again, in a few months or years, were dispossessed of it: The persons that enjoyed it longest, and maintained it with the greatest fleet after Greece had arrived to the height of its glory, were the Athenians, who first began seriously to apply themselves to naval affairs about the time of Xerxes's invasion: The first that engaged them in this enterprise was Themistocles, who, considering their inability to oppose the Persians by land, and the commodiousness of their situation for naval affairs, interpreted the oracle that advised to defend themselves with walls of wood to this purpose, and prevailed upon them to convert their whole time and treasure to the building and fitting out a fleet. The money employed on this design, was the revenue of the silver mines at Laureotis, which had formerly been distributed among the people, who, by Themistocles's persuasion, were induced to part with their income, that provision might be made for the public security. With this an hundred triremes were rigged out against Xerxes's numerous fleet, over which, by the assistance of their allies, they obtained an entire victory. Afterwards the number of their ships were increased, by the management of Lycurgus the orator, to four hundred (a); and we are told by Isocrates (b), that the Athenian navy consisted of twice as many ships as all the rest of the Grecians were masters of: It was made up of two parts, one being furnished out by the Athenians themselves, the other by the confederates.

The fleet equipped at Athens was maintained after the manner prescribed by Themistocles till the time of Demosthenes, who, to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, restored to them their ancient revenues, and devised a new method to procure money for the payment of seamen, and the construction of new men of war: This he effected by dividing the richer sort of citizens into *συμπουλαι*, or *companies*, which were obliged, according to their several abilities, to contribute largely out of their own substance; and in times of necessity, it was frequent for men of estates to rig out ships at their own expence, over and above what was required of them, there being a generous contention between the leading men in that commonwealth, which should outdo the rest in serving his country.

The remaining part of the fleet was composed of allies; for the Athenians understanding how necessary it was to their affairs to maintain their dominion of the seas, would enter into no leagues or confederacies with any of their neighbours, but such as engaged themselves to augment their navy with a proportion of ships; which became a double advantage to the Athenians, whose fleet was strengthened by such accessions, whilst their allies were held in obedience, as it were, by so many hostages, all which, upon any revolt, must needs fall into the hands of the Athenians: Those states that were remote from sea, or unable to fit out vessels of war, were obliged to send their propor-

tion

(a) Plutarchus,

(b) Panegyrica.

tion in money (a). These customs were first brought up after the second Persian war, when it was agreed by the common consent of all the Grecians, that they should retaliate the injuries received from the Barbarians, by carrying the war into their own country, and invading them with the whole strength of Greece, under the conduct of the Athenians, who at that time raised themselves a very high reputation, by their mighty naval preparations, and the singular courage, wisdom and humanity of their two generals, Themistocles and Aristides. Afterwards, being grown great in power, and aiming at nothing less than the sovereignty of all Greece. they won some by favours and specious pretences, others by force of arms, to comply with their desires; for their manner of treating the cities they conquered, was to oblige them either to furnish money, paying what tribute they exacted, or to supply them with vessels of war, as Thucydides reports of the Chians, when subdued by the Athenians (b); Xenophon also (c), and Diodorus (d) mention the same custom: Thus, by one means or other, the greatest part of the Grecian cities were drawn in to augment the Athenian greatness.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Naval Officers.

THERE were two sorts of officers in all fleets; one governed the ships and mariners, the other were intrusted with the command of the soldiers, but had likewise power over the shipmasters and their crew; these were,

Στόλαρχος, ναύαρχος, or στρατηγός, *præfectus classis*, the admiral, whose commission was different, according to the exigency of times and circumstances, being sometimes to be executed by one alone, sometimes in conjunction with other persons, as happened to Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, who were sent with equal power to command the Athenian fleet in Sicily; their time of continuance in command was likewise limited by the people, and, as they pleased, prolonged or shortened. We read of Epaminondas (e), that finding his country like to be brought into great danger upon the resignation of his office, he held it four months longer than he was commissioned to do; in which time he put a new face upon the Theban affairs, and by his wise management dispelled the fears they lay under; which done, he voluntarily laid down his power, but was no sooner divested thereof, than he was called to account for holding it so long, and narrowly escaped being condemned to

(a) Xenophon Histor. Græc. Lib. VI.

(b) Lib. VII.

(c) Histor. Lib. I.

(d) Lib. XIII. & aliis in locis.

(e) Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda.

to death; for it was feared that such a precedent might some time or other be a pretence to ambitious spirits, having so great power intrusted in their hands, to enslave the commonwealth. The same reason seems to have been the cause of the Lacedemonian law, whereby it was forbidden, that any person should be admiral above once (a), which nevertheless stood them in no good stead, it thereby often happening that they were forced to commit their fleet to raw and unexperienced commanders.

Ἐπιστολὺς (b), sometimes called ἐπιστολαιοφόρος, was vice-admiral, or commander in chief under the admiral.

Τριήραρχος, captain of a trireme, who commanded all the other soldiers therein. The captains of other men of war were dignified with titles taken from the vessels they commanded, as πνιτηκόντορος, &c.

The officers that had care of the ships, were the following:

Ἀρχικυβερνήται, those who were intrusted with the care and management of all marine affairs, to provide commodious harbours, to direct the course of the fleet, and order all other things concerning it, except those which related to war.

Κυβερνήτης, the master or pilot had the care of the ship, and government of the seamen therein, and sat at the stern to steer: All things were managed according to his direction; it was therefore necessary that he should have obtained an exact knowledge of the art of navigation, which was called κυβερνητικὴ τέχνη, and chiefly consisted in these three things: 1. In the right management of the rudder, sails, and all the engines used in navigation. 2. In the knowledge of the winds and celestial bodies, their motions and influences. 3. In the knowledge of commodious harbours, of rocks, quick-sands, and other occurrences on the sea: All these Acœtes in Ovid tells us he furnished himself with, in order to become an accomplished pilot (c),

*Mox ego, ne scopulis hærerem semper in iisdem,
Addidici regimen, dextra moderante carinam
Flectere; & Oleniæ fidus pluviale capellæ,
Taygetemque, Hyadasque oculis, Arctumque notavi,
Ventorumque domos, & portus puppibus aptos.*

Lest struck against a rock, I there should stay,
Of steering well I learnt the useful way,
Observ'd the Arctos, and the Hyades too,
The stars that round Taygetes glitt'ring shew,
Have mark'd th' Olenian goat, that rain portends,
And how a noisy wind each quarter sends;

I learn'd

(a) Plutarchus Lysandro. Xenophon. Histor. Lib. II. (b) Xenophon. Histor. Lib. II. & V. Pollux, Lib. I. Cap. IX. (c) Metamorphos. Lib. III. in Fab. Bacchi.

I learn'd the safest ports, and best retreats
For tatter'd vessels.——

E. D.

As to the heavenly bodies, they were observed by sailors upon a two-fold account, being of use to them in prognosticating the seasons, and guides which way to shape their course. The principal of those used in foretelling, were Arcturus, the Dog-star, Aræ, Orion, Hyades, Hædi, Castor and Pollux, Helena, &c. It was likewise customary to take notice of various omens offered by seal-fowls, fishes, and divers other things, as the murmuring of the floods, the shaking and buzzing noise of trees in the neighbouring woods, the dashing of the billows against the shore, and many more, in all which good pilots were nicely skilled. As to the direction in their voyage, the first practitioners in the art of navigation, being unacquainted with the rest of the celestial motions; steered all the day by the course of the sun, at night betaking themselves to some safe harbour, or resting on the shore, and not daring to adventure to sea till their guide was risen to discover their way: that this was their constant custom may be observed from the ancient descriptions of those times, whereof I shall only observe this instance (a).

*Sol ruit interea, & montes umbrantur opaci,
Sternimur optatæ gremio telluris ad undam,
Sortiti remos, passimque in littore sicco
Corpora curamus, fessos sopor irrigat artus.*

The hast'ning sun had reach'd his wat'ry bed,
And night the gloomy mountains had o'erspread,
When lots resolving who should rowers be,
Upon the shore we lie just by the sea,
With sleep our drooping eyes we quickly close,
And give our weary'd bodies sweet repose.

E. D.

Afterwards the Phœnicians, whom some will have to be the first inventors of navigation, discovered the motions of some other stars, as may be observed in Pliny (b), and Propertius (c),

*Quæritis et cælo Phœnicum inventa sereno,
Quæ sit stella homini commoda, quæque mala.*

—— led by the art,
The wise Phœnicians found, and did impart,
You mind what stars are signs of good or harm.

The Phœnicians we find to have been directed by Cynosura, or the lesser Bear-star (d), which was first observed (as some are of opinion) by

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(a) Virgil. Æneid. v. 508. (b) Lib. VII. (c) Lib. II. v. 990. (d) Eustathius. Iliad, 4. Arianus, Exped. Lib. VI.

by Thales the Milesian, who was originally a Phœnician (a); whereas the mariners of Greece, as well as other nations, steered by the greater Bear, called Helice; whence Aratus,

— Ελίκη γὰρ μὲν ἄνδρες Ἀχαιοὶ
Εἰν' ἀλλ' ἐκμαίρονται ἵνα χερὶ νῆας ἀγινῶν.

Helice always is the Grecians guide,
Whene'er they take a voyage.——

For the first observation of this they were obliged to Nauplius, if we may believe Theon, or, according to the report of Flaccus (b), to Tiphys, the pilot of the famous ship Argo. But of these two, we are told by Theon, the former was the securer guide, and therefore was followed by the Phœnicians, who, for skill in marine affairs, outstript not only all the rest of the world, but even the Grecians themselves.

Πρωτεύς, or πρωράτης, was next under the master, and had his place in the head of the ship, as his name imports. To his care was committed the tackling of the ship (c), and the rowers, who had their places assigned by him, as appears of Phæax, who performed this office in Theseus's ships (d). We find him everywhere assisting the master at consultations concerning the seasons, places and other things (e).

Κελιστής, portifculus, agitator, or hortator remigum, is by some interpreted the boatswain; his office was to signify the word of command to the rowers (f), and to distribute to all the crew their daily portion of food (g).

Τετηρηαύλης was a musician, who, by the harmony of his voice and instrument, raised the spirits of the rowers, when weary with labour (h), and ready to faint, as we read in Statius (i):

*Acclinis malo medicis intersonat Orpheus
Remigiis, tantosque jubet nescire labores.*

Against the mast the tuneful Orpheus stands,
Plays to the weary'd rowers, and commands
The thought of toil away.——

Another, it may be the chief, use of this music, was to direct the rowers, that they, *keeping time* therewith, might proceed in a regular and constant motion, lest, by an uncertain impulse of their oars, the course of the ship should be retarded (k): Hence Flaccus in his Argonautics:

—— carmine

(a) Hyginus, Lib. II. Poet. Astron. Eustathius, II. σ' Theon. in Aratum. (b) Argon. I. (c) Xenophon, Administ. dom. Lib. V. (d) Athenæus, Lib. XV. (e) Suidas, Plutarchus, Agide, Xenophon Administ. dom. Lib. V. Pollux. (f) Arrianus, Exped. Alex. Lib. VI. (g) Suidas. (h) Censorinus, Cap. XII. (i) Thebaid. V. v. 343. (k) Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. XXIII.

———— carmine tonsas
Ire docet, summo passim ne gurgite pugnent.

His notes direct how every oar should strike,
How they should order keep.————

Silius also speaks to the same purpose (a) :

———— medix stat margine puppis,
Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet ictus,
Et remis dictet sonitum, pariterque relatis
Ad numerum plaudat resonantia cœrula tonsis.

One ready stands to sing a charming song
Unto the seamen as they row along,
Whose lively strains a constant movement keep,
And show when ev'ry oar should brush the deep,
Who, as the beaten water still resounds,
Applauds their labour with his voice.————

E. D.

This music was called νύλαρος (b), or τὸ τρηκικὸν μέλος (b).

Δίοποι, ναυφύλακες, custodis navis, were obliged to take care that the ship received no damage by bulging upon rocks or otherwise (c); whence, in the night especially, we find them employed in sounding, and directing the ship with long poles :

Ὡς ναυφύλακες νυκτέρῃ ναυκληρίας
Πλήκτροις ἀπειθύνουσιν ἔρλαν τρόπον (d).

As those who in the night-time mind the ship,
Direct and guide it with long poles.————

Τοίχαρχοι, were either those who had the charge of the τοῖχοι τῆς νηὸς, or sides of the ship, according to Turnebus (e); or of the τοῖχοι, or εἰσοὶ τῶν ῥετῶν, i. e. the bank of rowers.

Several other names of officers occur in authors, as ταμίας, who distributed to every man his share of victuals, being usually the same with the κελυστής, but sometimes it may be distinct from him. Homer mentions this officer (f).

Καὶ ταμίαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἔσαν σίτοιο δοτῆρες.

And officers embark'd, whose care it was
To give each man his victuals.

T 2

Εἰχαρὺς

(a) Lib. VI. v. 361.

(b) Aristoph. ejusque Scholia Ran. Act. II. Sc. V. Pollux.

(c) Ulpian. Lib. LIII. Cap. VII. & VIII. Pollux, Lib. VII. Cap. XXXI.

Eustathius Iliad. β'. (d) Sophocles Αἰχαιῶν συλλόγῃ.

(e) Advers. Lib. XXVIII.

Cap. XLIII.

(f) Iliad. ε'.

Εγχερός (a), was a person whose business lay *περὶ τὴν ἐσχάραν*, about the fire, and therefore is by some thought to have been the cook; by others the priest who offered sacrifices.

Λογιστής, or γραμματεὺς, was the burfar who kept the accounts, and registered all receipts and expences of the ship.

CHAP. XX.

Of their Voyages, Harbours, &c.

WHEN it was designed the fleet should put to sea, the signal being given by the admiral, the mariners hauled the ships into the water; for it was customary, when they came into harbour, to draw the sterns to dry land, to prevent their being tossed and dissipated by the waves. Hence Virgil:

—— *stant littore puppes.*

The sterns stand on the shore.

It was frequent also for seamen, underpropping their ships with their shoulders, to thrust them forwards into the sea; so we read of the Argonauts in Valerius Flaccus (b),

*At ducis imperiis Minyæ monituque frequentes
Puppem humeris subeunt, et tento poplite proni
Decurrunt.*——

The prince commands that they no longer stay,
His orders straight the Minyæ obey;
And kneeling down, their shoulders heave the ship
Into the main.——

This was sometimes performed by leavers and spars of wood, over which ships were rolled into the deep; these were called *φάλαγξες*, *φάλαγξια* (c), and according to Homer *μοχλοὶ* (d):

Μοχλοῖσιν δ' ἄρα τήνγε κατέρυσιν εἰς ἅλα διαν.

The heavy ship into the sea they thrust
With leavers.——

But to remedy the great trouble and difficulty of these methods, Archimedes the Syracusan obliged his countrymen with the ingenious

(a) Pollux.

(b) Argon. I.

(c) Hesych. Pollux.

(d) Odyss. ε.

ous contrivance of an engine called Helix, whereby the ships were with great facility removed from the shore (a). To do this, they called τὴν πύρμαν κινεῖν, or ἦμας κατερύκειν εἰς ἄλλα.

Before they embarked, the ships were adorned with flowers and garlands, which were tokens of joy and mirth (b), and omens of future prosperity: Hence Virgil,

———*vocat jam carbasus auras,
Puppibus & læti nautæ imposuere coronas.*

Now's a fair wind, and all the seamen crown
The ship with garlands.———

Because no success could be expected in any enterprise without the divine blessing and assistance, they invoked the protection of their gods by solemn prayers and sacrifices, which, as they offered to other deities, so more especially to those who had any concern or command in the sea, to the winds and tempests, to the whole train of marine gods and goddesses, but above all, to Neptune the great emperor of the sea. Thus, Anchises in Virgil (c), dares not adventure himself to sea, till he has first addressed himself to Neptune and Apollo;

———*meritos aris maculavit honores,
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo.*

A bull to Neptune, and a bull to you
He sacrific'd, Apollo, as your due.

A great number of instances, to the same purpose, may be met with in ancient writers. Nor was it enough for themselves alone to petition the gods for safety and success, but all the multitudes that thronged on such occasions to the shore, earnestly recommended them to the divine protection, and joined their fervent prayers for their deliverance from all the dangers they were going to encounter (d).

This done, we are told by the Scholiast upon Apollonius, that it was usual to let fly a dove; which, no doubt, was looked on as an omen of safe return, because that bird is not easily forced to relinquish its habitation, but when driven away, delights to return. Then they put to sea, the signal being given by a shout, by sound of trumpet, and several other ways; in the night it was usually given by torches lighted in the admiral-galley; an instance whereof we have in Seneca's Agamemnon (e);

*Signum recursus regia ut fulsit rate,
Et clara lentum remigem emovit tuba,
Aurata primas prora secavit vias.*

The

(a) Plutarchus Marcello, Athenæus. (b) Aristophanis Scholiastes Acharn. Act. II. Sc. V. (c) Æneid. III. v. 118. (d) Diodorus Siculus, Lib. XIII. (e) V. 427.

The torches being lighted, which, to guide
Us home more safely, in the king's ship stood,
And summon'd by the trumpet's noisy sound,
When ev'ry man his proper oar had took,
The admiral march'd first, and cut the waves.

E. D.

The ships were usually ranged in this order: In the front went the lighter vessels, after these followed the men of war led on by the admiral, which was commonly distinguished from the rest by the richness of her ornaments; thus we find Agamemnon's ship in the fore-mentioned place of Seneca going before the rest;

*Aurata primas prora secavit vias,
Aperitque cursus, mille quos puppes secant.*

The admiral went first, and cut the waves,
Prepar'd the yielding deep, which afterwards
A thousand vessels cleav'd.———

Last of all the vessels of burden came up. If the winds were high, or seas dangerous, they were extended out at length, sailing one by one; but at other times they went three or more in a breast.

When they arrived at any port where they designed to land, the first thing they did was to run their ships backwards upon their hind-decks in order to tack about; this they called *ἐπὶ πρῶναν*, or *πρῶναν κρείσθαι* (a), which phrase is by Thucydides elegantly applied to those that retreat fighting, and still facing their enemies. Then they tacked about, which they termed *ἐπιστρέφειν* (b), turning the heads of their ships to the sea, according to Virgil;

Obvertunt pelago proras.———

To the sea they turn'd their prows.

Now the rowers ceased from their labours, and rested their oars, which the Greeks called *ἐπίχεν τὴν ναῦν*, the Latins, *inhibere remos*: These they hung upon pins, as we find in Statius (c);

*Quinquaginta illi trabibus de more revinctis
Eminus abrupto quatiant nova littora saltu.*

Their fifty oars hung up, they rudely leap'd
Upon the new-found shore.———

For

(a) Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. p. 457. (b) Grotius Arateis. (c) Thebaid. V. 344.

For fear their oars should be in danger of being broken by the floods, they hung them not so as to reach the water, but upon the sides of their ships; whence Ovid (a):

Obvertit lateri pendentes navita remos.

To the ships sides the seamen hung their oars.

Being safely landed, they discharged whatever vows they had made to the gods, beside which they usually offered a sacrifice, called ἀποδατήριον, to Jupiter, surnamed ἀποδατήριος, for enabling them ἀποδαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν, to quit their ships, and recover the land. Their devotions were sometimes paid to Nereus, Glaucus, Ino, and Melicertes, the Cabiri, and other gods of the sea, but more especially to Neptune, who was thought to have a peculiar care of all that travelled within the compass of his dominions. Thus the heroes in Homer (b):

Αἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηλῆος εὐκτιμένον πολίεδρον,
Ἰξον, τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ Δινὶ θαλάσσης ἱερὰ ῥήζον
Ταύρους παρμέλανας Εὐοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτῃ :

Landed at Pylus, where King Neleus reign'd,
With blackest bulls they several altars stain'd,
A sacrifice to Neptune.——

They who had escaped a shipwreck, or any other danger at sea, were more particularly obliged to offer a present to the gods, as a testimony of their gratitude. To this they sometimes added the garment in which they had escaped, and a tablet, containing an account of their deliverance; to which there is the following allusion in Horace (c):

—— me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

If nothing else remained, they did at least shave their hair, and consecrate it to their protectors. Thus Lucilius affirms of himself in the epigram (d).

Γλαύκῳ, καὶ Νηρῷ, καὶ Ἰνοῖ, καὶ Μελικέρτῃ,
Καὶ βυθίῳ Κρονίδῃ, καὶ Σαμώθεντι Διοῖς,
Σαθρεῖς ἐκ πελάγους Λυκίλλιος, ὧδε κέκαρμα
Τὰς τρίχας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, ἄλλο γὰρ ἔδεν ἔχω.

Hence

(a) Metamorph. XI. 25.

(b) Odyss. γ'. v. 4.

(c) Lib. I. Od. V.

(d) Anthol. Lib. VI. Cap. XXI. Epigr. I.

Hence Patronius Arbiter calls shaving their hair, *naufragorum ultimum votum*, the last vow of men in shipwreck (*a*). It was also customary for those who had escaped any other danger, particularly *ἐν μεγάλῃ σφοδρίᾳ νόσῳ*, for such as *had recovered from any dangerous sickness*, to shave off their hair (*b*). The Egyptians used to shave their own hair when they paid their acknowledgments to the gods for the recovery of their children (*c*).

Harbours were places rendered, either by nature or art, commodious for the entertainment of ships, and to defend them against the insults of winds and waves: The former sort were usually at the mouth of a river, or in a creek of the sea, under the covert of some lofty promontory: The latter were vast piles, or heaps of earth and other materials, cast up in the form of a semicircle, with arms of a vast length extended into the sea; these were called *χηλαί* (*d*), from their resemblance to crabs-claws, or *ἄκραι τῷ λιμένος* (*e*); or *ἀκταί*, as in Homer, who speaks thus of the Phorcynian harbour (*f*):

— δύο δὲ προβλήτες ἐν αὐτῇ
 Ἀκταὶ ἀπορρώγες, λιμένος ποτὲ πεπηγῆναι.

— There two great piles stood out,
 Which made a haven. —

Cicero terms them *cornua* (*g*). For the security of the ships enclosed therein, we find it usual to fix to the two ends vast chains or booms, as appears of the Syracusan harbour, mentioned in Frontinus (*h*): Nor was it unfrequent to guard them with great poles, fortified against the water with pitch: Hence havens are sometimes termed in Latin *claustra*, in Greek *κλείσεις* (*i*). On both sides of the mole were strong towers (*k*), which were defended in the night, and all times of danger, by garrisons of soldiers (*l*). Not far distant from hence was a watch-tower, with lights to direct mariners; this was called Pharos, which name originally belonged to a little island in the mouth of the river Nile, where the first of these towers was built, but afterwards was naturalized both in Greece and at Rome.

The second part of the harbour was termed *στόμα*, in Latin *ostium* and *fauces*, being the mouth or entry between the arms of the semicircle.

Μυχὸς was the inmost part of the harbour, nearest to the shore, and most secure from the waves, insomuch, that their ships were often suffered to lie loose; whereas, in other parts of the harbour, they were usually either chained to the land, or lay at anchor. It

was

(*a*) Cap. LXIII.

(*b*) Conf. Artemidorus Oneirocrit. Lib. I. Cap. XXIII.

(*c*) Diod. Sic. Biblioth. Hist. Lib. I.

(*d*) Diod. Sic. Lib. XII. Thucydides

Scholiaft.

(*e*) Polyænus Strateg. Lib. V.

(*f*) Odyss. v.

(*g*) Epist.

ad Attic. Lib. IX. Ep. XIX.

(*h*) Strateg. Lib. I.

(*i*) Thucyd. Lib. II.

(*k*) Vegetius, Lib. V. Cap. II.

(*l*) Thucydides, Curtius, Polyænus.

was distinguished into several partitions by walls, erected for the most part of stone, under the covert of which the vessels had protection; these places were called *ῥημοί* (a), whence Homer (b),

ἔντοσθε δ' ἀνὺ δεσμῶν μένουσι
 Νῆες εὐσσελμοί, ὅταν ῥεμα μέτρον ἴκωνται.

The ships that far within the harbour lodge,
 Without a chain are safe:—

They were also termed *ναύλοχοι*, and all together composed what was called *ναυσάθμος*. Here were likewise the docks, in which ships were built, or careened and dragged to land; these were named *ναύσοικοι* (c), *ἰπίστια* (d), *ναύρια* (e), &c.

The adjacent places were usually filled with inns and stews (f) well stocked with females that prostituted themselves to the mariners, merchants, and artificers of all sorts, who flocked thither in great numbers. Most harbours were adorned with temples, or altars, where sacrifices were offered to the tutelar deities of the place, and presidents of the sea; mention of which we find, as in other places, so particularly in Homer (g), who speaks of a cave in the haven of Ithaca dedicated to the Naiades.

Scheffer will have *stationes navium* to differ from the former in this, that here ships were not laid up for any considerable time, but remained only till they were supplied with water or other necessaries, or on some other short occasions. They had several names, being called *ῥημοί* (h), *ὑφορμοί* (i), *ἐνορμίσματα* (k), *σάλοι* (l), *κατάρσεις* (m); and frequently at some distance from the shore; whence *ῥεμαῖν* in Plutarch (n) is termed *ἀποσαλεύειν*, which imports their being among the waves; and by Thucydides *ἀγειν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν*, which answers in some measure to the Latin phrase in Livy, *in anchoris stare*, to ride at anchor.

In times of war they defended themselves with fortifications on both sides, but made after a different manner; towards the land they fortified themselves with a ditch and parapet, or wall built in the form of a semicircle, and extended from one point of the sea to another. This was sometimes defended with towers, and beautified with gates, through which they issued forth to attack their enemies. Homer hath left us a remarkable description of the Grecian fortifications in the Trojan war (o);

ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τεῖχος ἔδειμαν,
 Πύργους ὑψηλὰς, εἴλας νηῶντι, καὶ αὐτῶν.
 Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίηον εὖ ἀραρυίας,
 Ὅφρα δι' αὐτῶν ἰππηλασίη ὁδὸς εἴη.

Vol. II.

U

Ἐκτοσθεν

(a) Eustathius, Odyss. v. Iliad. α. (b) Odyss. v. (c) Diodorus Siculus, Lib. XIV. Suidas. (d) Homer Odyss. ε. (e) Demosth. Schol. Orat. de Corona, Suidas, Homeri Schol. (f) Pollux, Lib. IX. Cap. V. (g) Odyss. v. v. 103 (h) Hesychius. (i) Strabo, Lib. VIII. (k) Appianus, Lib. V. (l) Polyb. Lib. I. (m) Thucydides, Lib. IV. ejusque Scholiast. (n) Pompeio. (o) Iliad. π. v. 436.

Ἐκτοθεν δὲ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφρον ὄρυξαν,
 Εὐρεῖαν, μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκολοπίας κατέπηξαν.

A bulky wall, and lofty tow'rs to shield
 Their navy and themselves, the Trojans build,
 On these great gates for passages they make,
 Convenient ways that all their horse should take,
 And all around they dug a spacious ditch,
 Fixing great pales of wood.—

E. D.

Toward the sea, or within it, they fixed great pales of wood, like those in harbours; before these the vessels of burden were placed in such order as they might be instead of a wall, and give protection to those within; in which manner Nicias is reported by Thucydides to have encamped himself: But this seems only to have been practised when the enemy was thought superior in strength, and raised in them great apprehensions of danger. At other times all they used to do was to appoint a few of their ships to observe their enemy's motions; these were termed *προφυλακίδες* (a), and the soldiers *πύρραροι*, or *πυρραρίδαι*, from *πύρρος*, a torch, wherewith they signified the approach of their enemies (b). When their fortifications were thought strong enough to secure them from the assault of their enemies, it was frequent to drag their ships to shore, which the Greeks called *ἐνωλεῖν*, the Romans, *subducere* (c). Around the ships the soldiers placed their tents, as appears every where in Homer, Thucydides (d), and others; but this seems only to have been practised in winter, when their enemy's fleet was laid up, and could not assault them; or in long sieges, and when they lay in no danger from their enemies by sea, as in the Trojan war, where the defenders of Troy never once attempted to encounter the Grecians in a sea-fight; at other times the ships only lay at anchor, or were tied to the shore, that upon any alarm they might be ready to receive the enemy.

CHAP. XXI.

Of their Engagements, &c. by Sea.

IN preparing for an engagement at sea, the first business was to disburden their ships of war of all provisions, and other lumber, not necessary in the action, lest by too heavy a load they should be rendered unwieldy, and unfit for service, being neither able with force and vigour to assail their enemies, nor by lightly tacking about

(a) Thucyd. Lib. I.
 Cap. XXVIII. Cicero de Offic. Lib. III.

(b) Polyænus, Lib. III.

(c) Livius, Lib. XXII.
 (d) Lib. VI.

about to avoid their onsets. This done, when the enemy appeared in view, they took down their sails, lowered their masts, and secured whatever might expose them to the winds, choosing rather to be governed by oars, which they could manage at their pleasure. On this account, we read that Hanno the Carthaginian, being pursued by a fleet of Dionysius the Sicilian, to which he was much inferior in strength and number, and having no way to make his escape, took down his sails as preparing to fight; whereby, decoying the Sicilians to do the like, whilst they were busy and observed him not, he unexpectedly hoisted again his sails, and made away (a).

As to their order of battle, that was varied as time, place, and other circumstances required; being sometimes formed like a half-moon, and called *σέλος μηννοειδής*, the horns jutting out towards the enemy, and containing the ablest men and ships; sometimes, on the contrary, having its belly nearest the enemy, and its horns turned backwards, whence it was termed *κυρτή παράταξις*: Nor was it unusual to range them in the form of a circle, which they called *κύκλον τάττειν*; or (to mention no more) in the figure of the letter V (b), with the horns extended in a direct line, and meeting at the end; which order was named *ἐπικαμπής παράταξις*, in Latin, *forceps*; and was usually encountered by the enemies ranged in the same order inverted, whereby they resembled the figure of a wedge or beak, whence it was called *cuneus* or *rostrum*; this enabled them to penetrate into the body of the adverse battle.

Before they joined battle, both parties invoked the gods to their assistance, by prayers and sacrifices; and the admirals going from ship to ship in some of the lighter vessels, exhorted their soldiers in a set oration to behave themselves like men: Then all things being in readiness, the signal was given by hanging out of the admiral's galley a gilded shield, as we read in Plutarch, or a red garment or banner (c); which was termed *αἶρεῖν σημεῖα*. During the elevation of this, the fight continued, and by its depression, or inclination towards the right or left, the rest of the ships were directed in what manner to attack their enemies, or retreat from them (d). To this was added the sound of trumpets, which was begun in the admiral's galley (e), and continued round the whole navy (f); it was likewise usual for the soldiers, before the fight, to sing a *pæan*, or hymn to Mars (g), and after the fight another to Apollo.

The fight was usually begun by the admiral galley, as we find done at the battle of Salamis (h), and another time by Attalus's ship (i): It was carried on in two different manners; for not only the ships engaged one another, and by their beaks and prows, and sometimes their sterns, endeavoured to dash in pieces, or overset and sink their opposers; but the soldiers also annoyed their enemies with darts and slings, and upon their nearer approach with swords and spears: Thus Lucan (k),

U 2

Ue

(a) Polyænus, Lib. V. (b) Vegetius. (c) Diodorus Siculus, Lib. XIII. Polyænus, Lib. I. (d) Leo Tacit. (e) Plutarchus Lysandro. (f) Diodorus, Lib. XIII. (g) Suidas. (h) Diodorus, Lib. III. (i) Polybius, Lib. XVI. (k) Lib. III.

*Ut primum rostris crepuerunt obvia rostra,
In puppim rediere rates, emissaque tella
Aera texerunt, vacuumque cadentia pontum.*

The ships first meeting show their fiercest rage,
And furiously with clashing beaks engage ;
These turn about, and then the javelins fly,
And show'rs of arrows darken all the sky,
The sea is cover'd o'er.———

E. D.

Afterwards he goes on in this manner :

*Jam non excussis torquentur tela lacertis,
Nec longinqua cadunt jaculato vulnera ferro ;
Miscenturque manus, navali plurima bello
Ensis agit ; stat quisque suæ de robore puppis
Pronus in adversos ictus.———*

They throw no longer darts, no longer try
With missive arms to kill the enemy ;
Both close together come, their swords they draw,
Each stoutly keeps his post.———

Nor can it be wondered how they approached so near one another, when we find it usual to link their vessels together with chains or grappling-irons. of which I have spoken in one of the foregoing chapters ; whence Silius (a),

———*Injecta ligant hinc vincula ferri
Atque illinc naves, steterutque ad prælia nexæ ;
Nec jaculo, aut longe certatur arundine fusa,
Cominus & gladio terrestria prælia miscent.*

Chain'd fast with irons both the navies stand,
No blood the darts and flying weapons spill,
With swords, they closely join'd, begin to kill.

Sometimes, for want of irons, they so fixed their oars as thereby to hinder their enemies from retreating ; so we read in Lucan (b) ;

Seque tenent remis, toto stetit æquore bellum.

The ships they hold with oars, and all around
The face of horrid war appears.———

This sort of combat was not unlike a siege, where the stronger party prevailing over their enemies, entered their vessels by laying bridges

(a) Lib. XIV.

(b) Lib. III.

bridges between them, and having killed, or taken prisoners all they found in arms, seized and dragged away their ships.

When a town was besieged by sea, they used to environ its walls and harbour with ships ranged in order from one side of the shore to the other, and so closely joined together with chains and bridges on which armed men were placed, that without breaking their order, there could be no passage from the town to the sea; this leaguer Diodorus calls *ζεύγμα* (a). The better to prevent any attempts of the besieged, Demetrius is said to have invented a sort of boom armed with spikes of iron which swam upon the waters; this he placed at the mouth of the harbour of Rhodos, when he besieged that city (b). Sometimes they blocked up the harbour, or made a passage to the town by raising a vast mole before it, as we read of Alexander in the siege of Tyre (c); or by sinking ships filled with stones and sand, as we find practised by the Romans.

The attacks were usually carried on by men standing upon bridges between the ships, and thence with darts and stones forcing the besieged from their walls: Thus Alexander in the siege of Tyre so ordered his galleys, that two of them being joined at the head, and the sterns somewhat distant, boards and planks were laid over in the fashion of bridges, for soldiers to stand upon, who were in this manner rowed close to the wall, where, without any danger, they threw darts at their enemies, being sheltered behind the fore-decks of their own galleys (d). Here also, that they might throw their missile weapons with greater advantage, and batter the walls with their rams and other engines, they erected towers so high as to command the city walls, from which having repelled the defenders, they by this means had opportunity to descend by ladders.

The besieged were not at a loss for ways of defeating these stratagems; the ships linked together they pulled asunder with iron hooks, the passage to the town they blocked up in the same manner the enemies had done that of the harbour, or otherwise (e); if they could not hinder their approach, they failed not to gall them with darts, stones, fire-balls, melted pitch or metals, and many other things; and lastly, to trouble you no farther, it was frequent for those in the town to destroy the vessels and works of the besiegers by fire-ships, as we find done by the Tyrians (f), who taking a large vessel, put a great quantity of ballast into the stern, covered the head with pitch, tar and brimstone, then by the help of sails and oars brought her close to the Macedonian fortress, where having set the combustible matter on fire; they retreated into boats prepared for that purpose; the fire immediately seized the towers of the fortification, and by the help of torches and firebrands cast by those in the boats, the work itself took fire, and that vast pile on which so much time and labour had been bestowed, was in a few moments quite demolished. The use of fire-ships we likewise meet with amongst the Rhodians in Diodorus the Sicilian (g).

CHAP.

(a) Lib. XIII. (b) Diodorus Lib. XX. (c) Curtius Lib. IV. (d) Idem
ibidem. (e) Thucydides Lib. VII. (f) Curtius Lib. IV. (g) Lib. XX.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Spoils, Military Rewards, Punishments, &c.

VICTORY being obtained, the conquerors rode home triumphant, laden with the spoils of their enemies, and dragging after them the captive ships, as appears from the instances of Alcibiades in Plutarch, and Lyfander in Xenophon (*a*): The latter of these had crowns or garlands presented him by all the confederate cities of Sparta, as he passed by them, which custom was constantly practised by the Grecians, from whom it seems to have been derived to Rome: Nor was the admiral, or the soldiers and mariners (*b*) only adorned with garlands, but their ships were likewise bedecked with them (*c*); whereby the Rhodians were once reduced to extreme danger; for their enemies having made themselves masters of their ships, crowned them with laurel, and entering them, were received with great joy into Rhodes (*d*); which stratagem was frequently practised in Greece (*e*). Nor were they beautified with garlands only, but hung likewise about with wrecks and broken pieces of the ships destroyed in battle, especially the ἄφλασα, ἀκροστόλια κόρυμβοι, and other ornamental parts, which the conquerors were industrious in procuring to grace their triumphs; whence of Hector threatening the Grecian fleet with destruction, Homer says,

Στεῦται γὰρ νηῶν ἀποκόψειν ἄκρα κόρυμβοι.

These they called ἀκρωτήρια, and to deprive a ship of them ἀκρωτηρίαζεν (*f*). In this manner the victors returned home, filling the sea with their shouts, acclamations and hymns; which were sweetened by the harmony of musical instruments, as appears from the example of Lyfander in Plutarch.

Being received into the city, they went straightway into the temples of the gods, where they dedicated the choicest of their spoils: Thus we read, that the Syracusans having defeated the Athenians and the Rhodians after a victory over Demetrius, filled the temples of their gods with wrecks of ships. Nor was it unusual to present entire vessels to them; for we find that Phormio having overcome the Lacedæmonians, consecrated a ship to Neptune (*g*); and the Grecians after their great victory over the Persians at Salamis, are reported to have dedicated three Phœnician triremes (*h*).

Having paid their compliment to the gods, the remainder of their spoils they bestowed in the porticoes, and other public places of

(*a*) Hist. Lib. II. (*b*) Polyænus Lib. IV. (*c*) Diodorus Lib. XIII. (*d*) Vitruv. Lib. II. Cap. VIII. (*e*) Polyænus. (*f*) Xenophon Hist. Lib. VI. (*g*) Diodorus Lib. XII. (*h*) Herodotus Lib. VIII.

of their city, to preserve the memory of their victory : To which end they were likewise honoured with statues, inscriptions, and trophies, the last of which were sometimes erected in their own country, but more frequently near the place where they had overthrown their enemies, and were adorned with arms, and broken wrecks of ships, which, for that reason, were looked on as a sign and testimony of victory ; thus we are told by Thucydides (*a*), that in a fight between the Athenians and Corinthians, where both parties made pretensions to victory ; the former were by most esteemed to have the just title to it, as having possessed themselves of their enemy's wrecks ; and King Philip, though worsted by Attalus, yet because he made a shift to keep his fleet amongst the adverse party's wrecks, would have persuaded the world that the day was his own (*b*).

These were the principal of the rewards peculiar to those who had served their country by sea ; others they seem also to have been frequently honoured with, which being common to those who had been useful in other stations, may be more properly referred to other places, where I have already treated of them. The chief of their punishments was whipping with cords, which was sometimes inflicted on criminals having their lower parts within the ship, and their heads thrust out of port-holes, and hanging into the sea. Thus one Scylax, master of a Myndian vessel, was treated by Megabates for not being careful to keep watch and ward (*c*).

There seems to have been a punishment by which offenders were tied with cords to a ship, and dragged in the waters till they were drowned ; in which manner Scylla was treated by Minos, after she had betrayed to him her father and kingdom.

Others were thrown alive into the sea, as we read of Jonas the prophet.

Αναμαχοί, or such as refused to serve at sea after a lawful summons, were, at Athens, themselves and their posterity, condemned to *ἀτιμία*, ignominy or disfranchisement (*d*), of which punishment I have spoken in one of the former books.

Λιποναῦται, deserters, were not only bound with cords and whipped, as Demosthenes reports, but had their hands likewise cut off, as we are informed by Suidas.

ARCHÆO-

(*a*) Lib. VII. (*b*) Polybius Hist. Lib. XVI. Cap. III. (*c*) Herodotus Terpsichore. (*d*) Suidas.

ARCHÆOLOGIA GRÆCA:
OR THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the Care the Grecians had of Funerals, and of Persons destitute thereof.

PLUTO was the first who instructed the Grecians (*a*) in the manner of performing their last offices to the deceased, which gave occasion to the inventors of fables to assign him a vast and unbounded empire in the shades below, and constitute him supreme monarch of all the dead. And since there is scarce any useful art, the inventor whereof was not reckoned amongst the gods, and believed to patronize and preside over those artificers he had first instructed; no wonder if he who taught the rude and uncivilized ages what respect, what ceremonies

(*a*) Diodorus Siculus, Lib. V. Cap. XV.

ceremonies were due to the dead, had the honour to be numbered amongst the deities of the first quality, since the duties belonging to the dead were thought of far greater importance, and the neglect of them a crime of a blacker character than those required by the living: For the dead were ever held sacred and inviolable even amongst the most barbarous nations; to defraud them of any due respect was a greater and more unpardonable sacrilege than to spoil the temples of the gods; their memories were preserved with a religious care and reverence, and all their remains honoured with worship and adoration; hatred and envy themselves were put to silence, for it was thought a sign of a cruel and inhuman disposition to speak evil of the dead, and prosecute revenge beyond the grave: no provocation was thought sufficient to warrant so foul an action; the highest affronts from themselves whilst alive, or afterwards from their children, were esteemed weak pretences for disturbing their peace. Offenders of this kind were not only branded with disgrace and infamy, but, by Solon's laws, incurred a severe penalty (a).

But of all the honours paid to the dead, the care of their funeral rites was the greatest and most necessary; for these were looked upon as a debt so sacred, that such as neglected to discharge it were thought accursed; hence the Romans called them *justa*, the Grecians *δικαία*, νόμιμα, νομιζόμενα *ἔθικα*, ὅσια, &c. all which words imply the inviolable obligations which nature has laid upon the living to take care of the obsequies of the dead. And no wonder if they were thus solicitous about the interment of the dead, since they were strongly possessed with an opinion, that their souls could not be admitted into the Elysian shades, but were forced to wander desolate and without company, till their bodies were committed to the earth (b); and if they never had the good fortune to obtain human burial, the time of their exclusion from the common receptacle of the ghosts was no less than an hundred years; whence, in most of the poets, we meet with passionate requests of dying men, or their ghosts, after death, for this favour. I will only give you one out of Homer (c), who introduces the soul of Elpenor earnestly beseeching Ulysses to perform his funeral rites:

Νῦν δὲ σε τῶν ὀπίθεν γινάσκομαι, ἔπαρδόντων,
Πρὸς τ' ἀλόχῃ, καὶ πατρὸς, ὃς ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἰόντα,
Τηλεμάχῃ δ', ὃν μῆνόν ἐνι μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες,
Μὴ μὲ ἀκλαυτον ἰὼν ὀπίθεν καταλείπειν
Νοσφιοδῆς, μή τοι τί δειῶν μνήμῃα γένωμαι.

When homewards bound th' infernal shades you quit,
Don't me unhappy wretch, my friend, forget.
If ought of dear concern you've left behind,
With zeal tow'rd me, let that affect your mind:
If aged fire, your wife, or hopeful heir can bind;

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X

Let

(a) Demosthen. Orat. in Leptim. Plutarchus Solone.
Odyss. x. v. 66, 72.

(b) Homerus Iliad. ψ.

Let dirge and burial solemnize my fate,
 Left I should prove to th' gods a reprobate:
 This, this I beg, this earnestly implore,
 Thus will my soul to bliss be wafted o'er.

J. A.

This was the reason why, of all imprecations, the greatest was to wish, that a person might ἀναφως ἐκπίπτειν χθονός, i. e. die destitute of burial; and of all forms of death the most terrible was that by shipwreck, as wherein the body was swallowed up by the deep; whence Ovid, though willing to resign his miserable life, yet prays against this death;

Demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit.

Death would my soul from anxious troubles ease,
 But that I fear to *perish* by the *seas*.

Wherefore, when they were in danger of being cast away, it was customary to fasten to some part of their body the most precious of all their stores, with a direction to the first that found their dead corpses, if the waves chanced to roll them to the shore, entreating of him the favour of an human burial, and proffering what they carried about them as a reward, or desiring him to expend some part of it upon their funeral (*a*) rites, and accept the rest himself. But though the carcase brought no reward along with it, yet was it not therefore lawful to pass it by neglected, and deny it, what was looked on as a debt to all mankind; for not only the Athenian laws forbade so great an act of inhumanity (*b*), but in all parts of Greece it was looked upon as a great provocation to the infernal gods, and a crime that would call up certain vengeance from the regions below (*c*): nor could the guilty person be freed from the punishment of his offence, or admitted to converse with men, or worship the gods, but was looked upon as profane and polluted, till he had undergone the accustomed purifications, and appeased the incensed deities. Yet it was not always required that all the funeral solemnities should be nicely performed, which the haste of travellers that should light upon the carcase should oftentimes not permit, but it was sufficient to cast dust or soft earth upon it three times together, according to Horace (*d*);

*Quaunque festinas, non est mora longa, licebit
 Injeto ter pulvere curras,*

—Over the corpse thrice sprinkle sand,
 Th' officious deed will not retard your haste.

Of these three handfuls, one at least was thrown upon the head.

This, in cases of necessity, was looked upon as enough to gain the ghost's admission into Pluto's dominions, and to free such as happened upon.

(*a*) Synesius Epist. Interpret. Historiæ Apollonii Tyrii, Meursius in Lycophronis Cassandram, v. 367. (*b*) Ælianus Var. Hist. V. Cap. XIV. (*c*) Sophocles Scholiastes Antigone. (*d*) Lib. I. Od. XXVIII, v. 36. Quintilianus Declam. V. VI. Cælius Rhodiginus, Lib. XVII. Cap. XX.

upon their bodies from the fear of being haunted, yet was far from affording them entire satisfaction; wherefore, such as had been interred clandestinely, or in haste, and without the customary solemnities, if afterwards good fortune discovered them to any of their friends, were honoured with a second funeral, as appears from the story of Polydorus in Virgil, who being murdered and interred by Polymnestor, does yet make his complaint to Æneas at his arrival in Thrace, that his soul could not rest till his obsequies were celebrated according to custom; wherefore the pious hero

———*Instaurat funus, animamque sepulchro.*
Condit (a).———

Attends the rites, and gives the soul repose
Within a wish'd-for tomb.———

Nor was it sufficient to be honoured with the solemn performance of their funeral rites, except their bodies were prepared for burial by their relations, and interred in the sepulchres of their fathers; the want of which was looked upon by themselves and their surviving friends, as a very great misfortune, and not much inferior to death itself, as appears from innumerable testimonies, of which I shall only trouble you with the following; the first taken from the epitaph of Leonidas the Tarentine, which runs thus (b):

Πολλὸν αἶψ' Ἰταλῆς κείμαι χθονὸς, ἔκ τε Τάραντος
Πάτρης, τῆτο δέ μοι πικρότερον θανάτου.

I from Tarentum far remote do lie,
My native soil, than death oh worse anxiety!

The second from Electra in Sophocles, who having preserved Orestes from Clytemnestra, by sending him into a foreign country, and many years after hearing he had ended his days there, wishes he had rather perished at first, than after so many years continuance of life, have died from home, and been destitute of the last offices of his friends. Her words are these (c):

Δόμων δέ σ', ὦ παῖ, λαμπρὸν ἐξέπεψ' ἐγὼ,
Ὡς ὄφελον πάροιθεν ἐκλιπεῖν βίον,
Πρὶν ἐς ξένην σὲ γαῖαν ἐκπέμψαι χερσὶν
Κλέψασα ταῖνδε, καῖνασώσασθαι φόνε·
Ὅπως θανὼν ἔκεισο τῇ τόδ' ἡμέρᾳ,
Τύμβου πατρὸς κοινὸν εἰληχῶς μέρε·
Νῦν δ' ἐκτὸς οἴκων, καπὶ γῆς ἄλλης φυγὰς
Κακῶς ἀπώλῃ σῆς κασιγνήτης δίχα, &c.

Oh! could I wish thou hadst, unhappy youth,
Been slain before I sent thee thus away,

X 2

Then

(a) Æneid, III. v. 62, & 67.
Ep. LXXV. (c) V. 1134.

(b) Antholog. Epigram. Lib. III. Cap. XXV,

Then thou hadst ne'er these doleful mis'ries felt,
 But dy'd in th' innocence of infancy;
 Then thou hadst had one common sepulture
 With thy dear father, then thy sister's love
 And pity ne'er wou'd thus have heap'd up woe:
 Now thou art in a foreign land depriv'd
 Of those blest rites thy friends could once bestow,
 And as thy life unhappy was, so is alike thy death. *J. A.*

For this reason, such as died in foreign countries had usually their ashes brought home and interred in the sepulchres of their ancestors, or, at least, in some part of their native country; it being thought that the same mother which gave them life and birth, was only fit to receive their remains, and afford them a peaceful habitation after death. Whence ancient authors afford us innumerable instances of bodies conveyed, sometimes by the command of oracles, sometimes by the good will of their friends, from foreign countries to the sepulchres of their fathers, and with great solemnity deposited there. Thus Theseus was removed from Scyrus to Athens, Orestes from Tegea, and his son Tisamenus from Helice to Sparta, and Aristomenes (to mention no more) from Rhodes to Messene. How far this custom extended to soldiers, and by whom it was first introduced into Greece, has been related in the preceding book.

Nor was this pious care limited to persons of free condition, but slaves also had some share therein; for we find the Athenian lawgiver commanding the magistrates called Demarchi, under a severe penalty, to solemnize the funerals not so much of citizens, whose friends seldom failed of paying the last honours, as of slaves, who frequently were destitute of decent burial (*a*).

But if any person was backward in paying his dead friends due respect, or but sparing in his expences upon their obsequies and monuments, the government looked upon him as void of humanity and natural affection, and thereupon excluded him from bearing any office of trust and honour; for one special inquiry concerning the lives and behaviour of such as appeared candidates for the magistracy at Athens, was, whether they had taken due care in celebrating the funerals, and adorning the monuments of their relations (*b*). Farther, to appear gay and pleasant before the ordinary time of mourning expired, was matter of no small scandal; for we find it objected by Æschines to Demosthenes, as a crime of a very heinous nature, that after the death of his only daughter, he sacrificed to the gods in white apparel, and adorned with garlands, before due respect was paid to the memory of such a relation.

The great concern they had about funerals, may further appear from the respect paid to persons officiating therein: For we find the Cre-
 tan

(*a*) Demost. Orat. in Macart.

(*b*) Xenophon de Dict. Socritis, Lib. II.

tan *κατακαύται*, who had the care of funerals, to have been revered equally with their priests; and when their laws permitted to steal from others, as was likewise customary at Sparta, those men were exempted from the common calamity, to convey away any part of their goods being looked on as a kind of sacrilege (*a*).

Notwithstanding all this, there were some so unhappy, as, by their actions whilst alive, or the aggravating circumstances of their death, to be unworthy of all title to the common funeral rites, and some to any funeral at all. Such were these that follow:

1. Public or private enemies; for though it was looked upon as inhuman to deny an enemy the common privilege of nature, yet upon some extraordinary provocations, we find it practised by the ancient Grecians. Homer has introduced Ulysses threatening Socus therewith (*b*); Hector likewise promising the same treatment to Patroclus (*c*); and Achilles revenging his cruelty by the like usage of him (*d*). The same poet has furnished us with several instances of heroes made *κυρί μελπηθρα* and *κύνεσσιν αἰωνοῖσι τε ἐλάρια*, a prey to birds and beasts. No better treatment had the bones of Pyrrhus, Achilles's son, treacherously murdered by Orestes (*e*),

Sparsa per Ambracias quæ jacuere vias.

Which lay dispers'd about th' Ambracian roads.

And however this may be thought the practice of those primitive and uncivilized mortals, yet there want not instances hereof in more refined ages; for Lysander the Spartan admiral having routed the Athenian fleet, caused Philocles, one of their commanders, and to the number of four thousand Athenian prisoners, to be put to death, and refused to give them human burial (*f*).

2. Such as betrayed, or conspired against their country (*g*). On which account, Aristocrates being convicted of treason against the Arcadians, was stoned to death, and cast out of the bounds of their country unburied (*h*); for it was thought but reasonable, that villains conspiring the ruin of their country, should be deprived of all privilege in it. Pausanias likewise, after he had delivered Greece from the Persians, being found, upon some discontent, to maintain a correspondence with them, was pined to death, and denied burial (*i*); and the famous Phocion being unjustly condemned by the Athenians, as conspiring to deliver the Piræus into their enemy's hands, had his body cast out of Attica, and a severe penalty was decreed against any that should honour it with interment (*k*). So exact they were in the observation of this custom, that when the pestilence raged at Athens, and the oracle gave

out

(*a*) Plutarchus Græc. Quæst. XXI.

(*b*) Iliad. 6.

(*c*) Iliad. 7.

(*d*) Iliad. 24.

(*e*) Ovid. in Ibin. v. 304.

(*f*) Pausanias Bæoticis, p. 591. Edit. Hanov.

(*g*) Dio-

dorus Siculus, Lib. XVI. Cap. VI.

(*h*) Pausanias Messenicis.

(*i*) Plutarchus

Pausania.

(*k*) Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos Phocione, Valerius Maximus, Lib. V. Cap. III.

out, that the only remedy was to fetch Themistocles's bones from Magnesia, they refused to do it publicly, but conveying them privately, and as it were by stealth, hid them in the ground. Amongst the betrayers of their country, we may reckon those who were not active in defending it; for they were likewise frequently denied human burial. Hence Hector is introduced by the poet, threatening this punishment to all who would not help him in destroying the Grecian fleet (a).

Ον δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐτέρωθι νοήσω,
 Αὐτῆς οἱ θάνατον μητίστομαι· ἔδ' εἰ νῦν τὸν γε
 Γνωτοί τε γνωταί τε πυρὸς λελάχῃσι θανόντα,
 Ἀλλὰ κύνες ἐρύσσι πρὸ ἄσιος ἡμετέροιο.

He that for spoil and plunder of the war
 Dares lag behind, and not in haste repair
 To th' Argive fleet, as soon as known, shall die;
 His carcase, deny'd fun'ral rites, shall lie
 A prey for rav'nous curs, a mark of infamy.

J. A.

Some Scholiasts would have this the first example of the practice I am speaking of but Homer sufficiently refutes this opinion, by making Agamemnon threaten the same punishment to the Grecians in the second Iliad (b).

Ον δὲ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάφης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω
 Μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, ἔ' οἱ ἐπειῖα
 Ἀγκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας, ἢ δ' οἰωνός.

When to the fight brisk cornets sound alarms,
 That sneaking soul who then lays down his arms,
 And sculks about the navy out of fear
 Of any danger from th' impending war,
 Shall be an outcast for the birds of prey,
 And hungry dogs as merciless as they.

J. A.

Before this instance, Palamedes, being condemned as a traitor by the treachery of Ulysses, had wanted burial, had not Achilles and Ajax adventured to pay him that office, in opposition to Agamemnon's commands. Nor was the custom begun here; for in the former age, we find Antigone buried alive by Creon for interring her brother Polynices, by whose means the famous war against Thebes was carried on, which is the subject of Sophocles's Antigone.

3. To these we may subjoin tyrants, who were always looked on as enemies of their country, and used in the same manner with those that endeavoured to betray it to foreign powers, there being no difference between a domestic and foreign slavery. So the Phœreans

having

(a) Iliad. 6. v. 384.

(b) Ver. 391.

having slain Alexander, who had cruelly oppressed them, threw his carcase to the dogs; and Plutarch observes, that this was not a late or modern custom, but practised in the most early ages, speaking of the passage of Homer (*a*), where Nestor tells Telemachus, that had Menelaus found Ægisthus alive after his murder of Agamemnon, and tyranny over the Myceneans, he would not have vouchsafed him burial (*b*):

Εἰ ζῶντι Ἀἰγίσθον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτετμεν
 Ἀτρείδης Τροίηθεν ἰὼν ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,
 Τῷ κὲ οἱ εἰδὲ θανόντι χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευεν,
 Ἀλλ' ἄρα τὸν γε κύνες τε καὶ αἰῶνοὶ κατέδαψαν
 Κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ ἑκάς ἄσπετος, εἰδὲ κί τις μὴ
 Κλαύσας Ἀχαιῶδων.

If the bold murderer had his fate surviv'd,
 When Menelaus from Troy's siege arriv'd,
 What ills would then attend his ghost and name,
 When Menelaus swell'd with vengeance came?
 None e'er his fall should mourn, his fate lament,
 But lest his body should the city taint,
 Remote on some wide plain it should be cast,
 For dogs and vultures to regale and feast.

J. A.

The Myceneans were not insensible of the wrongs they had suffered by him; and thinking him unworthy of an honourable funeral, cast him with the adulteress Clytemnestra, out of the city, and there interred them (*c*).

4. On the same account, such as were guilty of self-murder forfeited their right to decent burial, and were clancularly deposited in the ground, without the accustomed solemnities; for they were looked on as enemies to their country, whose service they deserted (*d*). For which reason Ajax, the son of Telamon, was not reduced to ashes, as the custom was, but privately interred, it being declared by Calchas to be a profanation of the holy element, to consume in it the bodies of such as had occasioned their own death (*e*). After the battle of Plataea, when the bodies of the slain were honoured with the accustomed solemnities, Aristodemus alone, who was generally confessed to have acquitted himself in the fight with the greatest valour of any man in the army, lay unregarded, because he seemed resolved to sacrifice his life, as an atonement for the disgrace he had contracted by surviving his fellow-soldiers at Thermopylae (*f*). Yet, to put a period to their lives on just occasions, seems rather to have been the reputed effect of a necessary and laudable courage, than any way criminal or blameworthy.

(*a*) Lib. de Homero. (*b*) Odyss. γ'. v. 256.
 (*d*) Aristoteles Ethic. Nicomac. Lib. V. Cap. II.
 (*f*) Herodotus Calliop. Cap. LXX.

(*c*) Pausanias Corinthiacis.
 (*e*) Philostratus Heroicis.

worthy. Demosthenes and Hannibal are said to have been constantly provided of an effectual poison to dispatch themselves with, before they should fall into their enemies hands. Cato, Cleopatra, Brutus, Otho, and several others, have not at all lessened their esteem and character in the heathen world by becoming their own executioners. Plato himself, when he commands those only, who out of cowardice and unmanly fear, butchered themselves, to be interred in lonesome and desolate places, without the ordinary solemnities, seems to excuse others, whom he thought compelled to it by a great disgrace, or any unavoidable and incurable misfortune (a); and it is no wonder if Epicureans, who expected no future state, and Stoics, who thought all things to lie under an irresistible necessity, pursuant to their principles, abandoned themselves over to such fatal courses. Many other instances may be produced, not only from the Grecians and Romans, but the Indian philosophers, and almost the whole heathen world.

5. To these we may add villains guilty of sacrilege (b), to inter whom was an affront to the deities they had robbed. The gods were sometimes thought to inflict this punishment on such malefactors; wherefore Archidamus, the Spartan king, being slain in Italy, and deprived of burial, Pausanias (c) concludes it was a judgment upon him for assisting the Phocians in pillaging the city and temple of the Delphians.

6. Persons killed with lightning, who being thought hateful to the gods, were buried apart by themselves, lest the ashes of other men should receive pollution from them. Whence Adrastus in Euripides, speaking of Capaneus, saith,

Ἡ χερὶς, ἰερὸν ὡς νεκρὸν, θάψαι θέλει;

Shall he apart be bury'd as accurs'd?

Some will have them to be interred in the place where they died (d); others collect out of Plutarch's Symposiasts, that they had no interment, but were suffered to rot in the place where they fell, to which it was unlawful for any man to approach; whence Persius (e),

Triste jaces lucis, evitandumque bidental.

A direful instance of Jove's wrath you lie,
And whom, being thunderstruck, none dare come nigh.

For this reason, the ground was hedged in, lest any person should unawares contract pollution from it. It may be observed in general, that all places struck with thunder were avoided (f), and fenced round,
out

(a) De Legibus Lib. IX. (b) Diodorus Siculus Biblioth. Lib. XVI. Cap. VI.
(c) Laconicis, p. 178. Edit. Had. (d) Artemidorus, Lib. II. Cap. VIII.
(e) Satir. II. v. 27. (f) Plutarchus Pyrrho,

out of a fanèy, that Jupiter having taken some offence, fixed upon them that mark of his displeasure.

7. Those who wasted their patrimony, forfeited their right of being buried in the sepulchres of their fathers: Whence we find Democritus to have been in danger of wanting a burial-place, for spending his paternal inheritance in travel to foreign countries, and searching after the mysteries of nature (a).

8. To these we may subjoin such as died in debt, whose bodies belonged at Athens to their creditors, and could not claim any right to human burial, till satisfaction was made. Whence, it is reported, that Cimon had no other method to redeem his father Miltiades's body, but by taking his debt and fetters upon himself.

9. Some offenders who suffered capital punishment, were likewise deprived of burial; those especially who died upon the cross, or were impaled, whom they frequently permitted to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey. To which custom there is an allusion in Horace (b),

Non hominem occidi; non pasces in cruce corvæ.

With impious hands I ne'er slew th' innocent:
Therefore to feed the crows is not your punishment.

Juvenal also mentioneth the same custom (c),

*Vultur jumento, & canibus, crucibusque relictis,
Ad satum properat, partemque cadaveris affert.*

Where crosses and contagious murrain are,
Vultures in flocks most greedily repair,
And to their craving young thence food they bear.

The interpreters of fables will have Prometheus's punishment to be an emblem of this. If the carcase was spared by the beasts, it commonly remained upon the cross or pale till the weather consumed and putrified it. Thus Silius reports of the Scythians (d):

*At gente in Scythica suffixa cadavera truncis
Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia tabo.*

Delinquents carcases in Scythia were
Impal'd, until corrupted by the air,
The putrid flesh did drop and shrink away,
And the bones moulder'd by a long decay,

Vol. II.

Y

Nor

(a) Diogenes Laertius Democrito.
v. 77. (d) Lib. XIII.

(b) Lib. I. Epist. XVI.

(c) Sat. XVI,

Nor was this inhuman custom practised in that barbarous nation only, but by those who made greater pretensions to civility and good manners, as may appear from the dream of Polycrates's daughter, who fancied she saw her father's face washed by Jupiter, and anointed by the sun; which was accomplished not long after, when he was hung upon the cross, and exposed to the rain and sun-beams (*a*). Hither also may be referred the answer of Theodorus the philosopher, who being threatened crucifixion by king Lyfimachus, replied, That it was all one to him to be above or beneath the ground (*b*).

10. In some places it was customary to inter the bodies of infants who had no teeth, without consuming them to ashes (*c*); to which custom Juvenal has this allusion (*d*).

*Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ
Virginis occurrit, vel terra claudiur infans,
Et minor igne rogi.*—————

When a young lady brisk and gay is dead,
As soon as ripe she seems for th' nuptial bed,
And when an infant not yet fit to burn,
Is buried, who relents not, who forbears to mourn?

J. A.

If persons who had incurred public hatred, had the good fortune to obtain human burial, it was customary to leap upon their tombs, and cast stones at them, in token of detestation and abhorrence: Which practice is mentioned by Euripides (*e*);

—————*ἐκθρόσκει τὰ Φφ,
Πέτροις τε λένει μνήμα λαΐνον πατρός.*

—————He leaps upon his parents tomb,
And in derision batters it with stones.

Nor was it unfrequent to punish notorious offenders, by dragging their remains out of their retirement, and depriving them of the graves to which they had no just pretension, as may appear from several instances.

Sacrilegious persons were commonly thus treated. A remarkable instance whereof we find at Athens, where Cylo, an ambitious nobleman, having seized the citadel, and being there straitly besieged, found means to escape with his brother, leaving his accomplices to the mercy of the besiegers; they fled, therefore, for protection to the altars, whence there was no method to draw them, but by promising them pardon: But no sooner had they left their sanctuaries, when the magistrates,

(*a*) Herod. Thalia. (*b*) Cicero Tusc. Quæst. Lib. I. (*c*) Plinius Nat. Hist. Lib. VII. (*d*) Satir. XV. v. 139. (*e*) Electra.

strates, contrary to their covenant, put them to death; upon which facts themselves were afterwards arraigned and banished, the deities so commanding: Nor was this alone satisfactory to divine vengeance, till their graves were rifled, and their remains, which had been conveyed into Attica, cast out of the country (a).

Traitors were condemned to the same punishment; which appears as from several instances, so from Phrynichus the Athenian, who being arraigned and condemned for treason, some time after his funeral, his tomb was opened, and his reliques thrown out of Attica (b).

The same was sometimes practised upon enemies, when their malice and fury were extended beyond the ordinary bounds of martial law, and hurried them on to despoil the sacred temples, and commit unsufferable villanies; otherwise thus to treat a lawful and honourable enemy, was always censured as barbarous and inhuman.

But above all, it seems to have been the fate of tyrants, who were esteemed of all other savage beasts the most hurtful and pernicious to mankind: wherefore we are told by Plutarch (c), that Dio was extremely censured for hindering the Syracusans from breaking up the tomb of the elder Dionysius, and scattering his bones: Periander the Corinthian tyrant (by some reckoned amongst the seven wise men) to prevent his incensed subjects from venting their fury upon his reliques, contrived this method: He commanded two young men to walk in the depth of the night in a certain path, and killing the first man they met, to bury him privately; to dispatch and inter these, he commissioned four, after whom he sent others; and after these a greater force, to treat the former in the same manner; whereby it came to pass, that the tyrant himself, meeting the first pair, was interred in a place unknown to any man (d).

Other methods were likewise used to secure peace to their ashes, the disturbance whereof was looked on as the highest affront, and the greatest misfortune in the world: To instance, we find Medea in Euripides resolving to bury her sons in Juno Acræa's temple, hoping that the holiness of the place would protect them from the malice of her enemies (e):

——ἐπεί σφας τῇδ' ἐγὼ θάψω χεῖρ,
Φέρο' ἐς Ηρας τέμενος Ακραιάς δεῦ·
Ὡς μή τις αὐτῆς πολέμιον καθυδρίσῃ,
Τύμβους ἀνασπῶν.——

Affronts and contumelies to prevent,
And that their sepulchres mayn't be defaced,
I will myself give burial to my sons
In Juno's temple at th' Acropolis
She presides over.——

J. A.

Y 2

CHAP.

(a) Plutarch. de sera Numinis vindicta.

(b) Lycurgus Orat. in Leocratem.

(c) Dione.

(d) Diogenes Laertius Periandro.

(e) Medea. v. 1378,

CHAP. II.

Of the Ceremonies in Sickness, and Death.

WHEN any person was seized with a dangerous distemper, it was usual to fix over his door a branch of rhamn and laurel-tree: Which custom is mentioned by Laertius, in his life of Bion the Boristhenite:

Ράμνον τε, καὶ κλάδον δάφνης
Υπὲρ θύρην ἔθηκεν.
Ἀπαντὰ μᾶλλον, ἢ θανεῖν,
Ἐτοίμη δὲ ὦν ὑπεργεῖν.

Bion the post of's door doth grace
With rhamn and Daphne's plant;
For fear of death in his sad case,
He nothing now will want.

J. A.

The former of these plants seems designed to keep off evil spirits; against which it was reputed a sovereign amulet; and on that account sometimes joined with the epithet ἀλεξίκακον, as in this fragment of Euphorio,

——— Ἀλεξίκακον φέρε ράμνον.

Produced the rhamn, against mischievous ills
An antidote.———

The laurel was joined to it to render the god of physic propitious, who, they thought, could design no harm to any place where he found the monument of his beloved Daphne. These boughs they termed ἀντήναις (a).

It may not be improper to observe in this place, that all sudden deaths of men were imputed to Apollo; whence Hector, having lain unburied twelve days, and being, by the special favour of heaven, preserved fresh and free from corruption, Hecuba resembles him to one dead, not of a lingering and wearing distemper, but by a sudden death; the former being thin and consumed away, the latter fat and fleshy (b):

Νῦν δέ μοι ἐρτήεις καὶ πρόσφατος ἐν μεγάροισι
Κεῖσθαι, τῷ ἱκέλος, ὅν τ' ἀργυρότερος Ἀπόλλων
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπιφνε.

Now

(a) Etymologici Auctor.

(b) Iliad. ὁ ν. 757.

Now fresh and glowing e'en in death thou art,
And fair as he who falls by Phœbus' dart.

The sudden death of women was attributed to Diana; whence Glaucus, in the same poet, speaking of Hippodamia (*a*),

Τὴν δὲ χολωσαμένη χρυσήνιος Ἀρτέμις ἔκτα.

Incens'd Diana her dépriv'd of life.

Again, Achilles wishes that Briseis had been snatch'd away by a sudden death, rather than have been the occasion of dissension between him and Agamemnon (*b*),

Τὴν ὄφελ' ἐν νήεσσι κατακτάμεν Ἀρτέμις ἰῶ,
Ἡματι τῷ ὅτ' ἐγὼν ἐλόμην Λυρνησσὸν ὀλέσσαις.

Oh that Diana her had kill'd on board,
When first I carry'd her, Lyrnessus overthrow'd.

The poet has explained his own meaning in another place (*c*), where Eumenes reports, that in the isle of Syria, the inhabitants never die of lingering distempers, but being arrived at a good old age, drop into their graves without any previous torment,

Πείνη δ' ἔποτε δῆμον ἐτέρχεται, ἐδὲ τις ἄλλη
Νῆσθ' ἐπὶ συγγεῇ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.
Ἀλλ' ὅτε γηράσκωσι πόλιν κατὰ Φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων,
Ἐλθὼν ἀργυρότοξος Απόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνεν.

No plague, no famine does their lives impair,
No pois'nous ills those happy mortals fear;
Healthy and strong they see the verge of age,
Then venerably old they quit the stage;
Apollo and Diana stop their breath,
Shooting unerring shafts well fraught with death.

γ. Α.

Again, Ulysses inquires of his mother in the regions below, whether she resigned her life under a tedious disease, or Diana's hand (*d*):

Ἀλλ' ἄγε, μοι τόδε εἰπὲ, καὶ ἀτρέκίως κατάλεξον,
Τίς νύ σε κῆρ' ἰδάμασσε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
Ἡ δολιχὴ νῆσος, ἢ Ἀρτέμις ἰοχέαιρα
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχομένη κατέπεφνεν,

This

(a) Iliad. ζ'. v. 205.

(d) Ibid. λ'. v. 170.

(b) Iliad, ε'. v. 59.

(c) Odysse. δ. v. 406.

This I desire, dear mother, you'd relate,
 By what unhappy destiny, what fate
 You posted hither to this gloomy coast,
 And all th' endearments of the world have lost;
 Whether Diana, with relentless dart,
 (That sportful deity) transfix'd your heart,
 Or else you did your vital breath expire
 By lingering pain, or pestilential fire?

J. A.

Other instances may be produced to the same purpose: The ground of this opinion was Apollo's being usually taken for the sun, and Diana for the moon, which planets were believed to have a great influence on human life (a).

All dead persons were thought to be under the jurisdiction of the infernal deities; and therefore no man could resign his life till some of his hairs were cut, to consecrate him to them: Hence Euripides introduces death with a sword, going to cut off some of the hair of Alcestis, whom the fates had adjudged to die instead of her husband Admetus (b):

Ἡ δ' ἔν γυνὴ κάτεισιν εἰς ἅδ' ὁμῆς,
 Στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὥς κατὰρξωμαι ξίφει.
 Ἰερὸς γὰρ ἔτος τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς Διῶν,
 Οὗ τοδ' ἔγχος κρατὸς ἀγνίσει τρίχα.

I'm come to loose the brittle tie of life,
 And send her to th' infernal mansions hence:
 This sword is to initiate the rites
 By cutting off the fatal lock, on which
 Lies the vast struggle of her panting breath.

J. A.

Which passage is imitated by Virgil (c), where he tells us, that Dido, ridding herself out of the world before her time, had not her hair cut off by Proserpina, and therefore struggled some time, as unable to resign her life, till Iris was commissioned by Juno to do her that kind office (d).

*Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
 Difficilesque obitus, Irin dimisit Olympo,
 Quæ luctantem animam, nexosque resolveret artus;
 Nam qui nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
 Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
 Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
 Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco:*

Ergo

(a) Heraclides (vel potius Heraclitus) Ponticus de Allegor. Homer. Eustathius Iliad. ζ'. v. 205. & Iliad. ε'. v. 59, &c. (b) Alcestid. v. 74. (c) Macrobius Saturnal. Lib. V. Cap. XIX. (d) Æneid. IV. v. 694.

*Ergo Iris croceis per cælum roscida pennis,
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
Devolat, & supra caput astiit; "Hunc ego diti
"Sacrum iussa fero. teque isto corpore solvo."
Sic ait, & dextra crinem secat; omnis & una
Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.*

Then Juno, grieving that she should sustain
A death so lingering, and so full of pain,
Sent Iris down to free her from the strife
Of lab'ring nature, and dissolve her life;
For since she died, not doom'd by Heaven's decree,
Or her own crime, but human casualty,
And rage of love, that plung'd her in despair,
The sisters had not cut the topmost hair,
(Which Proserpine and they can only know)
Nor made her sacred to the shades below;
Downward the various goddesses took her flight,
And drew a thousand colours from the light;
Then stood above the dying lover's head,
And said, "*I thus devote thee to the dead;
"This off'ring to th' infernal gods I bear."*
Thus while she spoke she cut the fatal hair,
The struggling soul was loos'd, and life dissolv'd in air.

Dryden.

What was the ground of this opinion, cannot be certainly defined; but it seems not improbable that it proceeded from a ceremony at sacrifices, wherein they cut some of the hairs from the victim's forehead, and offered them to the gods as first fruits of the sacrifice; whence some imagine the same was thought to be done by death upon men sent as victims to the infernal gods.

When they perceived the pangs of death coming upon them, they made supplications to Mercury, whose office it was to convey the ghosts to the regions below. An instance hereof we have in a Cean matron, who being about to rid herself of life by a draught of poison, first called upon Mercury to grant her a pleasant journey, and convey her to a commodious habitation in Pluto's dominions (a). These prayers, whether offered to Mercury, or to any other god, was termed *ἐκτελέσις* *πρωτων*, which is a general name for all prayers before any man's departure, whether by death, or only to take a journey (b).

Their friends and relations perceiving them at the point of resigning their lives, came close to the bed where they lay, to bid them farewell, and catch their dying words, which they never repeated without reverence. The want of opportunity to pay this compliment to Hector,

(a) Valerius Maximus, Lib. II. Cap. VI.

(b) Etymologici Auctor.

tor, furnishes Andromache with matter of lamentation, which she thus expresses (a) :

Οὐ γάρ μοι θνήσκων λελάν ἐκ χεῖρας ὄρεξας,
Οὐδὲ τι μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, ἃ τί κεν αἰεὶ
Μεμνήμην, νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δακρυχέεσσα.

I saw him not when in the pangs of death,
Nor did my lips receive his latest breath.
Why held he not to me his dying hand?
And why receiv'd I not his last command?
Something he would have said had I been there,
Which I shou'd still in sad remembrance bear;
For I could never, never words forget,
Which night and day I would with tears repeat.

Congreve,

They kissed and embraced the dying person so taking their last farewell; which custom was very ancient, being derived from the eastern nations; for we find in the holy writings, that Joseph "fell upon his father Jacob's neck, when he lay upon his deathbed, and kissed him (b)." They endeavoured likewise to receive in their mouth his last breath, as fancying his soul to expire with it, and enter into their bodies: And at the time of its departure it was customary to beat brazen kettles, which was thought an excellent method to drive away evil spirits and phantoms, whose airy forms were not able to endure so harsh a noise (c): Thus they imagined the dead man's ghost secured from furies, and quietly conveyed to a peaceful habitation in the Elysian fields. For it was an old opinion, that there being two mansions in the infernal regions, one on the right hand, pleasant and delightful, the other on the left, appointed for the souls of wicked wretches, the furies were always ready to hurry departed souls to the place of torment. Virgil has an allusion to this fancy (d),

*Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas,
Dextera, quæ ditis magni sub mœnia tendit,
Hac iter Elysium nobis, at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.*

'Tis here in diff'rent paths the way divides,
The right to Pluto's golden palace guides,
The left to that unhappy region tends,
Which to the depth of Tartarus descends,
The seat of night profound, and punish'd fiends,

Dryden.

Death, and all things concerning it, were ominous and ill-boding, and are therefore frequently expressed in softening terms: To die, is commonly termed ἀπογίνεσθαι, to which the Latin *denasci* answers:

Some-

(a) Iliad. ω. v. 743.
(d) Æneid. VI. 546.

(b) Genes. Cap. L.

(c) Theocriti Scholiastes.

sometimes it is called *ἀφαισθαι*, to depart; and the dead, *ἀφαισθέντες*: So also Chio in an epistle to Plato saith, *ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφαιστούμαι*, I will depart out of the world. In the same sense we find the Latin word *abitis*, which is a synonymous term for death (a); and *abijt*; as when Pliny writes, that *Virginus Rufus plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus* (b), departed full of years and honours: Thus also the Greeks use *βέβηκε*, i. e. he once lived; and the Romans, *vixit* and *fuit*; thus Virgil,

——— *Fuit Ilium, & ingens*
Gloria Teucrorum.———

Glory did once attend the Dardan state,
Its spires then glitter'd, and its chiefs were great.

Tibullus, with several others, hath used the same expression (c);

Vivite felices, memores & vivite nostri,
Sive erimus, seu nos fata fuisse velint.

In a blest'd series may your lives glide on,
If while I live, or when I'm dead and gone,
One transient glance you'll on my mem'ry cast,
And in soft accents say, he's gone and past.

J. A.

Sometimes they used *κείσθαι*, and *καμόντες*. Thus Homer (d),

——— *Οἱ ὑπέρθευ καμόντας*
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθαι, ὃ, τις κ' ἐπὶ οὐκον ὁμόσση.

Ye dire avengers of all perjur'd slaves,
When once they're dead, and cover'd in their graves.

Again (e),

——— *βροτῶν εἰδῶλα καμόντων,*

——— The ghosts o' th' dead.

But the most frequent are names taken from sleep, to which death bears a near resemblance; whence the poets feign them to be brothers, and *κοιμῶνται* or *εὐδαι* are commonly used for dying; thus Callimachus (f);

Τῆς Σάων, ὁ Δίκωνος, Ἀκάνθιος, ἄν' ὕπνον
Κοιμᾶται.———

Vol. II.

Z

Saon

(a) Festus.

(b) Lib. II. Epist. I.

(c) Lib. III. Eleg. V.

(d) Iliad. γ'.

(e) Odyss. α'.

(f) Epigram. XV.

Saon th' Acanthian, Dicon's son hard by,
In everlasting sleep wrapt up doth lie.

In another place (a);

————— Ἡ δ' ἀποδρίξει
Εὐδάδε τὸν πάσαις ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον.

The common debt of all mankind she sleeps.

Orpheus hath used the same metaphor in his *Argonautics*,

Εὐδεις, Αἰγιάδη, γλυκερῷ βεβωλημένος ὕπνῳ.

Agniades, thou art in soft repose
Lock'd up.—————

Many other like passages occur both in profane and inspired writers; and so common was this way of speaking with the primitive Christians, that their burying-places were called *κοιμητήρια*, which is a term of the same sense with Lycophron's *ἐνασθήρια* (b);

Σίθωνος εἰς θυγατρὸς ἐνασθήριον

To th' sleeping place of Sithon's daughter.

CHAP. III.

Of the Ceremonies before the Funeral.

AS soon as any person had expired, they closed his eyes; to do which, they termed *καθαίρειν συναρμόττειν συγκλείειν τὰς ὀφθαλμούς*, or *τὰ βλέφαρα*, &c. Which custom was so universally practised, that no person who has the least acquaintance with ancient writers, can be ignorant of it. Hence, *καταμύειν* came to be used for *θνήσκειν*. The design of this custom seems to have been not only to prevent that horror, which the eyes of dead men, when uncovered, are apt to strike into the living; but also for the satisfaction of dying persons, who are usually desirous to die in a decent posture. Thus Polyxena in Euripides is said to have ordered herself in such a manner, that nothing unfit to be seen should appear in her fall (c):

(a) Epigram. XXII.

(b) Cassandr. v. 583.

(c) Euripid. *Hecuba*, v. 568.

— ἡ δὲ καὶ θνήσκουσ' ὁμῶς
Πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν
Κρύπτειν θ', ἃ κρύπτειν ὁμματα' ἀρσένων χρεῖαν.

And Augustus Cæsar, upon the approach of his death, called for a looking-glass, and caused his hair to be combed, and his fallen cheeks decently composed (a). For the same reasons, the mouth of the dead person was closed. Hence the ghost of Agamemnon, in Homer, complains that his wife Clytemnestra had neglected to perform this ceremony (b),

— εἰδὲ μοι ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς Αἴδαο
Χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμούς ἐλέειν, σύντε, φόμ' ἐρεῖσαι.

This done, his face was covered : Whence Hippolytus in Euripides, being at the point to expire, calls upon his father Theseus to do him that office (c),

Κρύψον δέ με πρόσωπον ὡς τάχος πέπλοις.

Veil* my face over quickly with a sheet.

Indeed, almost all the offices about the dead were performed by their nearest relations ; nor could a greater misfortune befall any person, than to want these last respects : Electra in Sophocles seems to prefer death itself before it. Infinite numbers of instances might be produced to the same purpose, were it not too commonly known to need any farther confirmation. All the charges expended on funerals, and the whole care and management of them, belonged also to relations, saving that persons of extraordinary worth were frequently honoured with public funerals, the expences whereof were defrayed out of the exchequer : Thus we find Democritus at Abdera, Zeno and Aristides at Athens, Epaminondas at Thebes, Gryllus, Xenophon's son, at Mantinea, with many others, to have had their funerals celebrated at the public expence.

To return : Before the body was cold, they composed all the members, stretching them out to their due length ; this they termed *εκτείνειν*, or *ὀρεδοῦν* : Whence the maid in Euripides's Hippolytus, as soon as Phædra had expired her last, cries out to some of her own sex to perform this office (d) ;

Ορεδάσατ' ἐκτείνοντες ἄθλιον νέκυν,
Πικρὸν τοῦτο οἰκύρημα διαπότταις ἑμοῖς.

Tho' 'tis a service that will bitter prove,
And grieve the souls of my most wretched masters,
Yet lay the corpse of the dead lady out.

Z 2

Not

(a) Suetonius in Augusto XCIX.
lyto, v. 1458.

(d) V. 786.

(b) Odyss. λ'. v. 419.

(c) Euripid. Hippo-

Not long after, the chorus saith,

Ἡδὴ γὰρ ὡς νεκρὸν νιν ἐκτένυσσι δῆ.

As it is usual, they lay her out.

After this the dead body was washed; hence Alcestis in Euripides (a), upon the approach of the fatal day, wherein she was to lay down her life for her husband Admetus, washed herself in the river,

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦδε δ' ἡμέραν τὴν κυρίαν
Ἠκῆσαν ὕδασι ποταμίῳις λουκὸν χρόα
Εἰς αὐτ'.

The pious dame did in the river wash
Her beauteous body, when the fatal day
Of her own exit did approach.

Plato tells us, that Socrates washed himself before his execution, to save the women a trouble (b); for this office was commonly performed by women related to the party deceased; only in cases of necessity others were employed therein; so we find that poor Theagenes having neither wife nor child, nor any near relation of his own, was washed by the Cynics (c). At some places there were vessels in the temples designed for this use; these were called in Latin, *labra*, whence some derive the word *delubrum* (d).

This done, the body was anointed. Pliny reports, that the Grecians never used ointment, till the time of Alexander the Great, when they had it conveyed out of Persia (e); and Homer, though frequently mentioning the custom of anointing the dead, yet useth no other materials beside oil: Thus they anointed Patroclus (f):

Καὶ τότε δὴ λῶσαντο, καὶ ἤλεψαν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.

As soon as wash'd, they 'nointed him with oil.

But Athenæus will by no means allow Homer's oil to have been distinguished from *μύρον*, or ointment properly so called (g); and we find that Solon allowed his citizens the use of ointments; forbidding only slaves to perfume themselves therewith (b). Whence it seems probable, that however the Grecians might not have any knowledge of those costly ointments the Persians furnished them with, yet they were not unacquainted with the use of another sort.

After the body was washed and anointed, they wrapped it in a garment, which seems to have been no other than the common *pallium*

(a) V. 156.

(b) Phædone.

(c) Galenus de Methodo medendi, Lib. XIII.

Cap. XV.

(d) Asconius de Divinatione.

(e) Nat. Hist. Lib. XIII. Cap. I.

(f) Iliad, ε. v. 350.

(g) Δειπνιστοφ. Lib. XV.

(b) Plutarchus Solone.

or cloak they wore at other times (a), as we find the Romans made use of their *toga*. Thus Misenus in Virgil, being first washed and anointed, then (as the custom was) laid upon a bed, was wrapped in the garments he had usually worn (b);

*Pars calidos latices, & abena undantia flammis
Expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis, & unguunt:
Fit gemitus: Tum membra toro defleta reponunt,
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
Conjiciunt,——*

Some being mov'd with pity tow'ards their friend,
Water to boil in caldrons do attend,
Then wash his cold and stiffen'd limbs all o'er,
To try if quick'ning heat they can restore;
With essences and oils they scent the dead,
And then repose him on his fun'ral bed;
Their glowing passion in deep sighs they vent,
And full of sorrow dolefully lament;
On him the robes they cast he us'd to wear,
Which having done, they heave him on the bier.

J. A.

After this the body was adorned with a rich and splendid garment; hence we find, that before Socrates took the fatal draught, Apollodorus brought him a cloak, with a garment of great value (c), it being the philosopher's desire to prepare himself for his funeral before he died. It is reported also, that Philocles the Athenian admiral being overcome, and sentenced to death by Lyfander the Spartan, washed himself and put on his best apparel, before he was executed (d). The same we read of Alcestis in Euripides,

Επὶ γὰρ ἡδεῖ ἡμέραν τὴν κυρίαν
Ηκυσταν, ὕδασι ποταμίοις λευκὸν χροῖα
Ελέσατ', ἐκ δ' ἐλῶσα κεδρίων δόμων
Εὐδῆτα, κοσμον τ' εὐπρεπῶς ἡσκήσατο.

The pious dame, before the fatal day
Of her own exit, bath'd her beauteous limbs
In gentle rivulet, then she put on
A splendid vest, and decent ornaments
Of rich attire.——

J. A.

The whole body was covered with this garment. Its colour was commonly white, as we find in Homer speaking of Patroclus (e),

E,

(a) Apuleius Florid. I. (b) Æneid. VI. v. 218. (c) Laertius Socrate, Ælianus Var. Hist. Lib. I. Cap. XVI. (d) Plutarchus Lyfandra. (e) Iliad. 6. v. 352.

Ἐν λεχίσσοι δι δέντες ἱανῶ λιτὶ κάλυψαν
Ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, καδύνπερθε δὴ φάρεϊ λευκῶ.

In a white linen shroud from head to foot
They put the corpse, when on a bed laid out.

Whence Artemidorus reckons it an unlucky omen, and presaging death, for a sick person to have white apparel (a): This colour seems to have been used to denote the simplicity and harmlessness of the dead (b). So concerned were they about this garment, that, as some think, they frequently prepared it for themselves and friends during life: Thus Penelope is introduced by Homer speaking to her courtiers (c),

Κῆροι, ἔμοι μνηστῆρες, ἔπειθ' ἄνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
Μίμνετ' ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν ἔμδον γάμον, εἴσοκε Φᾶρος
Ἐκτελέσω (μὴ μοι μεταμῶλια νήματ' ὀληται)
Λαίρτη ἥρωϊ ταφῆιον, εἰς ὃ τε κέν μιν
Μοῖρ' ὅλοη καδέλῃσι πανηγυγίος θανάτοιο.

Since my Ulysses, as 'tis said, is slain,
And clotted gore won't circulate again,
Gentlemen, you that vig'rous rivals are
In courting me, your hot pursuit forbear,
Till I have spun this web against grim death
With his cold hands shall stop Laertes breath.

J. A.

Thus likewise Euryalus being slain, his mother is brought in complaining (d),

————— *Nec te tua funera mater
Produxi, pressive oculos, aut vulnera lavi;
Veste tegens, tibi quam noctes festina diesque
Urgebam, & tela curas solabar aniles.*

What pangs of grief my throbbing breast invade
To think thy mangled carcase was not laid
Forth on its pile by me; oh, sad surprise!
That I wa'n't by to close they beauteous eyes,
Just as th' expiring soul did take her flight
Into the regions of infernal night;
Oh! had I wash'd each wound, each sever'd vein,
When thou scarce cold laidst weltring on the plain,
And had the vest spread o'er thee, day and night
Which I have spun, my dotage to delight.

J. A.
But

(a) Oneirocrit. Lib. II. Cap. III.
6. v. 95.

(b) Plutarchus Quæst. Rom.
(d) Virgil. Æneid. IX. v. 486.

(c) Odyss.

But it may be disputed, whether these were made on purpose for funeral-garments, or only designed to be worn, and applied to the former use, in case the person should die, it being usual (as hath been already observed) to wrap dead bodies in the garments they had used when alive: The latter opinion seems more probable from the words which Penelope adds:

Μήτις μοι κατὰ δῆμον Αἰακῶν νεμεσῆση,
Αἴκειν ἄτις σπῖρα κῆται, πολλὰ κτατίσσαι.

Lest, if my fire without a coat should lie,
Shame and reproach I might incur thereby
From Grecian ladies, since this duty he,
Having such large revenues, claims of me.

J. A.

And it bears no great show of reason, that a mother should comfort herself by weaving a winding sheet for her young son, who at the time was likely to have lived many years. However that be, it is observable, that the Lacedemonians, as in most other things, so here also ran counter to the rest of the Grecians; for whereas, in other places, the dead were clothed with costly apparel, which none except the poorer sort ever wanted, the Spartan lawgiver ordered, that persons of the greatest valour and merit should be buried in nothing but a red coat, which was the common habit of soldiers; to the rest even this was denied (a); for he thought it wholly absurd and unreasonable, that those, who, through the whole course of their lives, had been accustomed to condemn riches and superfluous ornament, should be decked therewith when dead. Nor were any ointments or costly perfumes used there, being looked on as conducing nothing to the felicity of the dead, and unworthy of the Lacedemonian gravity.

The next ceremony was the bedecking the dead body with chaplets of flowers, and green boughs. Thus Talthybius puts on Hecuba to adorn her grandson Astyanax (b),

—Πεπλοισιν ὡς περιείλης νεκρὸν,
Στεφάνοις δ', ὅση σοι δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

That you adorn the corpse with costly robes,
With chaplets, and what other pomp you can.

When persons of worth and character died in foreign countries, their remains being brought home in urns, were honoured with the ceremonies customary at other funerals, but more especially with this I am speaking of. Plutarch reports, that all the cities through which Demetrius's ashes were conveyed, sent mourners to meet the sacred urn, with

(a) Ælianus Var. Hist. Lib. V. Cap. XI.

(b) Euripid. Troad. v. 1143.

with others, to perform the rites usual on such occasions, or at least they crowned it with garlands (a). The same author reports, that Philopœmen's relics were attended by captives in chains, and his urn so covered with ribbands and chaplets, that scarce any part of it was to be seen (b). This ceremony was either taken from the games, wherein the conquerors were rewarded with crowns of leaves, as signifying that the dead had finished their course (c), or was designed to express the unmixed and never-fading pleasures the dead were to enjoy, upon their removal out of this painful and troublesome world (d); for garlands were an emblem of mirth and joyfulness, and therefore usually worn at banquets and festivals. The same may be observed of ointments and perfumes, the constant attendants of gaiety and pleasantness. To both these ceremonies we have an ingenious allusion of an old poet in Stobæus :

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἔτιωσ' ἂν ποτ' ἐκφανώμενοι
 Πρὸ κέμεθ' ἄνδρσ', ἔδὲ κατακεχρισμένοι,
 Εἰ μὴ καταδόντας εὐδίας πίνειν ἔδει.
 Διὰ τὰύτα γὰρ τοὶ καλῶνται μακάριοι,
 Πᾶς γὰρ λέγει τις, ὁ μακαρίτης οἵχεται.

Not that we less compassionate are grown,
 Do we at funerals our temples crown,
 Or with sweet essences adorn our hair,
 And all the marks of pleasing transport wear :
 But 'cause we're sure of that more happy state
 To which kind death doth every soul translate,
 Which here by drinking we anticipate :
 For soon as death his fatal shaft has hurl'd,
 And us transmitted to the other world,
 We drinking sign th' immortal beverage,
 And in sweet joys eternity engage ;
 Hence they by every one are only said
 to be right happy that are truly dead.

H. H.

This done, they proceeded *προτίθεσθαι*, *collocare*, to lay out the dead body; sometimes they placed it upon the ground, sometimes upon a bier, called *λεκτρὸν*, *φιετρὸν* or *φιετρεῖς*, which they bedecked with various sorts of flowers. Some are of opinion the corpse was first laid out upon the ground, afterwards lifted upon a bier. This office, as most of the former, was performed by the nearest relations; whence Lyfias (e), amongst other aggravating circumstances which attended the death of Eratosthenes, who was condemned by the thirty tyrants of Athens, reckons this as none of the least, that they laid him out, assuming thereby an office belonging of right only to the nearest

I

(a) Demetrio.

(b) Philopœmene.

(c) Suidas.

(d) Clemens Alex.

andrin. Στρωμ. Lib. II. Cap. VIII.

(e) Orat. de Cæde Eratosthenis.

and most tender relations. Tiberius Cæsar is likewise censured by Dio, not only as neglecting to visit Livia when sick, but because he laid her not out with his own hands when she was dead (a). The place where the bodies were laid out, was near the entrance of the house, which being sometimes termed προώπιον, it came to pass that dead men were called προωπίεις. Hence Euripides (b) :

Ἡ δὲ προωπίης ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχὸς ῥαγεῖ.

The reason of this ceremony was, that all persons might have opportunity to search whether the party deceased had any wounds, or other marks of an untimely and violent death (c). It may be further observed, that the feet were always turned toward the gate. Hence Persius :

—— Tandemque beatulus alio
Compositus lecto, crassisque lutatus amomis,
In portam rigidos calces extendit.——

Our dear departed brother lies in state,
His heels stretch'd out, and pointing to the gate.

Achilles, in Homer, speaks of Patroclus as laid out in the same manner (e) :

—— ἐνὶ κλισίῃ διδαιγμένος ὄξυ χαλκῷ
Κεῖται ἀνὰ πρόθυρον τετραμμένος.

Slain, at the entrance of the tent he lies.

Where we are told by the Scholiast, that by this ceremony they signified that they were never to return after their being carried out. Whilst the body lay in this place, it was customary to give it constant attendance, to defend it from any violence or affront that might be offered. Whence Achilles adds in the forecited place :

—— ἀμφὶ δ' ἐταῖροι
Μύρονται.

Round the dead corpse his sad companions mourn.

And a little before, we find him so passionately concerned lest flies and vermin should pollute the corpse, that he could not be drawn from it to the battle, till Thetis had promised to guard it (f). When any person died in debt at Athens, there was something more to be feared ; for the laws of that city gave leave to creditors to seize the dead body, and deprive it of burial till payment was made ; whence the corpse of

Vol. II.

A a

Miltiades,

(a) Lib. LVIII.

(b) Alceste.

(c) Pollux Lib. VIII. Cap. VII.

(d) Sat. III.

v. 103.

(e) Iliad. τ. v. 214.

(f) Ibid. v. 23.

Miltiades, who deceased in prison, being like to want the honour of burial, his son Cimon had no other means to release it, but by taking upon himself his father's debt and fetters.

Some time before interment, a piece of money was put into the corpse's mouth, which was thought to be Charon's fare for wafting the departed soul over the infernal river. This was by some termed *γαρκήδοντα* (a), by others *δανάη* (b), *δανάκη*, or *δανάκης*, from *δάνω*, a price; or because it was given *τοῖς θανοῖς*, to dead men, so called from *θανά*, or dry sticks (c). It was only a single *ὄβολος*; Aristophanes, indeed, introduces Hercules telling Bacchus he must pay two oboli (d):

Εν πλοιαρίῳ τυνηταὶ σ' ἀνὴρ γεῶν
Ναύτης διάξει, δὴ ὄβολῶ μιᾶν λαβών

Th' old ferryman of hell will waft you o'er
In his small skiff for poor two oboli.

But the comedian seems to speak this only by way of jeer to the judges in some of the Athenian courts, who were presented with two oboli at the end of their session; whence Bacchus presently subjoins,

Φεῦ, ὡς μέγα δύνασθον πανταχῇ δὴ ὄβολῶ.

I find two oboli can much prevail
In either world.—

Meursius, therefore, interpreting this place of the common custom towards the dead, and adding out of the Scholiast, that the price was afterwards raised to three oboli, seems not to have reached the author's meaning; for nothing can be more plain than that the Scholiast is to be understood of the *δικασικὸς μισθός*, or reward allowed the judges, which was two oboli, and afterwards increased to three. This ceremony was not used in those places which they fancied situated in the vicinity of the infernal regions, and to lead thither by a ready and direct road (e); Strabo particularly mentions, that the Hermionians pleaded exemption (f).

Besides this, the corpse's mouth was furnished with a certain cake, composed of flower, honey, &c. and therefore called *μελιτρίττα* (g). This was designed to appease the fury of Cerberus the infernal door-keeper, and to procure of him a safe and quiet entrance. We have an allusion to this in the comedian (h),

—σορὸν ἀνήσει,
Μελιτρίτταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάζω.—

A cof-

(a) Suidas.

(b) Hesychius.

(c) Etymologici Auctor.

(d) Ranis, p. 217.

Edit. Aurel. Allob.

(e) Etymologici Auctor. v. *δανάκης*.

(f) Geogr. Lib. VIII.

(g) Suidas, &c.

(h) Lyfistrate.

Virg
desc

Bel
cerem
term
writ

It n
ceased
mourn

(a)

A coffin he shall buy, and I'll prepare
A cake for Cerberus, ———

Virgil has obliged us with a larger account of this custom, when he describes the Sibyl and Æneas's journey to the infernal shades (a);

*Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro :
Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporata & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit; ille, fame rabida tria guttura pandens,
Corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro :
Occupat Æneas aditum, custode sepulto,
Evaditque celer ripam irremeabilis undæ.*

———— In his den they found
The triple porter of the Stygian sound,
Grim Cerberus, who soon began to rear
His crested snakes, and arm'd his bristling hair ;
The prudent Sibyl had before prepar'd
A sop in honey steep'd to charm the guard,
Which, mix'd with pow'rful drugs, she cast before
His greedy grinning jaws, just op'd to roar ;
With three enormous mouths he gapes, and strait
With hunger prest, devours the pleasing bait ;
Long draughts of sleep his monstrous limbs enslave,
He reels, and falling fills the spacious cave.
The keeper charm'd, the chief without delay
Pass'd on, and took th' irremeable way.

Dryden.

Before we conclude this chapter, it may be observed, that the whole ceremony of laying out, and clothing the dead, and sometimes the interment itself was called *συνγομιδή* (b): In the same sense ancient writers use *συνγομίζειν*, with its derivatives: Thus Sophocles (c),

*Οὗτος σε φωνῶ τόνδε τὸν νεκρὸν χερσὶν
Μὴ σὺνγομίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὁπῶς ἔχει.*

Do not presume th' accursed corpse t' inter,
But let it lie expos'd to open view.

It may farther be observed, that during this time the hair of the deceased person was hung upon the door, to signify the family was in mourning. And, till the house was delivered of the corpse, there stood

A a 2

(a) Æneid. VI. v. 417.

(b) Æschyli Scholiaſtes.

(c) Ajac. v. 1067.

stood before the door a vessel of water, called ἀρδάνιον (a), ἀρδανίδα, γάστρα (b), and from the matter it was frequently made of, ὄστρακον, as in Aristophanes (c),

Υδατος τε καδάτου ὄστρακον πρὸ τῆς θύρας.

An earthen vessel full of water place
Before the door.——

Part of a chorus in Euripides, seeing neither of these signs, could scarce be induced to believe Alcestis dead (d) ;

Πυλῶν παροῶν δ' ἐχ' ὄρῳ
Πηγαῖον, ὡς νομίζεται
Γε, χέριν' ἐπὶ φθιτῶν πύλαις·
Χαῖτά τ' ἔτις ἐπὶ πρόθυρα τομαῖ-
ος, ἀδὲ νεκύων πένθεσι πινεῖ.

I see no purifying water plac'd
Before the doors, a custom us'd of old ;
Nor lock of hair is in the entrance fix'd
To show the house in mourning.——

H. H.

The design of this was, that such as had been concerned about the corpse might purify themselves by washing, which was called λούσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ. For not the Jews only (e), but the greatest part of the Heathen world, thought themselves polluted by the contact of a dead body; death being contrary to nature, and therefore abhorred by every thing endued with life. Hence the celestial gods, those especially who were thought to give or preserve light or life, would not endure the sight of a corpse. Diana in Euripides professes it unlawful for her to see Hippolytus, her favourite, when dead ;

Καὶ χαῖρ', ἔμοι γὰρ ἐθέμις φθιτὸς ὄρᾶν,
Οὐδ' ὅμμεα χραίνειν θανάσιμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς.

Farewel, for 'twere in me a sinful act
To view the dead, or to defile mine eyes
With the sad sight of an expiring soul.

Nor was the house where the corpse lay free from pollution, as appears from the words of Helena in Euripides (f),

Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ', ἐ γὰρ ἐνθάδε
Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλαος.——

For

(a) Suidas, Pollux, Lib. VIII. Cap. VII. (b) Hesychius. (c) Ἐκκλησιαζέ-
σις. (d) Alcestid. 69. (e) Numer. Cap. XIX. II. Ecclus. Cap. XXXIV. 25.
(f) Helena. v. 1446.

For sacred are our houses, not defil'd
By the death of Menelaus.——

The air proceeding from the dead body was thought to pollute all things into which it entered; whence all uncovered vessels which stood in the same room with the corpse, were accounted unclean by the Jews. Hence it was customary to have the whole house purified as soon as the funeral solemnities were over; of which ceremony I shall have occasion to discourse in one of the following chapters.

CHAP. IV.

Of their Funeral Processions.

THE next thing to be observed in their carrying the corpse *forth*, which is in Greek termed ἐκκομιδὴ, and ἐκφορά, in Latin, *elatio*, or *exportatio*; whence the Latin, *efferre*, *exportare*, and the Greek ἐκφέρειν, and ἐκκομίζειν, are words appropriated to funerals. Kirchman would have παρακομίζειν to be used in the same sense; but the place he produces out of Eunapius (a) to that purpose, seems rather to denote the *prætervection* of the body by some place, than its *elation* from the house wherein it was prepared for burial; for παρακομίζειν is usually spoken with respect to a place in the middle way of any motion; εἰσκομίζειν belongs to the end, or place where the motion ceases; but ἐκκομίζειν, or ἐκφέρειν, are only proper when we speak of the place whence the motion begins, being the same with ἔξω φέρειν, *carrying forth*, which words are taken by Theocritus in the sense I am speaking of (b);

Ἀῶθεν δ' ἄρμεις νιν ἄμα δρόσῳ ἀθρόαι ἔξω
Οἰσύνμεις ποτὶ κύματ' ἐπ' αἰὼνι πτόνοντα.

I' th' morn when pearly dew has overspread
The bending grass, we will bring forth our dead
Down to the river's side.——

Plautus likewise for *efferre*, hath *foras ferre* (c),

Quæ cras veniat perendie foras feratur soror.

To-morrow's sun shall see my sister carry'd forth.

The

(a) Iamblichus.

(b) Idyll. XV. 132.

(c) Aulularia.

The time of burial seems not to have been limited. The author of the *Genialis Dies* (a) tells us, That bodies were usually kept seventeen days and seventeen nights before they were interred; which he seems to have out of Homer, who reports, that Achilles's body, after seventeen days and as many nights of mourning, was committed to the flames (b),

Επτακαίδεκα μὲν σε ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας
Κλαίοντες ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ, θνητοὶ τ' ἀνθρώποι,
Οκτωκαίδεκάτῃ δ' ἔδομεν πυρί. ———

Seventeen long days were in sad mourning spent,
As many nights did gods and men lament,
But on the eighteenth laid you on the pile.

Servius was of opinion, that the time of burning bodies was the eighth day after death, the time of burying the ninth (c): but this must only be understood of the funerals of great persons, which could not be duly solemnized without extraordinary preparations; men of inferior rank were committed to the ground without so much noise and pomp. The ancient burials seem to have been upon the third or fourth day after death: Thus the author of the *Argonautics* (d);

*At vero ornantes supremo funus honore,
Tres totos condunt lugubri murmure soles,
Magnifice tumultant quarto.*

With three days mourning they the fun'ral grac'd
(The last good office due to the deceas'd),
But on the fourth they o'er his body rear'd
A stately tomb. ———

H. H.

Nor was it usual to perform the solemnities, especially of poor persons, upon the day after their death; which appears from an epigram of Callimachus;

Δαίμονα τίς δ' εὖ οἶδ'ε τὸν αὔριον; ἡνίκα καὶ σε,
Χάρμι, τὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς χθιζὸν ἐν ἡμετέροις,
Τῇ ἐτέρῃ κλαύσαντις ἐθάπτομεν. ———

Who knows what fortunes on to-morrow wait,
Since Charmis one day well to us appear'd,
And on the next was mournfully interr'd?

Pherecydes alludes to this custom in his epistle to Thales preserved by Laer.

(a) Lib. III. Cap. VII.

(b) *Odyss.* α. v. 63.(c) *Æneid.* V.

(d) Lib. II.

Laertius (a), telling him he expected every minute to breathe his last, and had invited his friends to his funeral the day following.

The ceremony was performed in the day; for night was looked on as a very improper time; because then furies and evil spirits, which could not endure the light, ventured abroad. Hence Cassandra in a quarrel with Talthybius foretels, as one of the greatest mischiefs that could befall him, that it should be his fortune to be buried in the night (b);

Ἡ κακὸς κατὰς ταφὴν νυκτός, ἐκ ἐν ἡμέρας.

An evil fate attends thy obsequies,
Thy fun'ral rites shall be perform'd at night.

Young men only, that died in the flower of their age, were buried in the morning twilight; for so dreadful a calamity was this accounted, that they thought it undecent, and almost impious, to reveal it in the face of the sun. Whence (as the expounders of fables tell us), came the stories of youths stolen into Aurora's embraces; for when beautiful and hopeful young men suffered an untimely death, it was customary to alleviate the disaster, by giving it a more pleasant and agreeable name; whence, instead of calling their departure death, they term it *ἡμέρας ἀρπαγήν* (c): because these funerals were celebrated by torch light, it became customary to carry torches at all other burials, though performed in the day; whence came that proverbial speech, whereby old men are said to approach *ἐπὶ τὴν δάδα τῆ βίης*, to the torch of their life (d). The Athenians went counter to the rest of the Grecians; for their laws enjoined them to celebrate their funerals before sun-rise: Which command Cicero (e) will have to be no ancients than Demetrius the Phalerean; but Demosthenes makes Solon the author thereof (f). It is not improbable that it might be first instituted by Solon, and afterwards revived by Demetrius. The design seems to have been, to moderate the expensive extravagance in funerals, which a more open and public celebration seemed to require.

The bearers usually mounted the corpse upon their shoulders, which Euripides calls *ἄρδην φέρειν*, speaking of Alcestis (g),

——— *προσπόλοι*
Φέρουσιν ἄρδην πρὸς τάφοντι, καὶ πυράν.

The servants to the grave the corpse do bear
Upon their shoulders.———

The body was sometimes placed upon a bier, instead of which the Lacedemonians commonly used their bucklers; whence that remarkable command

(a) Vita Pherecydis sub fin. (b) Euripid. Troad. v. 446. (c) Heraclides Ponticus de Allegor. Homeric. sub fin. Eustathius. (d) Plutarchus Lib. An seni capeff. sit Resp. (e) De Leg. Lib. II. (f) Orat. in Macartatum. (g) Alcest. v. 607.

command of one of their matrons to her son, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷδε, i. e. *either bring this* (pointing to his buckler) *back, or be brought upon it.* Nor was this custom unknown in other places. Virgil hath mentioned it in his tenth *Æneid* (a);

—Socii multo gemitu lacrymisque
Impositum scuto referunt Pallantia frequentes.

In doleful plaints his dear companions mourn
Their dead friend Pallas on his target borne.

But the most ancient Grecians seem to have conveyed their dead bodies to their funerals without any support; whence (as Eustathius observes), Patroclus being carried forth by the Myrmidones, Achilles went behind to support his head (b);

ἔπιθεν δὲ κάρη ἔχε δὶ Ἀχιλλεύς.

Behind Achilles did bear up his head.

This seems to be the meaning of Euripides's φορέδην πέμπειν, when, speaking of Rhesus's funeral, he introduces the chorus uttering these words (c),

Τίς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς θεός, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
Τὸν νεοδμητὸν ἐν χερσὶν
Φορέδην πέμπει;

What god, O king, mov'd with becoming care,
Shall with his hand behind support thy head?

The persons present at funerals were the dead man's friends and relations, who thought themselves under an obligation to pay this last respect to their deceased friend. Beside these, others were frequently invited to increase the solemnity, where the laws restrained them not from it; which they did at some places, either to prevent the disorders which often happened at such promiscuous meetings, or to mitigate the excessive charges of funerals. Thus we find that Pittacus established a law at Mitylene, that none but the relations of the deceased should appear at funerals; Solon also laid some restraint upon his Athenians, wholly excluding all women under threescore years of age from these solemnities; yet relations were admitted whilst under that age, as appears from Lyfias's oration in defence of Eratosthenes, who had murdered his wife's gallant, whose first acquaintance with her, he tells us, proceeded from seeing her at a funeral. Yet they seem not to have gone promiscuously among the men, but in a body by themselves, as may be collected from these words in Terence's *Andria*;

Effertur

(a) V. 506. (b) *Iliad*, ψ'. (c) *Rheso*, v. 886.

*Effertur, imus: Interea inter mulieres,
Quæ ibi aderant, forte unam adspicio adolescentulam.*

The corpse is carry'd forward, and we follow.
But 'mongst the women 'twas my chance to see
A beautiful young creature.———

The habit of these persons was not always the same, for though they sometimes put on mourning, and in common funerals as frequently retained their ordinary apparel; yet the exequies of great men were commonly celebrated with expressions of joy for their reception into heaven. Thus Timoleon's herse was followed by many thousands of men and women in white garments, and bedecked with garlands, as in festi-
val solemnities (a); Aratus's funeral was likewise celebrated with pæans, or songs of triumph and dances (b).

When the body was conveyed out of the house, they took their last farewell, saluting it in a certain form of words, as appears from Admetus's speech to the Pheræans present at the funeral of his wife (c):

Υμῆς δὲ τὴν θανῆσαν, ὡς νομίζεται,
Προσείπατ' ἐξῆσαν ὑσάτην ὁδόν.

Do you, since ancient custom so requires,
Salute the corpse, and take your last farewell.

The proceßion was commonly made on horseback, or in coaches; but at the funerals of persons to whom a more than ordinary reverence was thought due, all went on foot: Which respect the Athenians paid to the memory of Theophrastus, as an acknowledgment of his excellent virtues (d). The relations went next the corpse, the rest walked some distance off: Sometimes the men went before it with their heads uncovered, the women following it. Patroclus was carried to his funeral, surrounded by the Grecian soldiers:

Πρόσθε μὲν ἱππῆες, μετὰ δὲ νέφος εἶπετο πρῶτον
Μυριοί, ἐν δὲ μέσσοισι φέρον Πάτροκλον ἑταῖροι (c).

The sad proceßion by the horsemen led,
The thronging footmen in the rear succeed,
And in the midst his friends Patroclus bear.

But the ordinary way was for the body to go first, and the rest to follow; which appears as from many other instances, so from that of Terence (f):

Vol. II.

B b

— Funus

(a) Plutarchus in Timoleonte.

(b) Idem Arato.

(c) Euripid. Alcest. v. 608.

(d) Diogenes Laertius Theophrasto.

(e) Homer Iliad. ψ.

(f) Andria.

———*Funus interim*
Procedit, sequimur.———

The fun'ral marches first, we follow it.

Whereby the survivors were put in mind of their mortality, and bid to remember they were all following in the way the dead person was gone before (a). At the funerals of soldiers, their fellow soldiers attended with their spears pointed towards the ground, and the uppermost part of their bucklers turned downwards, as has been formerly observed (b). This was not done so much (as some fancy) because the gods were carved upon their bucklers, whose faces would have been polluted by the sight of a dead body, as that they might recede from their common custom; the method of mourning being to act quite contrary to what was usual at other times; and therefore not only their bucklers, but their spears, and the rest of their weapons were inverted. Nor was this only a martial custom, but practised likewise in peace; for at the funerals of magistrates, their ensigns of honour were inverted, as appears from the poet (c):

*Quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi,
 Et vidi versos, indiciumque mali.*

The fasces first I at a funeral saw,
 With heads turn'd downwards, the sad badge of woe.

To perform this ceremony, they termed *ἐπιμπεύειν*, *παραμπεύειν*, and *πρεμπεύειν*; the first with respect to the house, out of which the body was carried forth; the second with respect to the places by which it passed; and the last, to the place whither it was conveyed.

CHAP. V.

Of their Mourning for the Dead.

THE ceremonies by which they used to express their sorrow upon the death of friends, and on other occasions, were various and uncertain: But it seems to have been a constant rule amongst them to recede, as much as possible, in habit and all their behaviour, from their ordinary customs; by which change they thought it

(a) Donatus in loc. Terentii, Alexand. ab Alex. Lib. III. Cap. VIII. (b) Lib. III. Cap. XI. (c) Peto Albinovan. Eleg. ad Liviam.

It would appear, that some extraordinary calamity had befallen them. Hence it was, that mourners in some cities demeaned themselves in the very same manner with persons who in other places designed to express joy: For the customs of one city being contrary to those of another, it sometimes happened that what in one place passed for an expression of mirth, was in others a token of sorrow. The most ordinary ways of expressing sorrow, were these that follow:

1. They abstained from banquets and entertainments, and banished from their houses all musical instruments, and whatever was proper to excite pleasure, or bore an air of mirth and gaiety. Thus Admetus in Euripides upon the death of Alcestis (a);

Παύσω δὲ κόμους, συμποτῶν θ' ὀμιλίας,
Στεφάνους τε, μέσαν θ' ἢ κατεῖχε πρὶν δόμους.

No more to pleasing banquets will I run,
All conversation with my friends I'll shun;
No more my brow shall fragrant chaplets wear,
But all the marks of joy shall disappear;
No more I'll music hear, too weak to save
My dear Alcestis from the conqu'ring grave.

H. H.

They frequented no public solemnities, nor appeared in places of concourse, but sequestered themselves from company, and refrained even from the comforts and conveniencies of life. Wine was too great a friend to cheerfulness to gain admission into so melancholy a society; the light itself was odious, and nothing courted but dark shades and lonesome retirements, which they thought bore some resemblance to their misfortunes (b): Whence Artemidorus lays it down as a certain forerunner of death, for any one to dream of a fire's being extinguished during the sickness of any in the same family (c).

2. They divested themselves of all ornaments, and laid aside their jewels, gold, and whatever was rich and precious in their apparel. Thus Lycophron describes the women that mourned for Achilles's death (d);

Γυναιξὶ δ' ἔσαι τεθμὸς ἐγχώρις αἰὲς
Πενθεῖν τὸν εἰνάπηχυν, Αἰακῶ τρίτον,
Καὶ Δωρίδος, πρηνῆρα δαίτῃ μάχης·
Καὶ μήτε χρυσῶ φάιδρα καλλυνεῖν ῥέθη,
Μήθ' ἀβροπῆνας ἀμφιβάλλεσθαι πεπλῆς
Κάλχη φορυκτές.

To this the women shall a custom be
To mourn Achilles, third from Æacus,

B b 2

Grandchild

(a) Alcest. v. 343. (b) Gloss. vet. Plutarchus Consolat. ad Uxorem. (c) Lib. II. Cap. IX. (d) Cassandr. v. 859. nostrumque ibi Commentarium consule,

Grandchild to Doris, and of largest size;
To mourn Achilles frightful in the war,
Not cloth'd with rich attire of gems and gold,
With glitt'ring filks or purple.——

The custom is frequently mentioned in the poets, but was not peculiar to mourners for the dead; being likewise, with several other ceremonies noted in this chapter, practised by all that lamented for any great calamity. Whence Hecuba had no sooner heard the fortune assigned to herself and Cassandra, but she cried out,

——ρίπτε, τέκνον, ζαθέας
Κληίδας, καὶ πὸ χροὸς ἐν-
δύτων σιφίων ἱερὰς σολμύς (a).

Throw off these rich, these consecrated robes,
And hallow'd crowns.——

Their mourning garments were always black, whence Progne having notice of Philomela's death, is thus described by Ovid (b);

——— *velamina Progne*
Diripit ex humeris auro fulgentia lato,
Induiturque atras vestes.———

From off her back th' embroider'd robes she tears,
And Progne now in mournful blacks appears.

Thus likewise Althæa, when her brethren were slain by Meleager (c),

——— *plangore dato mæstis ululatibus urbem*
Implet, & auratas mutavit vestibus atris.

She fills with piteous complaints the spacious town,
And 'stead of glitt'ring robes puts sable on.

To which custom Pericles had respect when he boasted, "That he had never given any citizen cause to put on black (d)." Hence, Artemidorus will have it to be a presage of recovery, for a sick person to dream of black clothes, since not those that die, but those who survive to mourn, were apparelled in black (e). The Egyptians are reported by Servius to have introduced this custom, when they mourned for the death of Liber, otherwise called Osiris, who was treacherously circumvented and murdered by his brother Typho. Farther, mourning garments differed not from their ordinary apparel in colour only, but likewise in value, as being of cheap and coarse stuff; which may be observed from this example of Terence (f), beside many others;

Texentem

(a) Euripid. Troad. v. 236.

Fab. IV.

Cap. III.

(b) Metam. VI. Fab. VIII.

(d) Plutarchus περί τῆ ἑαυτὸν ἐπαγιέν ἀναπισθόνως.

(f) Hautontimor. Act. II. Sc. III.

(c) Metam. VIII.

(e) Lib. III.

*Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus anūs causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua.*

We found her busy at the loom, attir'd
In a cheap mourning habit, which she wore
For the old woman's death, as I suppose.

3. They tore, cut off, and sometimes shaved their hair; nor was it sufficient to deprive themselves of a small part only, for we find Electra in Euripides finding fault with Helena for sparing her locks, and therefore defrauding the dead (a). This custom is too well known to need any confirmation by examples. They had several ways of disposing of their hair: It was sometimes thrown upon the dead body, as we learn from Patroclus's funeral, where the Grecians, to show their affection and respect to him, covered his body with their hair (b);

Θριξὶ δὲ πάντα νέκυν καταείνουσιν, ὡς ἐπέβαλλον
Κειρόμενοι. —

They shav'd their heads, and cover'd with their hair
The body. —

Statius hath likewise observed the same practice (c).

—— tergoque & pectore fusam
Cesaricæ ferro minuit, scelisque jacentis.
Obnubit tenuia ora comis. —

He cut off all the hair from his head
Down to the back and breast was comely spread.
And cover'd with it the dead face. —

It was likewise frequent to cast it into the funeral pile, to be consumed with the body of their friend; as Achilles appears to have done at Patroclus's funeral (d);

Στὰς ἀπανευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπικείρετο χαίτην,
Τὴν ῥὰ Σπερχιωῶ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεθώσαν.

Standing hard by the pile, the comely hair,
Which for Sperchius was before preserv'd,
He now cut off, and cast into the flames.

Sometimes

(a) Orest. 128. (b) Iliad, ψ'. v. 135. (c) Thebaid. VI. (d) Iliad, ψ'.

Sometimes it was laid upon the grave, as we see in Æschylus (a);

Οὐδ' τομαῖον τόνδε βόσφυχον τάφῳ.

I see this hair upon the grave.

Canace in Ovid bewails her misfortune, because she was debarred from performing this ceremony to her beloved Macareus;

Non mihi te licuit lacrymis perfundere justis,

In tua non tonsas ferre sepulchra comas.

'Twas not permitted me with briny tears
To bathe thy lifeless corpse, or bring my hairs
Unto thy sepulchre.—

Some restrain this practice to sons, or very near relations; but it appears by many instances to have been common to all that thought themselves obliged to express their respect or love to the dead; inasmuch, that, upon the death of great men, whole cities and countries were commonly shaved.

This practice may be accounted for two ways; for the Scholiast upon Sophocles observes, that it was used partly to render the ghost of the deceased person propitious, which seems to be the reason why they threw hair into the fire to burn with him, or laid it on his body; partly that they might appear disfigured, and careless of their beauty; for long hair was looked on as very becoming, and the Greeks prided themselves in it; whence they are so frequently honoured by Homer with the epithet of *καρηκομόνες*.

It may be farther observed, that in solemn and public mournings, it was common to extend this practice to their beasts, that all things might appear as deformed and ugly as might be. Thus Admetus, upon the death of Alcestis, commands his chariot-horses to be shorn (b);

Τέθριππά τε ζεύγνυσθε, καὶ μονάμπυκας

Πάλλας σιδήρῳ τέμνετ' αὐχένων φόβῳ.

My chariot-horses too my grief shall share,
Let them be shorn, cut off their comely mains.

Thus likewise the Thessalians cut off their own hair and their horses' mains at the death of Pelopidas (c); when Masistius was slain in a skirmish with the Athenians, the Persians shaved themselves, their horses and their mules: But Alexander, as in the rest of his actions, so herein he went beyond the rest of mankind; for at the death of Hephaestion,

(a) *Χρηφόρις.*

(d) *Idem, Aristide.*

(b) Euripides *Alceste*, v. 428.

(c) Plutarchus *Pelopidas*.

(a) *Idem Andr. v.*

tion, he did not only cut off the mains of his horses and mules, but took down the battlements from the city walls, that even towns might seem mourners; and, instead of their former beauteous appearance, look bald at the funeral (*a*).

It may be objected, indeed, to what I have been speaking, that shaving was a sign of joy; whereas, to let their hair grow long, was the practice of persons in affliction: Hence Joseph is said to have been shaved when he was delivered out of prison; and Mephibosheth, during the time David was banished from Jerusalem, let his hair grow, but on his return shaved himself. Thus likewise mariners, upon their deliverance from shipwreck, used to shave themselves: To which practice Juvenal hath this allusion (*b*);

—gaudent ibi vertice raso
Garrula seucris narrare pericula nautæ.

And there shorn sailors boast what they endur'd.

Whence Artemidorus will have mariners that dream of having their whole head shaved, to be forewarned by the gods, that they are to undergo very great hazards, but to escape with life (*c*). Pliny also, in one of his epistles, interprets his dream of cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from some imminent danger; and the poets furnish us with several examples to our purpose. Lycophron, for instance, thus describes a general lamentation (*d*);

— — — πᾶς δὲ λυγαίαν λεῖψ
Εσθῆτα προσρόπαιον ἐγγλαινέμενος,
Αὐχμῶ πινώδης λυπρὸν ἀμπρέψει βίον·
Κρατὸς δ' ἄκυρος νῶτα καλλυνεῖ φέβη
Μνήμην παλαιῶν τημηλῶς ὀδυρμάτων.

In mournful blacks shall every soul appear,
Each shall with loathsome dirt his face besmear;
Neglected hair shall now luxuriant grow,
And by its length their bitter passion show;
Incessantly they shall their loss complain,
And all their life be one sad mournful scene;
Thus they the never-dying names shall save
Of ancient patriots from the conquer'd grave.

H. H.

Plutarch, undertaking to resolve this difficulty, reports that the men let their hair grow, but the women were shaved; it being the fashion for men to wear their hair short at other times, and for women to suffer theirs to grow (*e*): But, on the contrary, it plainly appears from the instances already produced, and many others, that the men frequently wore

(a) Idem Pelopida.
Andr. v. 973.

(b) Sat. XII. v. 82.
(c) Romanus Quæst.

(d) Lib. I. Cap. XXIII.

(e) Cas-

wore long hair, which they cut off upon any great calamity; nor can it be doubted that the women frequently wore long hair in sorrow, since it is remarked, as a badge of a woman in mourning, that she has her hair dishevelled, and carelessly flowing about. Thus Ariadne bespeaks Theseus,

*Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos,
Et tunicas lacrymis sicut ab imbre graves.*

See, like a mourner's, my dishevell'd hair,
Wet, as with rain, with tears my robes appear.

Terence likewise, the scene of whose fable is laid in Greece, has thus described a woman in mourning (a);

*Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus anūs causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua,
Sine auro tum ornatam, ita uti quæ ornantur sibi,
Nulla mala re esse expolitam muliebri,
Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput
Reiectus negligenter,——*

We found her at the painful loom employ'd,
Drest in a mourning habit, which she wore
For the old woman's death, as I suppose:
She was not trick'd up in a gaudy suit,
Nor dress'd in robes of velvet, or of gold,
Nor patch'd or painted to attract the eyes
Of her gallants, but with dishevell'd hair
Carelessly o'er her shoulders thrown.——

Wherefore two things may be observed for the solution of this difficulty:

First, The manner of being shaved: For though to be shaved, or trimmed by barbers, was a token of cheerfulness, yet those that cut off their own hair, and that in a negligent and careless manner, were looked on as mourners: Whence, though Artemidorus reports, that no man under the pressure of misfortunes was ever shaved (b); yet he adds, in the same chapter, that for a man to dream of shaving himself, was a presage of some great calamity; because men in such circumstances were wont to shave themselves.

Secondly, The different fashions of several nations are to be considered: For where it was customary to wear short hair, there the length of hair was a token of mourning; but where long hair was in fashion, there mourners shaved themselves. It is reported by Herodotus (c) and others (d), that the Argians having lost Thyrea to the Spartans,

(a) Heautont. A& II. Sc. III. (b) Lib. I. Cap. XXIII. (c) Lib. I. Cap. LXXXII.
(d) Plutarch. Lyfandro, Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. Lib. V. &c.

made a decree that their whole city should cut their hair, and never permit it to grow again to its accustomed length, till they recovered that place. The Spartans, on the contrary, using to wear their hair short, put forth a decree, that from that time they should nourish their hair, in reproach to their enemies. Now, in these cities, when the fashion was to wear short hair, then mourners were distinguished by long hair; but long hair coming into fashion, mourners were shaved.

4. It was frequent for persons overwhelmed with grief, and unable to bear up under it, to throw themselves upon the earth, and roll in the dust; and the more dirty the ground was, the better it served to defile them, and to express their sorrow and dejection. Thus Oeneus behaves himself upon the death of his son Meleager (a);

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusque seniles
Fædat humi fufos, spatiosumque increpat ævum.*

His hoary head, and furrow'd cheeks besmears
With noisome dirt, and chides the tedious years.

Priam, in Homer, represents his lamenting of Hector in the same posture (b);

Οὐ γὰρ πῶ μύσαν ὅσσε ὑπὸ βλεφάροισιν ἑμοῖσιν,
Εξ ἧ σῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶν ἑμὸς παῖς ὤλεσε θυμὸν·
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ στενάχω, καὶ κήδεα μυρία πύσσω,
Αὐλῆς ἐν χορτοῖσι κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον.

Soft sleep has never clos'd these watchful eyes
Since my dear son became your fatal prize;
But day and night I mourn my wretched fate,
And on my countless sufferings ruminate,
Welt'ring in ev'ry filthy place.———

H. H.

5. They covered their heads with ashes. Thus Achilles, upon the news of Patroclus's death (c),

Ἀμφοτέρῃσι δὲ χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν,
Χεύατο κακκεφαλῆς.———

Then taking ashes up with both his hands,
He threw them on his head,———

These customs were likewise practised in the eastern countries, whence we find so frequent mention of penitents lying upon the ground, and putting on sackcloth and ashes.

Vol. II.

C c

6. When

(a) Ovid. Metamorph. Lib. VIII. v. 528. (b) Iliad. ε'. v. 637. (c) Iliad. ε'. v. 23.

6. When any occasion required their attendance abroad, their heads were muffled up, as appears from these verses in the epigram (a);

——— Φᾶρος γὰρ ἐπικρεμὺς ἀμφὶ πρόσωπα
Πήματα καὶ δεικνυσιν. ———

Her face wrapt in a veil declar'd her woes.

Whence Orestes, persuading Electra to leave off mourning, bids her be unveiled;

——— ἀνακάλυπτ', ὦ κασίγνητον Κάρκα,
Ἐκ δακρύων τ' ἀπελθ'. ———

Pull off your veil, dear sister, and forbear
This grief. ———

Nor was this the fashion of women only; for Adrastus came to Theseus after his loss at Thebes, κατήης χλανιδίῳ, wherefore Theseus speaks thus to him (b);

Λεγ', ἐκάλυψαι κράτα, πάρες γόον

Speak out, unfold your head, refrain from tears.

Thus likewise Haman, upon the defeat of his plot against Mordecai, is said to have "hasted to his house of mourning, and having his head covered (c);" and the Jews are represented by Jeremy as being "ashamed and confounded, and covering their heads," in the time of a grievous famine (d).

7. Another token of dejection was, to decline their heads upon their hands. Whence Helen speaks thus of the calamitous Trojans (e),

Ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χεῖρας ἔθηκαν.

They with their hands support their drooping head.

8. They went softly, to express their faintness and loss of strength and spirits. Thus Ahab king of Israel, being terrified by the judgment Elias denounced against him, "fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly (f)." And Hezekiah, king of Judah, being told by the prophet, that he was never to recover of a distemper he then lay under, amongst other expressions of sorrow hath this, "I shall go softly all my years, in the bitterness of my soul (g)."

9. They

(a) Antholog. Lib. V. Cap. XXXIII.
Cap. VI. 12. (d) Cap. XIV. 3, 4.
XXI. 27. (g) Isaiah, Cap. XXVIII. 15.

(b) Euripid. Supplic. 110.
(e) Euripid. Helen. 377.

(c) Esther,
(f) 1 Reg.

7. They beat their breasts and thighs, and tore their flesh, making furrows in their faces with their nails; which actions, though practised sometimes by men, were more frequent among women, whose passions are more violent and ungovernable. Thus Nonnus represents them (a):

———φιλοθρήνων δὲ γυναικῶν
Στυγνὸς ἐρευνώσαν ὄνυχ' ἄμυσσε παρρηὴν
Καὶ ῥοδίοις ἐκέρυσσαν ἐκείσια δάκτυλα μαζοῖς.

Women with nails their breasts and faces tear,
And thus their boundless headstrong grief declare.

In the same manner, Anna bewails her sister Dido's unexpected death (b):

*Audit exanimis, trepidoque exterrita cursu,
Unguibus ora soror sedans et pectora palmis.*

Her sister hearing, speeds with frightful haste,
Tears her soft cheeks, and beats her panting breast.

Many instances of this nature occur in both languages, the custom being generally practised both in Greece and at Rome. Solon thought fit, amongst other extravagancies at funerals, to forbid this (c). The Lacedemonians bore the death of their private relations with great constancy and moderation; but, when their king died, had a barbarous custom of meeting in vast numbers, where men, women, and slaves, all mixed together, tore the flesh from their foreheads with pins and needles. The design of this was not only to testify their sorrow, but also to gratify the ghosts of the dead, who were thought to feed upon, and delight in nothing so much as blood, as Servius has proved from Varro (d).

10. They accused and cursed their gods: Hence Statius (e),

———*injustos rabidis pulsare querelis,
Cælicolas solamen erit.*———

T' inveigh against the gods with justest rage,
And call them envious, may our grief assuage.

Nor was this the effect of extravagant passion, or practised only by persons of weaker understandings, in the extremity of their sorrow, but frequently done by men of all qualities, and that in the most grave and solemn manner that could be, as appears from the same poet (f),

C c 2

——pri-

(a) Dionys. Lib. IX. 18.
Cicero de Legibus.

(b) Virgil. Æn. IV. 637.

(c) Plut. Solon.

(d) Æn. Lib. III. Conf. idem. in Æn. Lib. XII.

(e) Sylv. Lib. V.

(f) Theb. III.

— *primævique senes, et longo examine matres*
Invidiam planxere deis. —

The aged fires, and dames in num'rous crowds
 Bewail, and curse the envy of the gods.

For the gods being thought subject to human passions, it was very easy and natural for men under misfortunes to impeach them of cruelty or envy. Thus, when Hylas, Hercules's darling, perished in the waters, the deities residing there were said to have been enamoured of him, and to have stolen him: and when any great and public blessing was taken away, the immortal beings were said to envy mankind so great felicity. Many instances might be produced to this purpose, whereof I will only set down that remarkable one of Marcellus in Virgil (*a*).

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata. neque ultra
Esse sinent: Nimum vobis Romæ propago
Visa potens, superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.

This wonder of the world the gods but show,
 Heav'n were impoverish'd should he stay below:
 Bless'd to excess had been the Roman state,
 Had heav'n these gifts as lasting made as great.

H. H.

Sometimes their impious rage against the gods proceeded to their pulling down their altars, and sacking their temples, an example whereof we have in Neoptolemus, who being informed that Apollo was accessory to his father's death, took up a resolution to demolish the Delphic temple, and perished in the attempt (*b*).

11. Another custom they had, of drawling out their words, and with tears repeating the interjection *ê, ê, ê, ê*. Hence (if we may credit the Scholiast (*c*) upon Aristophanes) funeral lamentations were called *êλεγος*, *elegies*.

12. When public magistrates or persons of note died, or any public calamity happened, all public meetings were intermitted, the schools of exercise, baths, shops, temples, and all places of concourse, were shut up, and the whole city put on a face of sorrow: Thus we find the Athenians bewailing their loss of Socrates, not long after they had sentenced him to death (*d*).

13. They had mourners and musicians to increase the solemnity; which custom seems to have been practised in most parts of the world. The Roman *præficæ* are remarkable enough, and the eastern countries observed the same practice; whence we find mention of "mourners going about the streets," and "mourning women," in several parts of the sacred scripture. Jeremy having foretold the calamity of the Jews, ad-
 viles

(*a*) *Æn.* VI. 379.

(*b*) Euripid.

(*c*) *Andromach.*

(*d*) Diogenes Laertius Socrate.

wives to "consider, and call for the mourning women, that they may make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eye-lids gush out with waters (a)." These Homer calls *θρήνων ἐξάρχουσες*, because they endeavoured to excite sorrow in all the company, by beating their breasts, and counterfeiting all the actions of the most real and passionate grief. They are likewise termed *αἰδοὶ*, *προσώδοι*, &c. from the songs they sung at funerals; of these there seem to have been three, one in the procession, another at the funeral-pile, a third at the grave: These were formerly termed *ὀλοφύγεμοι*, *λίνοι*, *ἄλινοι*, though the two last seem not peculiar to funeral songs, but applicable to others. We find them sometimes called *ιάλεμοι*, from *Ialemus*, one of Clio's sons, and the first author of these compositions; for the same reason, songs at marriages were termed *ὑμέναιοι*, from his brother *Hymenæus*. Funeral dirges were also called *τάλεμοι*, whence *τηλεμίζειν* is expounded in Hesychius by *θρηνεῖν*, to mourn; and *τηλεμίστρια* is another name for mourning women. Hence *τὰ ταλεμῶδη* signify *empty and worthless things*, and *ταλήμει ψυχρότερος* is proverbially applied to insipid and senseless compositions (b); for the songs used on these occasions were usually very mean and trifling; whence that saying of Plautus (c);

Hæ non sunt nugæ, non enim mortuaria.

These are no trifles, since they're not compos'd
For th' hideous chanting of a funeral.

What the design of their musical instruments was, is not agreed; some will have them intended to affright the ghosts and furies from the soul of the deceased person; others, agreeably to Plato and Pythagoras's notions, would have them to signify the soul's departure into heaven, where they fancied the motion of the spheres made a divine and eternal harmony; others say, they were designed to divert the sorrow of the dead man's surviving relations: Lastly, The most probable opinion seems to be, that they were intended to excite sorrow, which was the reason that the *lyra* was never used at such solemnities, as being consecrated to Apollo, and fit only for pæans and cheerful songs. Admetus, indeed, commands the flute likewise to be banished out of his city upon the death of *Alcestis* (d),

Αὐλῶν δὲ μὴ κατ' ἄστυ, μὴ λύρας κτύπος
Εἶπω, σελήνας δαῖδα' ἐκπληρωμένας,
Οὐ γὰρ τιν' ἄλλον φίλτερον θάψαι κεκρὸν
Τῷδ'—

Let not the pleasing flute, nor sprightly lyre,
Till Phœbe twelve times has repair'd her horns,

Be

(a) Cap. IX. 17.
Alcest. v. 430.

(b) Suidas; Zenodotus.

(c) *Afinaria*.

(d) Euripid.

Be in the mournful city heard, for I
A corse more dear than this shall ne'er inter.

H. H.

But hence we are only to collect, that the ancients had different sorts of flutes, some of which were proper in times of mirth, others in times of mourning; for it appears by many examples, that some of their αὐλοί, or *tibiae*, were of all other instruments the most common at funerals. Hence Statius in his description of young Archemorus's funeral (a),

*Tum signum luctus cornu grave mugit adunco
Tibia, cui teneros suetum traducere manes
Lege Phrygum mæsta: Pelopem monstrasse ferebant
Exequiale sacrum, carmenque minoribus umbris
Utile.——*

In doleful notes the Phrygian flute complains,
And moves our pity with its mournful strains;
The Phrygian flute of old us'd to convey
The infant souls on their unerring way;
Which custom into th' world first Pelops brought,
And th' unknown use of fun'ral dirges taught;
Dirges, whose pow'rful sounds were thought to speed,
And smooth the passage of the younger dead.

H. H.

Some indeed will have the Lydian flutes more suitable to funerals; the Phrygian, of which Statius speaks, to agree better with mirth and cheerfulness, and to be used only at funerals of infants or youths, which were ordinarily solemnized in a manner quite different from those of grown persons, which they think confirmed by Statius's words: but as these may bear a quite different sense, not the instrument but the song whereof he there speaks, being proper for the funerals of persons under age; so it appears farther, that the most common flutes used at these solemnities were of the Phrygian fashion, though perhaps neither the Lydian, nor some others might be wholly excluded: Hence *nænia*, which is the Latin word for funeral-dirges, seems to have been derived from the Greek νηίατον, which is used by Hipponax; and (however Scaliger deduces it from the Hebrew) affirmed by Pollux to be of Phrygian original; νηνυρίζεσθαι is of the same descent, and expounded by Σηνηεῖν. The Carian flute was likewise used on these occasions, whence the musicians and mourners were termed Καρίαι (b), and Καρικὴ μέσσα is a funeral-song; now this was the very same with that used by the Phrygians, from whom Pollux tells us, it was first conveyed into Caria (c). I shall only mention two more; the first is the Mysian flute, an instrument likewise fit for sorrow: Hence Eschylus (a).

Καί

(a) Theb. Lib. VI. v. 120.
ejusque Scholiastes, ibid.

(b) Hesychius.

(c) Lib. III.

(d) Persis,

Καὶ στὴν ἀράσσει, καὶ πῖπται τὸ Μύσιον.

He beats his breast, and sounds the Myfian flute.

The last is the Lydian flute, which, as Plutarch reports out of Aristoxenus, was first applied to this use by Olympus at Python's death (a).

CHAP. VI.

Of their Manner of Interring and Burning the Dead.

IT would be needless to prove that both interring and burning were practised by the Grecians; yet whether of these customs has the best claim to antiquity, may perhaps admit of a dispute. But it seems probable, that however the later Grecians were better affected to the way of burning, yet the custom of the most primitive ages was to inter their dead. It is plain the Athenians, however afterwards addicted to burning, used interment in Cecrops's reign, if any credit may be allowed to Cicero (b); and the Scholiast upon Homer (c) positively affirms, that interring was more ancient than burning, which he reports to have been first introduced by Hercules. However, it appears that the custom of burning was received in the Trojan war, and both then and afterwards generally practised by the Grecians; insomuch that when Lucian enumerates the various methods used by different nations in disposing of their dead, he expressly assigns burning to Greece, and interment to the Persians (d). But this is not so to be understood, as if the Grecians in the ages he speaks of never interred their dead, or thought it unlawful so to do; but only that the other custom was more generally received by them. Socrates, in Plato's Phædon, speaks expressly of both customs; and it appears that some of them looked on the custom of burning as cruel and inhuman; whence a poet cited by Eustathius (e) introduces a person exclaiming against it, and calling out upon Prometheus to haste to his assistance, and steal, if possible, from mortals the fire he had given them. The philosophers were divided in their opinions about it; those who thought human bodies were compounded of water, earth, or the four elements, inclined to have them committed to the earth: But Heraclitus with his followers imagining fire to be the first principle of all things, affected burning. For every one thought it the most reasonable method, and most agreeable to nature, so to dispose of bodies, as they might soonest be reduced to their first principles.

Eustathius

(a) De Musica.

(b) De Legib, Lib. II.

(c) Iliad. ε.

(d) De Lucu.

(e) Iliad. ε. p. 32.

Eustathius (*a*) assigns two reasons why burning came to be of so general use in Greece: the first is, because bodies were thought to be unclean after the soul's departure, and therefore were purified by fire; whence Euripides speaks of Clytemnestra.

——— πυρὶ καθήγνισαι δέμας

The body's purify'd by fire.——

The second reason is, that the soul being separated from the gross and unactive matter, might be at liberty to take its flight to the heavenly mansions (*b*). Wherefore the Indian philosophers, out of impatience to expect the time appointed by nature, used to consume themselves in a pile erected for that purpose, and to loose their souls from their confinements. A remarkable example hereof we have in Calanus, who followed Alexander out of India, and finding himself indisposed, obtained that king's leave to prevent the growth of his distemper by committing himself to the flames (*c*). Hercules was purified from the dregs of earth by the same means, before his reception into heaven. And it seems to have been the common opinion, that fire was an admirable expedient to refine the celestial part of man, by separating from it all gross and corruptible matter, and the impure qualities which attend it. Thus Scylla being slain by Hercules, was raised from the dead, and rendered immortal by her father Phorcys (*d*):

——— ἦν αὖθις πατὴρ
Σάρακας καταΐδων λοφίσσιν δομήσατο,
Λεπτυνὴν ἔτρεψεσαν ἑθαίαν θεῶν

——— into whose stiffen'd limbs
Phorcys by quick'ning flames new life inspir'd,
And rais'd her high above the fears of death.

The piles whereon they burnt dead bodies were called *πυραί*. They seem not to have been erected in any constant form, or to have consisted of the same materials; these being varied as time and place, and other circumstances required.

The body was placed upon the top of the pile, but was rarely burned without company; for besides the various animals they threw upon the pile, we seldom find a man of quality consumed without a number of slaves or captives; besides these, all sorts of precious ointments and perfumes were poured into the flames. Many instances of this nature might be produced out of the ancient poets; but I shall only set down the following one out of Homer's description of Patroclus's funeral (*e*):

Πείρου

(*a*) Loco citato. (*b*) Quintilianus Declam. X. (*c*) Q. Curtius. (*d*) Lycophron. Cassandr. v. 44. (*e*) Iliad. ψ'. v. 166.

Ποίησαν δὲ πυρὴν ἑκατόμποδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
 Ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ.
 Πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα, καὶ εἰλίποδας ἑλικας βῆς
 Πρόθε πυρῆς ἔδιδόν τε, καὶ ἀμφεπον· ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντων
 Δημόν ἐλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγαθύμος Ἀχιλλεύς
 Ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, περὶ δὲ δραστὰ σώματα νῆσι.
 Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλιτος καὶ αἰλείφατος ἀμφιφορῆας
 Πρὸς λέχρα κλινῶν· πίσυρας δ' ἐριαύχενας ἵππας
 Ἐσσυμένους ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ μεγάλα σοναχίζων.
 Ἐννέα τῶγε ἀνακτι τραπέζης κύνες ἦσαν,
 Καὶ μὲν τῶν ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ δύο διειροτομήσας·
 Δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων ὑίας ἐοδλῆς
 Χαλκῶ δῆϊόν·

A spacious pile the mournful Grecians made,
 And on the top his comely body laid;
 Next strip'd the sheep and oxen, there that stood
 In solemn ranks before the flaming wood.
 But brave Achilles, as above the rest
 Concern'd, more signs of care and love express'd;
 Straight off the victims all the fat he flea'd,
 And over all the much-lov'd corse it spread:
 Then plac'd their carcases around the pile,
 And vessels fill'd with honey and with oil;
 Next deeply groaning with becoming haste,
 Four sprightly coursers on the pile he cast;
 Nine lovely dogs he at his table fed,
 And two of these upon the pile he laid,
 Twelve valiant Trojan captives next he slew,
 And on the pile their mangled bodies threw.

H. H.

The reason why the body was covered with the fat of beasts, was, that it might consume the sooner (a); for it was looked on as a singular blessing to be quickly reduced to ashes; wherefore, in funerals, where numbers of bodies were burnt on the same pile, they were so disposed, that those of moist constitutions, and easy to be enflamed, being proportioned to bodies of contrary tempers, should increase the vehemence of the fire: whence Plutarch (b) and Macrobius (c) have observed, that for ten men it was the custom to put in one woman.

Soldiers usually had their arms burnt with them; wherefore Elpenor in Homer begs this favour of Ulysses (d):

Vol. II.

D d

Αλλὰ

(a) Eustathius. Cap. VII.

(b) Sympos. Lib. III. Quest. IV.
 (d) Odysse. x. v. 74.

(c) Saturn. Lib. VII.

Ἀλλὰ με κακῆται σὺν τούχαισιν ἅσσα με ἔστιν.

Let all the arms I have be with me burnt.

It seems likewise to have been the custom for the garments they had worn in the time of their lives, to be thrown into the pile. Some were so solicitous about this, that they gave orders in their last wills to have it done: And the Athenians were, as in all other observances which related any way to religion, so in this the most profuse of all the Grecians; insomuch that some of their lawgivers were forced to restrain them, by severe penalties, from defrauding the living by their liberality to the dead. Lycurgus allowed nothing to be buried with bodies beside one red garment, or, at the most, a few branches of olive (*a*); nor these neither, except the person had been eminent for virtue and fortitude. Solon allowed three garments and one ox (*b*). At Chæroneæ, those that were convicted of extravagance at funerals were punished as soft and effeminate by the censors of women (*c*).

The pile was lighted by some of the dead person's nearest relations or friends, who made prayers and vows to the winds to assist the flames, that the body might be quickly reduced to ashes. Thus Achilles, having fired Patroclus's pile, intercedes with Boreas and Zephyrus to fly to his assistance with their joint forces (*d*).

Οὐδὲ πύρην Πατρόκλη καίετο τεθνηώς,
 Ἐνθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρεκός διος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Στάς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς δοιοῖς ἡρᾶτ' ἀνέμοισι
 Βορρῇ καὶ Ζεφύρῳ, καὶ ὑπέχετο ἱερὰ καλά,
 Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ σπένδων χρυσῶν δέπαι λιτάνειεν
 Ἐλθῆμεν, ὄφρα τάχις τε πυρὶ φλεγέδοιτο νεκρὸν,
 Ἵλητ' ἐσθύνοιτο καίμεναι.

When he perceiv'd the flames t' abate their force,
 Unable to consume th' unhappy corse,
 Some distance from the pile the hero stands,
 The golden calice fills his royal hands,
 And there to Boreas and to Zeph'rus pray'd,
 And with each deity solemn cov'nants made,
 That grateful victims should their altars stain,
 And choicest offerings load the joyful fane,
 If with their kinder blasts they'd fan the fire,
 And with new force the languid flames inspire,
 That they to earth the corpse might soon reduce.

H. H.

At the funerals of generals and great officers, the soldiers, with the rest of the company, made a solemn procession three times round the pile, to express their respect to the dead. Thus Homer's Grecians (*e*),

(*a*) Plutarchus Lyeurgo.

(*d*) Iliad. ψ. v. 194.

(*b*) Idem Solone.

(*e*) Iliad. ψ.

(*c*) Idem. ibidem.

Οἱ δὲ τρεῖς περὶ νεκρὸν ἑστρεχας ἤλασαν ἵππους
Μυρόμενοι. —————

They drive their horses thrice about the dead
Lamenting. —————

This action was called in Greek *περιδρομή*. in Latin, *decurſio*; we find frequent mention of it in the poets. Statius has elegantly described it in his poem on the Theban war (a) :

*Tunc ſeptem numero turbas (centenus ubique
Surgit eques), verſis ducunt inſignibus ipſi
Grajugenæ reges, luſtrantque ex more ſiniſtro
Orbe rogam, et ſtantes inclinant pulvere flammas :
Ter curvos egere ſinus, illiſque telis
Tela ſonant ; quater horrendum pepulere fragorem
Arma, quater mollem famularum brachia planctum.*

Seven goodly troops the ſad decurſion made,
In each of which an hundred horſe appear'd,
And theſe (a poſture fitting thoſe that mourn'd)
The captains led with enſigns downwards turn'd :
Towards the left they march ; on th' pile they gaze,
Whiſt clouds of duſt the thronging horſes raiſe,
Whoſe much-prevailing force depreſs the riſing blaze :
Three times they all the burning pile ſurround,
Whiſt darts ſtrike darts, and make a frightful ſound ;
Four times the din of clashing arms invades
The ſuff'ring air, four times the mournful maids
Loudly lament, each ſtrikes her panting breaſt,
And pity in us moves for the deceas'd.

H. H.

Where it may be obſerved, that in this *decurſion* the motion was towards the left hand, by which they expreſſed ſorrow ; as, on the contrary, motion to the right was a ſign of joy. Thus the ſame author (b)

———— *hic luſtus abolere, novique
Funeris auſpiciū vates, quanquam omnia ſentiū
Vera, jubet. dextro gyro, et vibrantibus baſtis
Huc redeant.* —————

The prieſt, though by the boding ſigns he knew
Some dire calamity would ſure enſue,
Bids them their anxious thoughts a while forbear
Their pompous grief, and bitter paſſion ſpare,

D d 2

And

(a) Lib. VI. v. 213.

(b) Ibid. v. 221.

And moving tow'ards the right with brandish'd arms,
Back to return.———

H. H.

These motions were accompanied with shouts and sound of trumpet, as we learn from Valerius Flaccus (a) :

*Inde ter armatos Minyis referentibus orbes
Concussi tremuere rogi, ter inhorruit æther
Luctificum clangente tuba, jecere supremo
Tum clamore faces.———*

Three marches round the pile the Minyæ make,
Their weighty strides the well-pil'd structure shake;
Thrice doleful sounds from hollow tubes are sent,
The clangor wounds the troubled firmament;
With torches next accompanied with shouts,
They light the pile.———

H. H.

Which last words seem to intimate the decursion's being made before the pile was lighted, whereas it appears from other authors to have been made whilst the pile was burning : Thus Virgil tells us in express words (b),

*Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
Decurrere rogos, ter mæstum funeris ignem
Lustravere in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.*

Well-armed thrice round the pile they march'd on foot,
Thrice round it rode, and with a dismal shout,
Survey'd the rolling flames.———

During the time the pile was burning, the dead person's friends stood by it, pouring forth libations of wine, and calling upon the deceased. Thus Achilles attended all night at Patroclus's funeral (c) :

———Καὶ πάννυχος ὤκνῃς Ἀχιλλεύς
Χρυσῆς ἐκ κρητῆρος, ἔχων δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Ὀῖνον ἀφυσσάμενος χάματις χεῖ, δέυει δὲ γαῖαν,
Ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατρόκλῆος δειλοῖο.

All night divine Achilles does attend
At the sad fun'ral of his much-lov'd friend :
A golden cup he bore, that wine contain'd,
Which pouring out, the glutted payment stain'd ;

His

(a) Argon, Lib. III.

(b) Æneid. XI. v. 188.

(c) Iliad. ψ.

His pious off'ring thus the hero paid,
Calling upon the manes of the dead.

H. H.

When the pile was burnt down, and the flames had ceased, they extinguished the remains of the fire with wine; which being done, they collected the bones and ashes. Thus Homer relates of the Trojans at Hector's funeral (a),

Πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σέσαν αἶδοπι οἶνω
Πᾶσαν, ὅποσον ἔπειχε πύρρος μένος. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὅσα λευκὰ λεγοντο κασίγνητοι ἑταροί τε.

About the pile the thronging people came,
And with black wine quench'd the remaining flame;
His brothers then, and friends search'd ev'ry where,
And gather'd up his snowy bones with care.

Congreve.

From which words it appears, that this office was performed by near relations. To which practice Tibullus likewise alludes;

—————*Non hic mihi mater,
Quæ legat in mæstos ossa perusta sinus.*

Nor was my dear indulgent mother by,
Who to her breast my mould'ring bones wou'd lay.

The bones were sometimes washed with wine, and (which commonly followed washing) anointed with oil. Agamemnon is introduced by Homer informing Achilles how this ceremony had been performed to him (b);

Αὐτὰρ ἔπει δὴ σε φλόξ ἥνυσεν Ἡφαίστιο
Ἡῶθεν δὴ το λέγομεν λευκ' ὅσέ, Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Οἶνω ἐν ἀκρήτῳ καὶ ἀλείφατι. ———

But when the flame your body had consum'd,
With oils and odours we your bones perfum'd,
And wash'd with unmix'd wine. ———

Patroclus's remains were enclos'd in fat (c):

Κλαίοντες δ' ἑτάριοι ἐνός ὅσα λευκὰ
Ἐλλεγον ἐς χουστὴν φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν.

His mournful friends in fat his bones enclos'd,
Then in a golden urn they them repos'd.

It

(a) Iliad. α. v. 791.

(b) Odyss. α. v. 71.

(c) Iliad. ψ. v. 252.

It may here be demanded, how the relics of the body were distinguished from those of the beasts and men burnt with it? In answer to this inquiry (omitting those groundless stories of the stone Amiantus, and Indian hemp, which could not be consumed by fire), I shall produce two instances, whereby it appears the method they took to effect this, was by placing the body in the middle of the pile, whereas the men and beasts burnt with it lay on the sides. Thus Achilles tells the Grecians, it would be easy to discover the remains of Patroclus (a);

Πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σβέσαι αἴθερι οἶνω
 Πᾶσαν, ὅποσον ἔπεχε πυρὸς μένος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Ὅσῃα Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο λέγομεν
 Εὖ διαγιγνώσκοντες, ἀριφραδέα δὲ τίτυκται,
 Ἐν μίσσῃ γὰρ ἔκειτο πυρῇ, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἀνενδυν
 Εὐχατὴ καίοντ' ἐπιμιζέσθαι τε καὶ ἀνδρες.

First with black wine extinguish all the flames,
 Quench ev'ry glowing cinder that remains,
 Then let us gather up, 'tis eas'ly done,
 The unmix'd bones of brave Menæti'us son.
 Your nicer care need not be here exprest,
 You'll soon distinguish his from all the rest:
 For in the midst o' th' pile his corse was plac'd,
 Whilst men and beasts promiscuously cast,
 Lay frying on the outward parts.—

H. H.

Achilles's bones are said to have been distinguished the same way (b);

Δὴ τότε πυρκαϊὴν οἶνω σβέσαν, ὅσῃα δ' αὐτῷ
 Φαίνεται ἀριφραδέως· ἔπει εἰς ἑτέροισιν ὅμοια
 Ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷα γίγαντος ἀτιμῆ. Ἐδὲ μὲν ἄλλα
 Σὺν κείνοισι ἐμείκτο, ἔπει βοῆς, ἡδὲ καὶ ἵπποι,
 Καὶ παῖδες Τρῶων μίγδα κταμένοισι καὶ ἄλλοις
 Βαῖον ἅπασι κέοντο περὶ ἵκυν· ὅς δ' ἐν μίσσῃ
 Ριπῇ ὑφ' Ἡφαίστιο δαδμημένος οἶος ἔκειτο.

When the remaining flames they'd quench'd with wine,
 Which were the hero's bones was plainly seen;
 Not like the rest which fell his sacrifice,
 But of a larger and gigantic size;
 Nor cou'd his bones be with the vulgar mix'd,
 Since his rich corse remote from them was fix'd;
 The captive Trojans, beasts and horses slain,
 Upon the out-works of the pile were lain,

There

(a) Loc. cit.

(b) Quintus Smyrnaeus, Lib. III. v. 720.

There burnt some distance from the nobler dead,
Who in the midst o' th' pile alone was laid.

H. H.

The bones thus discovered, they seem to have gathered the ashes which lay close to them; nor does it appear there was any other way to distinguish the remains of the men from common ashes.

The bones and ashes thus collected, were repositied in urns, called *κάλπαι*, *φιάλαι*, *κρωττοί*, *λάρναι*, *ἑσοδόλαι*, *ἑσοδοχαῖα*, *σοροί*, &c. The matter they consisted of was different, either wood, stone, earth, silver or gold, according to the quality of the deceased. When persons of eminent virtue died, their urns were frequently adorned with flowers and garlands; but the general custom seems to have been to cover them with cloths till they were deposited in the earth, that the light might not approach them. This is particularly remarked in Homer's funeral, as when he speaks of Hector's bones (a):

Καὶ τὰ γὰρ χρυσέην εἰς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἐλόντες,
Πορφύρεοις πέπλοισι καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν.

—An urn of gold was brought,
Wrapp'd in soft purple palls, and richly wrought;
In this the sacred ashes were interr'd.

The same ceremony was performed towards Patroclus's urn in the preceding Iliad:

Εν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες ἱανθὴ λίτῃ καλύψαν.

Within the tent his costly urn was laid,
And over it a linen cloth was spread.

Concerning their interment it may be observed, that their bodies lay in their coffins with the faces upwards, it being thought more proper, and perhaps more conducive to the welfare of the deceased, to have their faces towards heaven, the abode of the celestial gods, and fountain of light, than the dark mansions of the infernal deities: Whence Diogenes the Cynic being asked in what posture he would be interred, answered, *εἰς πρόσωπον*, with my face downwards; the reason of which being demanded of him, he replied, That in a short time the world would be turned upside down (b); which answer seems designed to ridicule the Grecian superstition in this point.

It may be observed farther, that the heads of the deceased persons were so placed in the grave, that they might look towards the rising sun (c). Plutarch informs us, indeed, that the Megarensians placed their dead towards the east; and the Athenians, whose custom seems herein

to.

(a) Iliad, ῶ. fine.

(b) Laertius Diogene.

(c) Thucydides Scholiastes.

to be the same with the rest of the Greeks, towards the west (a); and Ælian, as far as concerns the Athenians, agrees with him (b). But it must be considered, that to situate the face so as it should look towards the rising sun, it was necessary the head should lie towards the west; whence also the head, or uppermost part of the sepulchre, being to face the rising sun, was likewise placed at the west end.

Before I conclude this chapter, it will not be improper to add, that the Megarensians commonly put two, three, or four carcases into the same sepulchre; but at Athens one sepulchre, much less one coffin or urn, seldom contained above one carcase (c); which seems to have been commonly observed by the rest of the Greeks; only those that were joined by near relation or affection, were usually buried together, it being thought inhuman to part those in death, whom no accidents of life could separate. Many examples of this nature occur in ancient writers. Hence Agathias's epigram concerning two twins:

Εἰς δὺ ἀδελφὲς ὧδ' ἐπεχέει τάφῳ, ἐν γὰρ ἐπέχον
 Ἡμῶν κ' γενεῆς οἱ δύο καὶ θανάτῳ.

Two brothers lie interr'd within this urn,
 Both died together, as together born.

Lovers thought this no small accession to their happiness: Thisbe's last request was, that she might be interred with Pyramus (d):

*Hoc tamen amborum verbis esote rogati,
 O multum miseri meus illiusque parentes;
 Ut, quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit,
 Componi tumulo non invidetis eodem.*

At length, our thrice unhappy parents, hear,
 And grant us this our last most earnest pray'r;
 That we, whom love and death together join'd,
 As both one fate, one common tomb may find.

H. H.

Admetus in Euripides declares his resolution to lie in the same coffin with his wife Alcestis (e):

Εν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γὰρ μ' ἐπισκήψω κείροισ
 Σοί τε θῆναι πλεινέας.

Close by thy side I'll in thy urn be laid.

Patroclus appearing after death to Achilles, begs of him that he would reposit his bones in the same urn he designed for his own (f):
 And

(a) Solone.

(b) Var. Hist. Lib. VII. Cap. XIX.

(c) Plutarchus Solone.

(d) Ovid. Metam. IV. v. 154.

(e) Alcestid. v. 365.

(f) Iliad. ψ.

And when Achilles was dead, we find the Grecians put the ashes of his friend Antilochus into the same urn with his, but those of Patroclus they not only reposit in the same vessel, but mingled them together. Thus the ghost of Agamemnon tells him at their meeting in the shades below (a);

Εν τῷ τοι κῆται λευκ' ὄσ' αἶ, Φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Μίγδα δὲ Πατρόκλοιο Μεινοιτιάδαο θανόντος·
Χωρὶς δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο, τὸν ἔξοχα τίς ἀπάντων
Τῶν ἄλλων ἐτάρων μετὰ Πατρόκλόν γε θανόντα.

Within this urn your sad remains are laid,
Mixt with the bones of your Patroclus dead :
In the same urn Antilochus doth lie,
His bones not mix'd with yours, but plac'd hard by ;
For much you did that worthy chief esteem,
Only Patroclus was preferr'd to him.

H. H.

Halcyone's love carried her still farther ; for her husband Ceyx having perished in a tempest at sea, she comforts herself in this, that though his body could not be found, yet their names should be inscribed upon the same monument, and, as it were, embrace each other (b) ;

————— *Crudelior ipso*
Sit mihi mens pelago, si vitam ducere nitar
Longius, & tanto pugnem superesse dolori.
Sed neque pugnabo, nec te, miserande, relinquam ;
En tibi nunc saltem veniam comes, inque sepulchro,
Si non urna, tamen junget nos litera, si non
Ossibus ossa moïs, at nomen nomine tangam.

But I more cruel than the sea shou'd be,
Cou'd I have thoughts to live depriv'd of thee ;
Cou'd I but dare to struggle with my pain,
And fondly hope behind thee to remain ;
Ah ! no, dear Ceyx, I'll not leave thee so,
I'll not contend with my too pressing woe,
Where'er you lead, Halcyone will go :
And now at length, my dearest lord, I come,
And though we are deny'd one common tomb,
Though in one urn our ashes be not laid,
On the same marble shall our names be read :
In am'rous folds the circling words shall join,
And show how much I lov'd, how you was only mine. H. H.

Vol. II.

E e

CHAP.

(a) Odyss. ε. v. 76.

(b) Ovidii Met. Lib. XI. v. 702.

CHAP. VII.

Of their Sepulchres, Monuments, Cenotaphia, &c.

THE primitive Grecians were buried in places prepared for that purpose in their own houses (*a*). The Thebans had once a law, that no person should build an house without providing a repository for his dead. It seems to have been very frequent, even in later ages, to bury within their cities; the most public and frequented places whereof seem to have been best stored with monuments: But this was a favour not ordinarily granted, except to men of great worth, and public benefactors; to such as had raised themselves above the common level, and were examples of virtue to succeeding ages, or had deserved by some eminent service to have their memories honoured by posterity. The Magnesians raised a sepulchre for Themistocles in the midst of their forum (*b*); Euphron had the same honour at Corinth (*c*); and it appears to have been common for colonies to have buried their leaders, under whose conduct they possessed themselves of new habitations, in the midst of their cities (*d*).

Temples were sometimes made repositories for the dead, whereof the primitive ages afford us many instances; insomuch that some have been of opinion, that the honours paid to the dead were the first cause of erecting temples (*e*). Nor were later times wholly void of such examples, for the Platæans are said to have buried Euclides in the temple of Diana Euclea, for his pious labour in going a thousand stadia in one day to fetch some of the hallowed fire from Delphi (*f*): From which, with many other instances, it appears that this was looked on as a very great favour, and granted as a reward to public services. Sometimes it was desired for protection, as we learn from Medea's case, who interred her two sons in Juno Acræa's temple, to secure them from the malice of her enemies (*g*), as hath been already observed.

But the general custom, in later ages especially, was to bury their dead without their cities, and chiefly by the highways: Which seems to be done, either to preserve themselves from the noisome smells wherewith graves might infect their cities, or to prevent the danger their houses were exposed to, when funeral piles were set on fire: Or, it may be, to fill the minds of travellers with the thoughts of mortality; or to excite themselves to encounter any dangers, rather than permit an enemy to approach their walls, and despoil the monuments, or disturb the peace of the dead. Lastly (to trouble you with

(*a*) Plato Minoc. (*b*) Plutarchus Themistocle. (*c*) Xenophon *Ἑλληνικ.* Lib. VII.
 (*d*) Pindari Scholiastes. (*e*) Vide Archæolog. nost. Lib. II. Cap. II. (*f*) Plutarchus Aristide.
 (*g*) Euripid. Med. v. 1378.

no more different opinions), others think it most probable, that this custom was first introduced by a fear of contracting pollution from the dead, of which I have already treated in a foregoing chapter.

But Lycurgus, as in most of his institutions, so herein too differed from the rest of the Grecian lawgivers; for, to cut off the superstition of burying-places, he allowed his Lacedemonians to bury their dead within their city, and even round about their temples, to the end their youth, by being used to such spectacles, might not be afraid to see a dead body; and withal, to rid them of the conceit, that to touch a corpse, or tread upon a grave, would defile a man (a).

Every family was wont to have their proper burying-place, to be deprived whereof was reputed one of the greatest calamities that could befall them; wherefore, when the Lacedemonians were resolved to conquer the Messenians, or lose all their lives in the attempt, we read that they bound tickets to their right arms, containing their own and their fathers names; that if all should perish in the battle, and their bodies be so mangled as not to be distinguished, those notes might certify what family they belonged to, that so they might be carried to the sepulchres of their ancestors (b). The rest of the Grecians had the same custom; whence (to trouble you with only one instance more) there being a law, that such as preserved nor their inheritance, should be deprived of the sepulchre of their fathers. Democritus having spent his estate in the study of philosophy, was in danger of incurring that penalty (c).

The common graves of primitive Greece were nothing but caverns dug in the earth (d), and called *ὑπόγυια*; but those of later ages were more curiously wrought; they were commonly paved with stone, had arches built over them, and were adorned with no less art and care than the houses of the living, insomuch that mourners commonly retired into the vaults of the dead, and there lamented over their relations for many days and nights together, as appears from Petronius's story of the Ephesian matron.

Kings and great men were anciently buried in mountains, or at the feet of them (e). Thus Aventinus Sylvius was interred in the hill which received its name from him (f). Virgil reports the same of Dercennus (g).

————— *Fuit ingens monte sub alto*
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum.

A tomb beneath a mighty mount they rear'd
For King Dercennus. —————

Whence likewise appears the custom of raising a mount upon the graves of great persons, which Lucan has thus expressed, speaking of the Egyptians (h).

E e 2

Et

(a) Plutarchus Lycurgo.

(b) Justinus, Lib. III.

(c) Laertius Democrito.

(d) Etymologici Autor, v. *ὑπόγυια*.(e) Servius, *Æn.* XI.

(f) Aurelius de

Orig. Gent. Roman.

(g) Loc. cit.

(h) Lib. VIII.

Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescunt.

Beneath a mount their monarch's ashes rest.

This consisted sometimes of stone; whence Theseus in Euripides tells Hercules, the Athenians would honour his corpse

——— Λαίνοισι τ' ἐξογκώμασι.

With high built monuments of stone.———

But the common materials were nothing but earth; whence it is usually called *χωμα*. Thus Euripides (a):

——— Ορθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλέως τάφη.

The mount which o'er Achilles' tomb was rais'd.

To cast it up, Homer calls *χεῖν σῆμα*, speaking of Hector's tomb (b):

Χεύαντες τόδῃ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον.

Having a tomb of earth rais'd o'er his grave,
They all departed.———

The same words he had used before in the description of Patroclus's funeral (c). Antipater terms it *χώννυθαι τάφον*:

Ἡρώς Πριάμους βαλὺς τάφος, ἐκ ὅτι τοίς
Ἀξίος, ἀλλ' ἐχθρῶν χερσὶν ἐχωννύμεθα (d);

Under this sordid tomb doth Priam rest,
Not that his worth did not deserve the best,
But cause his enemies it rais'd.———

It is sometimes expressed by the more general names of *ὀγκῶσαι*, *ὑψῶσαι* &c. Thus Euripides:

——— Μητὲρ ἐξώγκων τάφω.

O'er my dead mother's corpse a tomb I rais'd.

The author of the following epigram has such another expression (e):

Λοκρίδος ἐν νέμει σμικρῷ νέκυν Ἡσιόδοιο
Νύμφαι κρηνιαδὼν λῆσαν ἀπὸ σφετερῶν,
Καὶ τάφον ὑψάσαντο. ——

What

(a) Hecuba.
Lib. IV. cit. εἰς ἥρωας.

(b) Iliad ω. fine.

(c) Iliad. ψ.

(d) Anatholog. Epigr.

(e) Antholog. Lib. III. tit. εἰς ποικτάς.

What care and love the nymphs to Hefiod shew'd?
At their own fountains in the Locrian wood
They bath'd his lifeless corse, and o'er't a tomb they rear'd.

Whence the Latin *tumulus*, which in its proper sense imports no more than a hillock, came to signify a grave.

Whatever the materials were, they were usually laid together with care and art: Thus Homer witnesseth of Patroclus's tomb (a),

Τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα, θεμέλια τέ προβάλλοντο
Ἀμφὶ πυρὴν, εἶδαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχουσιν.

They enclos'd the ground wherein the grave was made,
And cast in earth upon it.——

Where by *θεμέλια* some understand the *locria*, or enclosed ground round the grave, sometimes termed by the metaphorical names of *θριγκὸς*, *γείτον*, &c. and called by Pausanias *περικκοδομή*, and *κρηπίς*, by others *σκέπη*, &c. For the ancient *μνημεῖα* were composed of two parts, one was the grave or tomb, which was likewise termed *μνημεῖον* in a strict sense of the word, and is known by several other names, mostly taken from its form, as *σπήλαιον*, *τύμβος*, &c. The second part was the ground surrounding the grave, which was fenced about with pales or walls, but usually open at the top, and therefore sometimes called *ὑπαιθρον*. Tombs of stone were polished and adorned with greater art; whence there is so frequent mention of *ξεσοὶ τάφοι*;

Τύμβον κατόψει ξεσόν (b);——

And see the polish'd tomb.——

And again (c);

——— Ἐπὶ ξεσῶ τάφῳ.

——— Upon the polish'd tomb.

The ornaments wherewith sepulchres were beautified, were numerous. Pillars of stone were very ancient, as appears from the story of Idas's striking Pollux with a pillar broken from his grandfather Amyclas's monument (d);

——— Τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ ἔπι
Πληγὴν Ἀδαμῆος κρείς ἐγκορεύεται,
Ἄγαλμα πέλας τῶν Ἀμυκλαίων τάφων.

Next

(a) Iliad. ψ.

(b) Euripid. Alcest. v. 836.

(c) Idem. Helen. v. 992.

(d) Lycophron, Cassandr. v. 557.

Next with a pillar Idas him shall strike,
A pillar pluck'd from the hallow'd sepulchre
Of Amyclas.———

Pindar calls it ἀγαλμ' αἰδαο, ξισὸν πέτρων (*a*), and Theocritus takes notice of the same accident (*b*).

The pillars were termed σῆλαι, and frequently contained inscriptions declaring the family, virtues, and whatever was remarkable in the deceased, which were commonly described in verses. The Sicyonians had no such inscriptions (*c*); Lycurgus also would by no means allow of talkative grave-stones, nor suffer so much as the names to be inscribed, but only of such men who died in the wars, or women in child-bed (*d*). Nor was it unusual at other places to omit the names of the deceased, writing instead of them some moral aphorism, or short exhortation to the living, such as this :

ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ.

The virtuous even when dead ought to be respected.

Besides this, especially where there was no inscription, they commonly added the dead man's effigies, or some other resemblance pertinent to the occasion, and signifying his temper, studies, employment, or condition. Virgins had commonly the image of a maid with a vessel of water upon their tombs (*e*); the former to represent the deceased, the latter to denote a custom the young men had of carrying water to the sepulchres of unmarried maids. A careful housekeeper was represented by such figures as are mentioned in the following epigram of Antipater upon Lyfidice,

Μασέω τῆς σὺ, τίς ἐπὶ τολήτιδι πέτρα,
Λυσιδίκα, γλυπτὸν τὸν δ' ἐχαράξε νόον;
“ Τὰ μὲν ἀνεγχομένα μὲ ποτ' εἶρα νύκτερος ὄρνις
“ Ἀνία δ' ἀνδάσει δώματος ἡνίοχον,
“ Ἰππασὴρ δ' ὅδε κηρὸς αἰετταὶ ἐ πολύμυθον,
“ Οὐ λαλὼν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς ἐμπλεον ἡσυχίης.

I've often sought, tell me, Lyfidice,
What is the meaning of this imag'ry;
What mean these curious figures round thy tomb?
What are they all design'd for, and by whom?
“ I tell you, Sir, and first that bird of night
“ Shows how I us'd to spin by candle-light:
“ That well-carv'd bridle on the side is meant
“ My well-rul'd family to represent :

“ My

(*a*) Nemeon. Od. X. (*b*) Dioscuris. (*c*) Pausanias Corinthiacis. (*d*) Plutarchus Lycurgo. (*e*) Pollux, Lib. VIII. Cap. VII.

" My peaceful temper next the muzzle shows,
" That I no scold or busy tatler was."

H. H.

Diogenes the cynic had a dog engraven upon his monument, to denote the temper of his sect, or his own. Isocrates's tomb was adorned with the image of a firen; Archimedes's with a sphere and cylinder; whereby the charming eloquence of the former, and the mathematical studies of the latter, were signified. Nor was it unusual to fix upon graves the instruments which the deceased had used. The graves of soldiers were distinguished by their weapons; those of mariners by their oars; and, in short, the tools of every art and profession accompanied their masters, and remained as monuments to preserve their memory. Hence Elpenor is introduced by Homer (*a*) begging of Ulysses to fix the oar he used to row with upon his tomb, as has been already observed (*b*). Æneas in Virgil performs the like office to his trumpeter Misenus (*c*).

These, with many other ceremonies, were designed to perpetuate the memory of the deceased; whence their graves were termed *σήματα*, *μνημεία*, *μνήματα*, &c. Agamemnon reckons it a great happiness to Achilles, that he was honoured with a monument, which would continue his name to posterity (*d*);

Ολῶτε, Πηλέϊ υἱὲ, θεοῖς ἐπέκειλ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
ὅς θάνες ἐν Τροίῃ, &c.——

You are thrice happy, godlike Peleus' son,
Who did at Troy resign your breath.——

And afterwards,

——— μόναν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
Χεύαμεν Αἰγείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν
Ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ προχῆσσι ἐπὶ πλατῇ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.
Ὡς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντοφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴης,
Τοῖς οἱ νῦν γεγάασι, καὶ οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται.

To thy great name did warlike Grecians rear
A large and never-fading sepulchre,
And this they plac'd upon a rising mount
Impending o'er the spacious Hellespont;
That so both ages present and to come,
From distant shores might see thy sacred tomb.

H. H.

But later ages grew so extravagant in these structures, that their lawgivers were forced to keep them within bounds, by inflicting severe penalties upon such as exceeded their prescriptions. Solon, in particular,

(*a*) *Odyss.* λ'. v. 75.

(*b*) *Lib.* III. *Cap.* XI. p. 114,

(*c*) *Æneid.* IV.

(*d*) *Odyss.* ω'. v. 36.

particular, is reported to have ordered that no statues of Mercury (as had been customary, because Mercury was an infernal god), or arched roofs, should be made in the Athenian monuments, and that they should never be greater than ten men were able to erect in three days; and Demetrius the Phalerean enacted a law, that not above one pillar, and that not exceeding three cubits in height, should be placed upon any monument (a).

It may not be improper to mention their customs of praying for their friends, and men of piety and virtue, that the earth might lie light upon them; for their enemies, and all wicked men, that it might press heavy upon them; for they thought the ghosts that still haunted their shrouds, and were in love with their former habitations, had a very acute sense of all the accidents which befel their bodies. Hence the chorus prays for Alcestis (b),

—————Κέφα σοι
Χθὼν ἐπάνω πίσει, γύναι

I wish the earth may fall upon you light.

Menelaus is introduced by the same poet (c), arming himself against death by this consideration, that the gods took care that such who died with honour should have no sense of any pressure from the earth; whereas cowards should be crushed under it:

—————Εἰ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοί,
Εὐψυχὸν ἄνδρα πολέμιον θανόντ' ὕπο
Κέφῃ καταμπίσχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονί.
Κακοῖς δ' ἐφ' ἔρμα σφραγὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν ἥϊς.

For if the gods (and sure they all things know)
Have due regard for mortals here below,
They will not, cannot suffer those that die
By the too pow'rful force o' th' enemy,
If they with courage have maintain'd their post,
And for the public good their lives have lost,
To be o'erburden'd with the heavy weight
Of earth; but such as stand aghast at fate,
Base dastard souls that shrink at ev'ry blow,
Nor dare to look on a prevailing foe;
These shall (nor is the punishment unjust)
Be crush'd and tortur'd by avenging dust.

H. H.

Theseus prays this punishment may be inflicted upon wicked Phædra (d);

I

—————Istam

(a) Cicero de Legibus, Lib. II.
857. Senec. Hippolyt. fine.

(b) Euripid. Alcest. v. 462.

(c) Helen. v.

— *Istam terra defossam premat,
Gravisque tellus impio capiti incubet.*

And may the earth that is upon her laid,
Lie heavy on her corse, and crush her cursed head.

Ammianus has ingeniously inverted this order in the following epigram (a) ;

Εἴη σοι κατὰ γῆς κέφη κόνις, οἰκτρὲ Νέερχε
Οφθα σε ῥηϊδίως ἐξεύσωσι κύνηες.

Which Martial translates thus (b) :

*Si tibi terra levis, mollique tegaris arena,
Ne tua non possint eruere ossa canes.*

Let there be one, who lighter dust, or sand
Shall sprinkle o'er your corse with sparing hand,
So to the dogs you'll be an easy prey.

Pass we now to the monuments erected in honour of the dead, but not containing any of their remains, and thence called *κενοτάφια*, *κενήρια*.

Of these there were two sorts: One was erected to such persons as had been honoured with funeral rites in another place; of which we find frequent mention in Pausanias (c), who speaks of such honorary tombs dedicated to Euripides, Aristomenes, Achilles, Dameon, Tirefias, &c.

The second sort was erected for those that had never obtained a just funeral; for the ancients were possessed with an opinion, that the ghosts of men unburied could have no admittance into the blessed regions, but were forced to wander in misery 100 years; and that when any man had perished in the sea, or any other place where his carcase could not be found, the only method of giving him repose was to erect a sepulchre, and by repeating three times with a loud voice the name of the deceased, to call his ghost to the habitation prepared for it; which action was termed *ψυχαγωγία*.

This practice seems to have been very ancient: Pelias is introduced in Pindar (d), telling Jason he must recal the soul of Phryxus, who died in Colchis, into his native country. Æneas in Virgil performs the same office to Delphobus (e),

*Tunc egomet tumulum Rhæteo in littore inanem
Constitui, & magna manes ter voce vocavi.*

Vol. II.

F f

Thy

(a) Antholog. Lib. II. tit. *ἐς ποντοῦς*. (b) Lib. IX. Epitaph. Philæn. (c) Atticis, Messenicis, Eliac. & Boeoticis. (d) Pythionic. Od. IV. (e) Æneid. VI. v. 505.

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Pass we now to the monuments erected in honour of the dead, but not containing any of their remains, and thence called *κενοτάφια*, *κενήρια*.

Of these there were two sorts : One was erected to such persons as had been honoured with funeral rites in another place ; of which we find frequent mention in Pausanias (c), who speaks of such honorary tombs dedicated to Euripides, Aristomenes, Achilles, Dameon, Tiresias, &c.

The second sort was erected for those that had never obtained a just funeral ; for the ancients were possessed with an opinion, that the ghosts of men unburied could have no admittance into the blessed regions, but were forced to wander in misery 100 years ; and that when any man had perished in the sea, or any other place where his carcase could not be found, the only method of giving him repose was to erect a sepulchre, and by repeating three times with a loud voice the name of the deceased, to call his ghost to the habitation prepared for it ; which action was termed *ψυχαγωγία*.

This practice seems to have been very ancient : Pelias is introduced in Pindar (d), telling Jason he must recal the soul of Phryxus, who died in Colchis, into his native country. Æneas in Virgil performs the same office to Delphobus (e),

*Tunc egomet tumulum Rhæteo in littore inanem
Constitui, & magna manes ter voce vocavi.*

Vol. II.

F f

Thy

(a) Antholog. Lib. II. tit. εἰς πονηρούς. (b) Lib. IX. Epitaph. Philæn. (c) Atticis, Messenicis, Eliac. & Boeoticis. (d) Pythionic. Od. IV. (e) Æneid. VI. v. 505.

Thy tomb I rear'd on the Rhœtean coast,
And thrice aloud call'd back thy wand'ring ghost.

Ausonius has elegantly described, and assigned the reason of this custom (a) ;

*Hoc satis & tumulis, satis & telluris egenis ;
Voce ciere animas funeris instar habet :
Gaudent compositi cineres sua nomina dici ;
Frontibus hoc scriptis & monumenta jubent :
Ille etiam mæsti cui defuit urna sepulchri,
Nomine ter dicto pene sepultus erit.*

Small is the privilege the unbury'd crave,
No grave, or decent burial they have ;
Only instead of pompous funeral,
Aloud upon their wand'ring ghosts we call ;
This they command, with this they most are pleas'd,
And empty mon'uments with inscriptions rais'd :
For he, whose manes have been so recall'd,
Though his dead corpse of fit interment fail'd,
Is nigh as happy, and as fully blest,
As he whose bones beneath a tomb-stone rest.

H. H.

Many other instances of this nature may be met with in the poets. The sign whereby honorary sepulchres were distinguished from others was commonly *ικρίον*, or a wreck of a ship, to signify the decease of a person in some foreign country.

It may be expected that I should add something concerning the sacredness of sepulchres ; these, with all other things belonging to the dead, were had in so great esteem, that to deface, or any way violate them, was a crime no less than sacrilege, and thought to entail certain ruin upon all persons guilty of it. Examples of this nature are too common to be enumerated in this place, wherefore I shall only set down that of Idas, who, upon breaking one of the pillars in Aphareus's sepulchre, was immediately thunderstruck by Jupiter (b) ;

*Ἡ γὰρ ὅδε σάλαν Αφαρῆϊς ἐξανέχουσιν
Τύμβῳ ἀναρρήξας ταχέως Μεσσάνιος Ἰδας,
Μέλλε κασιγνήτοιο βαλεῖν σφετέρῳιο φονῆαν·
Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπάμυνε, χερῶν δὲ οἱ ἔκβαλε τυκλᾶν
Μάρμαρον, αὐτὸν δὲ φλογέω συνέφλεξε κεραυνῷ*

For, to revenge fall'n Lynceus's hasty doom,
He tore a pillar from the sacred tomb,

To

(a) Præfat. Parentalium.

(b) Theocrit. Idyll. 26. v. 207.

To dart at Castor, dreadfully he stood,
The fierce revenger of his brother's blood;
Jove interpos'd, and by his strict command
Swift lightning struck the marble from his hand;
He strove to reach it, but his soul was fir'd,
He fell, and in no common destiny expir'd.

Creech.

It has been a question, whether the *cenotaphia* had the same religious regard which was paid to the sepulchres where the remains of the deceased were repositied; for the resolution hereof, it may be observed, that such of them as were only erected for the honour of the dead, were not held so sacred as to call for any judgment upon such as profaned them; but the rest, wherein ghosts were thought to reside, seem to have been in the same condition with sepulchres, the want whereof they were designed to supply.

CHAP. VIII.

Of their Funeral Orations, Games, Lustrations, Entertainments, Consecrations, and other Honours of the Dead.

BEFORE the company departed from the sepulchre, they were sometimes entertained with a panegyric upon the dead person. Such of the Athenians as died in war, had an oration solemnly pronounced by a person appointed by the public magistrate, which was constantly repeated upon the anniversary-day (*a*). These customs were not very ancient, being first introduced by Solon, or (as some say) by Pericles, but were generally received, not in Greece only, but at Rome. It was thought no small accession to the happiness of the deceased to be eloquently commended; whence we find Pliny completing his account of Virginius Rufus's felicity in this, that his funeral oration was pronounced by one of the most eloquent tongues of that age (*b*).

It was farther customary for persons of quality, to institute games, with all sorts of exercises, to render the death of their friends more remarkable; this practice was generally received, and is frequently mentioned by ancient writers, Miltiades's funeral in Herodotus, Brasidas's in Thucydides, Timoleon's in Plutarch, with many others, afford examples hereof. Nor was it a custom of later ages, but very common in the primitive times; Patroclus's funeral games take up the greatest part of one of Homer's *Iliads* (*c*), and Agamemnon's ghost is

F f 2

introduced

(*a*) Cicero de Orat.

(*b*) Lib. II. Ep.

(*c*) *Iliad.* ψ.

introduced by the same poet, telling the ghost of Achilles, that he had been a spectator at great numbers of such solemnities (a) :

Μήτηρ δ' αἰτήσασα θεὸς, περικαλλὲς ἄεθλα
 ὅκει μέσῳ ἐν ἀγῶνι ἀριστεύουσιν Αἰχαιῶν
 Ἦδη μὲν πολλῶν τάφῳ ἀνδρῶν ἀντιβόλησα
 Ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν ποτ' ἀποφθιμὸς βασιλῆος
 Ζώννυνται τε νέοι, καὶ ἐπεντύνονται ἄεθλα.
 Ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνα μάλιστα ἰδὼν ἐτεδήπεα θυμῷ,
 Οἱ ἐπὶ σοὶ κατέθηκε θεὰ περικαλλὲς ἄεθλα
 Ἀργυρόπεζα θεῖς. —————

Your mother, full of piety and love,
 Craves first a blessing from the powers above ;
 Then she doth rich rewards and prizes state,
 While sprightly youth the games do celebrate ;
 I've been at many games, great piles survey'd,
 Which eternize heroic chiefs when dead,
 But none can equal wonders seem to be,
 As those the pious Thetis made for thee.

J. A.

In the age before, we find Oedipus's funeral solemnized with sports, and Hercules is said to have celebrated games at the death of Pelops (b). The first that had this honour was Azan, the son of Arcas, the father of the Arcadians, whose funeral, as Pausanias reports (c), was celebrated with horse-races. The prizes were of different sorts and value, according to the quality and magnificence of the person that celebrated them. The garlands given to victors were usually of parsley, which was thought to have some particular relation to the dead, as being feigned to spring out of Archemorus's blood ; whence it became the crown of conquerors in the Nemean games, which were first instituted at his funeral (d).

It was a general opinion, that dead bodies polluted all things about them ; this occasioned purifying after funerals, which Virgil has thus described (e) :

*Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
 Spargens rore levi, et ramo felicis olivæ,
 Lustravitque viros. —————*

Then carrying water thrice about his mates,
 And sprinkling with an olive-twigg, their fates
 Good Chorinæus wisely expiates.

Several other ways of purification may be met with, but these containing nothing peculiar to funerals, and being described in one of the

(a) Odyss. lib. v. 85.

(b) Dionysius Halicarnass. Lib. V.

(c) Arcadica.

(d) Vid. Archæolog. nostr. Lib. II. Cap. penult. et ult.

(e) Æneid. Lib. VI.

the preceding books, have no claim to any mention in this place. Till this purification was accomplished, the polluted person could not enter into the temples, or communicate at the worship of the gods; whence Iphigenia speaks the following words concerning Diana (a):

Τὰ τῆς θεᾶς δὲ μέμφομαι σοφίσματα,
 Ητις, βροτῶν μὲν ἢν τις ἀψήται φόνε,
 Ἡ καὶ λοχέας ἢ νεκρὰ δίγιε χηροῖν,
 Βωμῶν ἀπέεργη, μυστὰρὸν ὡς ἡγεμένη.

The superstitious tricks and niceties
 Of strict Diana's worship I dislike,
 Since of departed friends the farewell touch,
 All murder done in passion, or el sewise,
 And acts of venery she doth reject,
 As great pollutions of her sacred rites,
 Actors herein proscribing from her gifts.

J. A.

Nor was it Diana alone, of whom the poet speaks, that had such an aversion to these pollutions, but the rest of the gods and goddesses were of the same temper. Lucian, in his treatise concerning the Syrian Goddesses, tell us, that when any person had seen a corpse, he was not admitted into her temple till the day following, and not then, except he had first purified himself; and the general use of this custom (b) shows, that the rest of the celestial beings were equally afraid of defilement. This may farther appear, from its being unlawful for those persons to enter into the temples, who were called ὑπερόπτομοι, or δευτερόπτομοι (c), i. e. such as were thought dead, but after the performance of their funeral rites recovered; or such who were reputed to be dead in some foreign country, and unexpectedly returned; these men were prohibited from worshipping any of the gods. Hesychius mentions only the Eumenides, but others speak of the gods in general; whence Aristinus was forced to send messengers to consult the Delphian oracle, what method he should use to be freed from pollution, where he received this answer;

Ὅσσα μὲν ἐν λεχέσσι γυνὴ τίκτησα τελεῖται,
 Τόσσα μὲν αἶν τελέσαντα θύειν μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι.

All forms and customs which child-birth attend,
 The same must you to th' angry gods commend.

Whereupon he was washed, swaddled, and treated in all other respects as new born infants, and then received into communion. But,
 as

(a) Euripid. Iphigen. Tauric. 380.

(b) Suidas, v. πατηλοῦσι. Aristophan. Scho-

liast. Nubibus. (c) Hesychius in utraque voce.

as my author (a) proceeds, others make this custom much ancients than Aristinus, carrying it up as high as the primitive ages. And it is certain the opinion that dead bodies polluted all things about them, was very ancient, as appears from the Jewish laws.

The house was also purified; an instance whereof we have in Homer (b), where Ulysses having slain Penelope's courtiers, and carried them out of his house, thus bespeaks his old nurse:

Οἷσι δέειον, γρη῏, κακῶν ἄκθ, οἷσι δέ μοι πῦρ,
Οφρα θειάσω μέγαρον.—

Fetch brimstone hither, nurse, and fire, that I
My tainted dwelling house may purify.

Afterwards the poet adds (c);

Οὐδ' ἀπίθησε φίλῃ τροφῶς Εὐρύκλεια,
Ηνεγκεν δ' ἄρα πῦρ καὶ θήϊον· αὐτὰρ Οδυσσεὺς
Εὖ διεδείκωσεν μέγαρον, καὶ δῶμα, καὶ αὐλήν.

Strait trusty Eurycle perform'd his will,
Then he with sulph'rous smoke the house doth fill,
And chas'd th' infection from polluted rooms.

But the Lacedemonians were taught by their lawgiver to contemn these superstitious follies; and to think it unreasonable to fancy, that such as lived a virtuous life, and conformably to their discipline, should contract any pollution by death; on the contrary, they esteemed their remains worthy of respect and honour, and therefore thought no places so fit to reposit them in, as those adjoining to the temples of their gods (d).

After the funeral was over, the company met together at the house of the deceased person's nearest relations, to divert them from sorrow; here there was an entertainment provided (e), which was termed περιδειπνον, νεκροδειπνον, τάφος, in Latin, *circumpotatio*, according to Cicero, who informs us, that the Attic laws prohibited the use of this ceremony at the funerals of slaves (f). The custom was very ancient; the Trojans, having celebrated Hector's funeral, were splendidly entertained at king Priam's palace (g);

Χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Εὖ συναγειράμενοι δαίνυντ'· ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα
Δώμασιν ἐν Πριάμοιο διοτρεφίῳ βασιλῆος.

A tomb being rais'd, they orderly resort
In pensive crowds into King Priam's court,

I

Where

(a) Plutarchus Quæst. Roman. haud longe ab initio.

(b) Odyss. x. 481.

(c) V. 492.

(d) Plutarchus Lycurgo.

(e) Demosthenes Orat. de Corona.

Lucianus Dialog. de luctu.

(f) Lib. II. de Legibus.

(g) Iliad, α. fine.

Where a rich banquet cheerful mirth invites,
And sparkling wine whets their pall'd appetites.

J. A.

The same may be observed in the Grecian camp, with this difference, that Achilles entertained them before Patroclus's funeral (a);

Καὶ δ' ἔζον παρὰ νηὶ ποδάρεσσι Αἰακίδαο
Μυρία, αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι τάφον μενοεικέα δαῖνυ·
Πολλοὶ μὲν βόες ἀργοὶ δρέχθιον ἀμφὶ σιδήρῳ
Σφαζόμενοι, πολλὰ δ' ὄϊες καὶ μηκάδες αἶγας·
Πολλοὶ δ' ἀργιόδοντες ὕες θαλέδοντες ἀλοιφῇ
Εὐόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστιο·
Πάντη δ' ἀμφὶ νέκυν κοτυλήρυτον ἔρρεεν αἷμα.

While great Achilles doth prepare and fit
The fun'ral banquet, thronging Grecians sit
About the hero's ship; whole herds he kills
Of huge fat oxen, roaring while he spills
Their lives, that issue from their reeking wounds;
Whole flocks of sheep he kills; the air resounds,
While goats and fatted swine make hideous roar,
When purple streams from their gash'd throats do pour;
These having kill'd, he roasts, the while the blood
Around the corse in a great current flow'd.

J. A.

By which last words it appears, that the dead person had some interest in these entertainments; and as the blood of the beasts was designed for Patroclus's ghost, so, even in later ages, we are told the broken morsels which fell from the tables were looked on as sacred to the departed souls, and not lawful to be eaten (b). To this fancy Pythagoras's aphorism, though perhaps containing a more mystical sense, was an undoubted allusion (c), Τὰ πεσόντα μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι, i. e. *Take not up things fallen down*; or, as others express it, Μηδὲ γίνεσθαι ἄτ' ἐν ἐντὸς τραπέζης, καταπίεση, i. e. *Do not so much as taste things fallen under the table*. These fragments were carried to the tomb, and there left for the ghost to feast upon; whence, to denote extreme poverty, it was usual to say, that a person *stole his meat from the graves*. To this Tibullus's curse alludes,

*Ipsa fame stimulante furens, escasque sepulcro
Quærat, & a sævis ossa relicta lupis.*

May she want bread so much, as ev'n to crave
The scraps and musty morsels of a grave;
May she be glad to pick a carcase bone
Which wolves and vultures once have fed upon.

J. A.

The

(a) Iliad. ψ. v. 28.

(b) Athenæi Δειπνοσοφ. Lib. X.

(c) Lactius Pythagor.

The entertainments of later ages, consisted not, like Homer's, of flesh only, but all sorts of pulse (a), beans, pease, and lettuces, parsley, eggs, and many other things. The chief subject of discourse at these meetings, were the praises of the dead, especially if they had been eminent for any virtue or commendable quality; otherwise, so great was the simplicity of primitive ages, that they looked upon it most expedient to say nothing, when, by speaking, they must unavoidably offend the dead man, or transgress the rules of truth, both which were thought equally criminal. But afterwards they grew more lavish of their commendations, distributing them to all persons without distinction; whence came the proverb, *Οὐκ ἐπαινεθείης ἔδ' ἐν περιδείπῳ*, which was only applied to villains of the first rate, and such as had not the least shadow of a good quality to recommend them.

There was a custom at Argos, obliging those that had lost any of their kindred or acquaintance, to sacrifice to Apollo presently after mourning, and thirty days after to Mercury, out of an opinion, that as the earth received their bodies, so their souls fell into Mercury's hands. The barley of the sacrifice they gave to Apollo's minister, the flesh they took themselves; and having extinguished the sacrificial fire, which they accounted polluted, kindled another, whereon they boiled the flesh, calling it *ἔγκισμα* (b), from the fumes ascending from the burned sacrifice, which were termed in Greek *κίττα*.

The honours paid to the sepulchres and memories of the deceased were of divers sorts: It was frequent to place lamps in the subterraneous vaults of the dead, whither such as would express an extraordinary affection for their relations retired, and cloistered themselves up; an example whereof we have in Petronius's Ephesian matron.

They had a custom of bedecking tombs with herbs and flowers, amongst which parsley was chiefly in use, as appears from Plutarch's story of Timoleon, who, marching up an ascent, from the top of which he might take a view of the army, and strength of the Carthaginians, was met by a company of mules loaded with parsley; which (saith my author) his soldiers conceived to be a very ill-boding and fatal occurrence, that being the very herb wherewith we adorn the sepulchres of the dead. This custom gave birth to that despairing proverb, when we pronounce of one dangerously sick, *δεῖδαι σελίνου*, that he has need of nothing but parsley; which is, in effect, to say, he is a dead man, and ready for the grave. All sorts of purple and white flowers were acceptable to the dead, as amaranthus, which was first used by the Thessalians to adorn Achilles's grave (c); *πύθος λευκός* (d); which some will have to be the jessamine, with lilies, and several others: Hence Virgil (e),

Purpu-

(a) Plutarchus Problemata. Paris.

(c) Philostratus Heroicis.

Athenæus, Lib. XIV.

(b) Plutarchus Quæst. Græc. p. 296, 297, edit.

(d) Theophrastus, Lib. VI. *ψυχρὸν*

(e) Æneid, V. v. 79.

In

The
his o

Nor
Elect
with

In the
appear
Vol.

(d)

Purpureosque jacet flores, ac talia fatur.

He having purple flowers strow'd, thus spoke.

In the subsequent book he alludes to the same custom (a) ;

*Heu, miserande puer, siqua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris : manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem accumulem donis. —*

Ah ! could'st thou break thro' fate's severe decree,
A new Marcellus shall arise in thee :
Full canisters of fragrant lillies bring,
And all the curious drap'ry of the spring ;
Let me with purple flowers his body strow,
This gift which parents to their children owe,
This unavailing gift at least I may bestow.

The rose too was very grateful ; whence Anacreon has these verses in his ode upon that flower ;

*τὸδε κ' νοσῶσιν ἀρχαῖ,
τὸδε κ' νεκροῖς ἀμύνει.*

When age and vigour do decay,
The rose their strength repairs,
It drives all maladies away,
And can prolong our years ;
The dead too in their graves do lie,
With peaceful slumbers blest,
This is the amulet, hereby
No ills their tombs molest.

γ. Α.

Nor was the use of myrtle less common ; whence Euripides introduces Electra complaining that Agamemnon's tomb had never been adorned with boughs of that plant ;

*Αγαμέμνωνος δὲ τίμβρος ἡ τιμασμένος
Οὐ πώποτε ἔχουας, ἔ κλῶνα μυρσίνης
Ελαῖς. —*

With no libations, nor with myrtle boughs,
Were my dear father's manes gratify'd.

In short, graves were bedecked with garlands of all sorts of flowers, as appears from Agamemnon's daughter in Sophocles (b) ;

Vol. II.

G g

Επὶ

(a) Æneid. VI. v. 883.

(b) Electra, v. 336.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθον πατὲρ ἀρχαῖον τάφον,
 Οἷον κολώνης ἐξ ἄκρας νοστήτης
 Πηγὰς γάλακτος, καὶ περιεφθὴ κύκλῳ
 Πάντων ὅσ' ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν δῆκην πατρός.

No sooner came I to my father's tomb,
 But milk fresh pour'd in copious streams did flow,
 And flowers of ev'ry sort around were strow'd.

These were commonly called ἔρωτες (*a*), either from their design to express love and respect to the deceased person, or from ἔρανος, because they were usually composed of a collection of several sorts of flowers; or from ἔρα, as being laid upon the earth; though neither of these last reasons are constant: for the garlands were sometimes composed of only one sort of flowers, and frequently hung upon the pillars, and not laid upon the grave-stone. Several other things were frequently laid upon graves, as ribands; whence it is said, that Epaminondas's soldiers being disanimated at seeing the riband that hung upon his spear, carried by the wind to a certain Lacedemonian sepulchre, he bid them take courage, for that it portended destruction to the Lacedemonians, it being customary to deck the sepulchres of their dead with ribands (*b*). Another thing dedicated to the dead, was their hair. Electra in Sophocles says, that Agamemnon had commanded her and Chrysothemis to pay him this honour,

Ἡμεῖς δὲ πατὲρ τύμβον, ὡς ἐφίετο,
 Λοιβαῖσι πρῶτον καὶ καρατόμοις χλιδαῖς
 Στάφοντες:—

With drink-off'rings, and locks of hair, we must,
 According to his will, his tomb adorn.

Candace in Ovid (*c*) bewails her calamity, in that she was not permitted to adorn her lover's tomb with her locks, as has been already observed.

It was likewise customary to perfume the grave-stones with sweet ointments, to which practice Anacreon has this allusion,

Τί σε δεῖ λίθον μυρίζειν,
 Τί δὲ γῆ χεῖν ματαία;
 Ἐμὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔτι ζῶ,
 Μύρισον, ῥόδοις δὲ κρᾶτα
 Πύκασον.—

Why

(*a*) Phavorinus, Etymologici Auctor. Canac. ad Macar.

(*b*) Frontinus, Lib. I. Cap. II.

(*c*) Epist.

Why do we precious ointments show'r,
Noble wines why do we pour,
Beauteous flow'rs why do we spread
Upon the mon'uments of the dead?
Nothing they but *dust* can show,
Or *bones* that hasten to be so.
Crown me with *roses* while I live.

Cowley.

Whence Leonidas seems to have borrowed the sense of this epigram,

Μὴ μύρα, μὴ στεφάνους λιθίναις στήλαισι χαρίζε,
Μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ φλέξε, εἰς κενὸν ἢ δαπάνη.
Ζῶντί μοι, εἴτε δάλης, χάρισαι· τέφρην δὲ μεθύσκων
Πηλὸν ποιήσεις, ἔχ' ὁ θάνατον τίεται.

When cold and lifeless in my grave I'm laid,
No fragrant *oil* then pour, no *chaplets* spread:
All *expiatory* fires, all rites are vain,
Wine only can my fruitless *ashes* stain:
Come, let's carouse, let's revel while we live,
'Twill elevate our souls, 'twill ease to troubles give.

J. A.

To these practices we find another added, viz. running naked about sepulchres; for Plutarch (a) tells us, that Alexander arriving at Troy, honoured the memories of the heroes buried there with solemn libations, anointed Achilles's grave-stone, and (according to ancient custom) together with his friends, ran naked about his sepulchre, and crowned it with garlands.

Beside the fore-mentioned ceremonies, there remain several others, especially their sacrifices and libations to the dead: The victims were black and barren heifers, or black sheep, as being of the same sort with those offered to the infernal gods, to denote the contrariety of those regions to light and fruitfulness; whence Homer introduces Ulysses making a vow to the ghosts after this manner (b):

Πολλὰ δὲ γενέμεν νεκρῶν ἀμνηστὰ κάρηνα,
Ελθὼν εἰς Ἰθάκην, εἵρα βῆν, ἥ τις ἀρίστη,
Ρέξιν ἐν μεγάροισι, πυρὴν τ' ἐμπλησέμεν ἐοδῶν.
Τειρεσίη δ' ἀπάνευθεν ὅττιν ἱερυσέμεν οἶω
Παμμέλων, ὃς μήλοισι μεταπρέπει ἡμετέροισι.

A barren cow to all the pow'rs below
I did with solemn protestation vow,

G g 2

If

(a) Alexandro.

(b) Odyss. λ'. v. 29.

If e'er I should again my lordship see,
 After the perilous wand'rings on the sea,
 Their altars then I likewise swore to load
 With fruits and other off'rings as were good :
 But the best of our *black rams* I cou'd choose,
 Tiresias I promis'd with chaste vows.

J. A.

Besides their offering these sacrifices in ditches, and some other customs spoken of in one of the former books (a), it may be observed farther, that the first thing they offered was the hair upon the victim's forehead, which, for that reason, was termed *ἀπαρχαί*, and to offer it *ἀπαρχιδαι*. But, however, these terms are sometimes used for the sacrifices of the ghosts, yet the custom of offering these first-fruits was common to the sacrifices of the celestial and other deities, as appears from several instances : Homer mentions it at one of Minerva's sacrifices (b) ;

————— Πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνη
 Εὐχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον.

Having invoc'd Minerva with his pray'rs,
 He on the altar threw the *forehead hairs*.

In another place he speaks of it as acceptable to the gods (c) ;

Ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον
 Ἀγριόδοτος υἱός, καὶ ἐπήνυχετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι.

Of a sow's *forehead* having burn'd the *hairs*,
 To all the *gods* he offers fervent pray'rs.

But their ordinary offerings were nothing but libations of blood, honey, wine, milk, water, &c. Solon forbade the Athenians *ἐναγλίζειν βέν*, to offer an ox on this occasion (d). Upon the sacrifice they commonly sprinkled barley-flour. Some of these are mentioned in Homer (e),

————— Χοὰς χέομεν πᾶσι νεκρῶσιν·
 Πρῶτα μελιχρῆτα μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδὺ οἶνω,
 Τὸ τρίτον αὖθ' ὕδατι ἐπὶ δ' ἀλφίτα λευκὰ πάλυνον.

We did with reverence the shades adore,
 We first did *honey* mix'd with *water* pour,
 Then *wine*, then simple *water*, and next *barley flour*.

Honey was rarely omitted, being accounted *θανάτου σύμβολον*, a *symbol* or emblem of death (f). Hence, as some think, the ghosts of

(a) Lib. I. Cap. IV.

(b) Odyss. γ'.

(c) Iliad. ξ'.

(d) Plutarchus Solonis.

(e) Odyss. α'. v. 26.

(f) Porphyrius de Antro Nympharum

of the deceased came to be termed μέλισσαι, the infernal gods μελίχμοι, and their oblations μελίγματα.

They were designed to render the ghosts kind and propitious, and therefore termed χοαὶ ἡδυντήριοι, or θελακτήριοι. Iphigenia in Euripides thus describes them (a):

Ω, τάσδε
Χοὰς μέλλω κρατῆρ' εἶπε
Τῶν φθιμένων
Υδραίνειν γαίης ἐν νώτοις,
Πηγὰς τ' ἕρπειν ἐκ μόχλων,
Βάκχας τ' οἴνηρ' αἰσδοῦσθαι,
Ξανθὰν τε πόνηρ' αἰσδοῦσθαι,
Ἀ νεκροῖς θελακτήρια καὶ
τ' —————

To whom I in this sacred *chalice* bear
These solemn liquids as an offering,
This *blood* in crimson streams shall stain the ground,
With *wine* and th' *product* of the fed'lous *bee*,
The common *peace-atonement* for the dead.

J. A.

These were sometimes offered upon altars, which were commonly placed near the ancient sepulchres, with tables for the sacrificial feasts; sometimes they were poured forth upon the ground, or grave-stone, and, together with a certain form of words, offered to the deceased. Thus Helena desires Hermione to address Clytemnestra in her name (b):

Ω τέκνον ἔξελθ', Ερμιόνη, δόμων πάρος,
Καὶ λάβε χοὰς τάσδ' ἐν χερσὶν κόμας τ' ἑμὰς
Ελθῶσα δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλυταιμνήστρας τάφον
Μελίκρατ' ἄφες γάλακτος οἶνωπόν τ' ἄχνην,
Καὶ σ' ἐπ' ἄκρα χώματος λίξον τάδε,
" Ελένη σ' ἀδελφὴ ταῖσδε δωρεῖται χοαῖς.

Daughter Hermione, come forth and take
These off'rings to thy dear aunt's sepulchre,
These *locks* of my *hair*, and this *honey mix'd*
With *milk*, and this *wine* to pour o'er her grave,
Which having done, stand on its top, and say,
" Thy sister Helen to declare her love,
" Offers these *rites* to thy dear memory.

The water thus employed was termed λετρὸν, χθόνιον λουτρὸν; and at Athens, ἀπόνημα (c). When persons died who had been married, there was

(a) Iphigen. Tauric. v. 159.
Odyss. α.

(b) Euripid. Orestes. v. 112.

(c) Eustathius,

was a custom for women to carry water to their graves, who from *pouring* it forth were termed *ἐγχυτρίσαι* (a). When a young man or maid died, the water was carried by a boy (b), or (which appears to some more probable) by a boy to the sepulchres of young men, by a maid to the sepulchres of maids; whence came the custom of erecting images, representing maids with vessels of water upon the sepulchres of such as died in their virginity, as was observed in the foregoing chapter, though I have there interpreted this custom so as to agree with the former opinion. As for those that died in their infancy, they were honoured with no libations, nor had any right to the rest of the funeral solemnities (c).

These honours were paid the dead the ninth and thirtieth days after burial (d), and repeated when any of their friends arrived that had been absent at the solemnity, and upon all other occasions which required their surviving relations to have them in memory. But some part of the month Anthisterion seems to have been especially set apart for these ceremonies in several of the Grecian cities. Athenæus reports, in particular, of the Apolloniatae (e), that they paid the dead the customary honours in this month. Hesychius (f) likewise reports, that the same custom was observed at Athens; and that they termed the days appointed for those solemnities, *μιαραὶ ἡμέραι*, which were by others called *ἀποφράδες* (g), as being *polluted* by their dedication to the dead, whose ghosts were thought to ascend from their subterraneous habitations, to enjoy the kind entertainment of their friends (b); the want hereof was thought a great calamity, and therefore it is reckoned by Cassandra among the manifold misfortunes of the Trojans, that they should have no surviving friends to offer sacrifices at their tombs.

Οὐδὲ πρὸς ταύταις
ἔσ' ὅστις αὐτῶν αἷμα γῇ δαρήσεται.

Nor shall one friend remain
To stain their desert sepulchres with blood.

Upon these public days, they called over the names of their dead relations one by one, excepting such as died under age, or forfeited their title to these honours, by dissipating their paternal inheritances, or other crimes. There was likewise another time when they called over the names of the dead, which being omitted in the foregoing chapters, I shall speak of it in this place: it was when they lost their friends in foreign countries, whence before they departed they called the names of all that were missing out of their company three times. Thus Ulysses in Homer declares he did, when he lost some of his men in battle with the Cicones (i);

Οὐδ,

(a) Etymologiei Auctor. (b) Idem. (c) Plutarchus Lib. consolat. ad uxorem.
(d) Pollux Lib. III. Cap. X. (e) Δειπνοσοφ. Lib. VIII. (f) Voce *μιαραὶ*.
(g) Suidas. (b) Lucianus *Ἐπισκοπήσιν*. (i) Odyss. i. v. 64.

Οὐδ' ἄρα μοι προτέρω νῆες κλον ἀμφέλισσαι,
Πρὶν τινα τῶν δειλῶν ἐτάρων τρεῖς ἑκάστον αὖσαι,
Οἳ θάνον ἐν πεδίῳ Κικόνων ὑπο δῆιοδόντες.

My high built ships I launch'd not from the shore,
A better fate and voyage to explore,
Till I had singly thrice call'd o'er my friends,
Who by Ciconians came t' untimely ends.

J. A.

Hercules in Theocritus calls Hylas three times (a) ;

Τρεῖς μὲν Ἰλαν αὖσεν ὅσον βαδὺς ἤρυγε λαιμός.

His much lov'd Hylas perish'd in the flood
He call'd on thrice as loud as e'er he cou'd.

The reasons of this custom were, according to John Tzetzes (b), partly, that such as were left behind might, upon hearing the noise, repair to their ships, and partly to testify their unwillingness to depart without their companions ;

Τὸ πρῶτον τὰς θνήσκοντας εἰς γῆν τῆς ἀλλοτρίαν
Ἀποδημῶντες οἱ αὐτῶν τρισάκις ἀνέκαλυν,
Ὡς Ομηρὸς ἐδίδαξε βίβλῳ τῆς Οδυσσεύας·
Τέτο δ' ἔδρων ὡς μνήμονες τυγχάνοντες Φιλίας.
Καὶ ὡς δ', εἰ ἀπολείφθῃ τις, πρὸς τὴν Φωνὴν συνδράμοι.

It was a custom 'mongst all ancient Greeks,
That he who trav'ling into foreign parts
Did die, should by surviving friends be call'd
Thrice, as a token of their mutual love.
Hence all that were alive then join'd their voice,
As Homer in his *Odyssæe* attests.

J. A.

To return : They had anniversary days, on which they paid their devotions to the dead ; these were sometimes termed *Νεμεία*, as being celebrated upon the festival of Nemesis, who was thought to have especial care for the honours of the dead (c) ; sometimes *Ωραία* (d), as also *Γενίσια* (e) ; the reason of which name seems to be, that it signifies the anniversary day of man's nativity, which after his death was solemnized with the same ceremonies that were used upon the anniversary of his death (f), which were properly termed *Νεκύσια* ; hence it is that these two words are commonly thought to signify the same solemnity.

The

(a) *Idyll. γ'. v. 58.*

(b) *Chiliad. V. Hist. XIV.*

(c) *Moschopulus, Suidas.*

(d) *Hesychius, Phavorinus.*

(e) *Suidas, &c.*

(f) *Suidas, Hesychius,*

Phavorinus, Moschopulus, &c.

The honours of the dead were distinguished according to the quality and worth of the person they were conferred on. Such as by their virtues and public services had raised themselves above the common level, had *ἡρώϊκας τιμὰς*, the honours of heroes; the participation hereof was termed *ἀνιερῶσθαι*, or *τελευχέναι τιμῶν ἡρώϊκων*, *ἰσοθέων*, or *ἰσολυμπίων*. Others, who had distinguished themselves from the former, were raised a degree higher, and reckoned among the gods, which consecration was termed *θεοποίησις*, and was very different from the former, to worship the former persons being only termed *ἐναγίζειν*, but the latter *θύειν*. The latter honour was very rare in the heroic times, but in subsequent ages, when great examples of virtue were not so frequent, and men more addicted to flattery, it became more cheap, insomuch that those persons, whom former ages had only worshipped as heroes, were afterwards accounted gods; an instance whereof we have (to omit several others) in Lampface, one of Plutarch's heroines (a). The Athenians were especially remarkable for immoderate and profuse distributions of those honours, and it is generally observed that that nation exceeded all the rest of the Grecians in the arts of flattery and superstition, as appears from several instances in the precedent books.

I shall observe, in the last place, That these and the rest of the honours of the dead, were thought most acceptable when offered by their nearest friends; when by their enemies, they were rejected with indignation; whence Sophocles introduces Electra advising her sister Chrysothemis, that she should by no means offer Clytemnestra's gifts to Agamemnon (b).

Ἀλλ', ὃ φίλη, τέτων μὲν, ὧν ἔχεις χερσίν,
 Τύμβῳ προσάψης μηδὲν· ἔ γάρ σοι δέμις,
 Οὐδ' ὅσιον ἐχθρᾶς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἰσάναι
 Κτερίσματ', ἐδὲ λυτρά προσφέρειν πατρί.

Dear sister, don't attempt his tomb t' approach
 With a design of offering those gifts,
 Since the infernal manes do detest,
 As heinous, rites paid by an enemy.

J. A.

For men were thought to retain the same affections after death which they had entertained when alive. This appears farther from the story of Eteocles and Polynices, Oedipus's sons, who having killed each other in single combat, and being burned in the same pile, the flames of their bodies would not unite, but by parting from each other demonstrated the irreconcilable and immortal hatred of the brethren, as we are informed by Bianor's following epigram;

Οἰδίποδ' αὖ παιδῶν Θήκη τάφος, ἀλλ' ὁ πανώλης
 Τύμβος ἐτι ζώντων αἰοδάνεται δοράτων.

Κείνης

(a) Lib. de Mulierum claris factis.

(b) Electra, v. 432.

Κείνους ἐπ' αἰδοῦς ἰδαμάσσατο, κὴν Ἀχέροντι
Μάριανται κείνων χὼ τάφῳ ἀντίπαλῳ.
Καὶ πυρὶ πῦρ ἤλεγξαν ἐναντίον. ὦ ἔλθεινοι
Παῖδες, ἀκοιμήτων ἀψάμενοι δοράτων.

Within thy walls, O Thebes, two brothers lie,
Who, though deceas'd, cease not their enmity ;
For from their bodies on the pile do fly
Enrag'd corpuscles, jussling in the sky ;
With pointed fury eagerly they meet,
Then in aversion scornfully retreat.
Unhappy youths, by fates denied to have
The peaceful slumbers of a quiet grave.

J. A.

Lycophron has furnished us with the parallel example of Mopsus and Amphilocheus, who having slain each other, were buried in the opposite sides of an hill, lest their ghosts should be disturbed by having their sepulchres within sight of one another (a) :

Αἰπὺς δ' αἰλιβρῶς ὄχμῳ ἐν μεταίχμῳ
Μέγαρσῳ ἀγνῶν ἥρῳν σαθρήσεται,
Ὡς μὴ βλέπωσι, μηδὲ νερέων ἔδρας
Δύντες, φόνω λαδέντας ἀλλήλων τάφους.

An high and craggy mount, Megarsus named,
Shall stand between the sacred monuments,
Lest the griev'd manes should offended be
To see each other's tomb by slaughter stain'd.

J. A.

C H A P. IX.

Of their Love of Boys.

WHO it was that first introduc'd the custom of loving boys into Greece, is uncertain : However (to omit the infamous amours of Jupiter, Orpheus, Lajus of Thebes, and others), we find it generally practis'd by the ancient Grecians, and that not only in private, but by the public allowance and encouragement of their laws ; for they thought there could be no means more effectual to excite their youth to noble undertakings, nor any greater security to their commonwealths, than this generous passion. This the invaders of their liberties so often experienced, that it became a received maxim in the politics of tyrants, to use all their endeavours

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(a) Callandr. v. 425.

deavours to extirpate it out of their dominions; some instances whereof we have in Athenæus (a). On the contrary, free commonwealths, and all those states that consulted the advancement of their own honour, seem to have been unanimous in establishing laws to encourage and reward it. Let us take a view of some few of them.

First, We shall find it to have been so generally practised, so highly esteemed in Crete, that such of their well-born and beautiful youths as never had any lovers, incurred the public censure, as persons some way or other faulty in their morals; as if nothing else could hinder, but that some one's affections would be placed upon them. But those that were more happy in being admired, were honoured with the first seats at public exercises, and wore, for a distinguishing badge of honour, a sort of garment richly adorned; this they still retained after they arrived to man's estate, in memory they had once been *κλειοί*, *eminent* (b), which was the name the Cretans gave to youths who had lovers. The lovers themselves were called *Φιλότογος*. One thing was remarkable in this place, that the lovers always took their boys by force; for having placed their affections upon any one, they gave notice of it to his relations, and withal certified them what day they designed to take him; If the lover was unworthy of the boy, they refused to yield him up; but if his quality and virtues were answerable, they made some slight opposition, to satisfy the law, and pursued him to his lodgings, but then gave their consent. After this, the lover carried the boy whither he pleased, the persons that were present at the rape bearing him company. He entertained him some time, two months at the farthest, with hunting, and such diversions, then they returned him home. At his departure it was ordered by law that the boy should receive a suit of armour, an ox, and a cup, to which the lover usually added out of his own bounty several other presents of value. The boy being returned home, sacrificed the ox to Jupiter, made an entertainment for those that had accompanied him in his flight, and gave an account of the usage he had from his lover; for in case he was rudely treated, the law allowed him satisfaction (c). It is farther affirmed by Maximus the Tyrian, that during all the time of their converse together, nothing unseemly, nothing repugnant to the strictest laws of virtue passed between them, (d); and however some authors are inclined to have hard thoughts of this custom, yet the testimonies of many others, with the high characters given by the ancients of the old Cretan constitutions, by which it was approved, are sufficient to vindicate it from all false imputations. The same is put beyond dispute by what Strabo tells us (e), that it was not so much the external beauty of a boy, as his virtuous disposition, his modesty, and courage, which recommended him.

From the Cretans pass we to the Lacedemonians, several of whose constitutions were derived from Crete. Their love of boys was remarkable

(a) Lib. XIII.
citato,

(b) Strabo, Lib. X.

(c) Idem.

(d) Dissert. X.

(e) Laco

remarkable all over Greece, and for the whole conduct and excellent consequences of it every where admired. There was no such thing as presents passed between the lovers, no foul arts were used to insinuate themselves into one another's affections; their love was generous, and worthy the Spartan education; it was first entertained from a mutual esteem of one another's virtue; and the same cause which first inspired the flame, did alone serve to nourish and continue it; it was not tainted with so much as a suspicion of immodesty. Agesilaus is said to have refused so much as to kiss the boy he loved (*a*), for fear of censure; and if a person attempted any thing upon a youth, besides what consisted with the strictest rules of modesty, the laws (however encouraging a virtuous love) condemned him to disgrace (*b*), whereby he was deprived of almost all the privileges of free denizens. The same practice was allowed the women toward their own sex, and was so much in fashion among them, that the most staid and virtuous matrons would publicly own their passion for a modest and beautiful virgin (*c*), which is a farther confirmation of the innocency of this custom. Maximus the Tyrian (*d*) assures us the Spartans loved their boys no otherwise than a man may be enamoured with a beautiful statue, which he proves from what Plutarch (*e*) likewise reports, that though several mens fancies met in one person, yet did not that cause any strangeness or jealousy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate friendship; whilst they all jointly conspired to render the beloved boy the most accomplished in the world; for the end of this love was, that the young men might be improved in all virtuous and commendable qualities, by conversing with men of probity and experience; whence the lover and the beloved shared the honour and disgrace of each other; the lover especially was blamed if the boy offended, and suffered what punishment was due to his fault (*f*). Plutarch has a story of a Spartan fined by the magistrates, because the lad whom he loved cried out effeminately whilst he was fighting (*g*). The same love continued when the boy was come to man's estate; he still preserved his former intimacy with his lover, imparted to him all his designs, and was directed by his counsels, as appears from another of Plutarch's relations concerning Cleomenes, who, before his advancement to the kingdom, was beloved by one Xenares, with whom he ever after maintained a most intimate friendship, till he went about his project of new modelling the commonwealth, which Xenares not approving, departed from him, but still remained faithful to him, and concealed his designs (*h*).

If we pass from Sparta to Athens, we shall find that there Solon forbade slaves to love boys, making that an honourable action, and as it were inviting (these are Plutarch's (*i*) words) the worthy to practise what he commanded the unworthy to forbear. That lawgiver himself

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(*a*) Plutarchus Apophthegm. (*b*) Xenophon de Rep. Laced. Plutarchus Institut. Laconic. (*c*) Plutarchus Lycurgo. (*d*) Dissert. X. (*e*) Lycurgo.
 (*f*) Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. XIII. (*g*) Lycurgo. (*h*) Plutarchus Cleomenes.
 (*i*) Solone.

is said to have loved Pisistratus (a), and the most eminent men in that commonwealth submitted to the same passion. Socrates, who died a martyr for disowning the Pagan idolatry, is very remarkable for such amours, yet seems not, whilst alive, to have incurred the least suspicion of dishonesty; for what else could be the cause, that when Callias, Thrasymachus, Aristophanes, Anytus and Melitus, with the rest of his enemies, accused him of teaching Critias to tyrannize, for sophistry, for contempt of the gods, and other crimes, they never so much as upbraided him with impure love, or for writing or discoursing upon that subject? And though some persons, especially in later ages, and perhaps unacquainted with the practice of the old Grecians, have called in question that philosopher's virtue in this point, yet both he and his scholar Plato are sufficiently vindicated from that imputation by Maximus the Tyrian (b), to whom I refer the reader. The innocency of this love may farther appear from their severe laws enacted against immodest love, whereby the youths that entertained such lovers were declared infamous, and rendered incapable of public employments, and the persons that prostituted them condemned to die; several other penalties were likewise ordered, to deter all men from so heinous and detestable a crime, as appears from the laws of Athens, described in one of the foregoing books (c).

There are many other examples of this nature, whereof I shall only mention one more; it shall be taken from the Thebans, whose lawgivers, Plutarch tells us (d), encouraged this excellent passion, to temper the manners of their youth; nor were they disappointed of their expectation, a pregnant evidence whereof (to omit others), we have in the *ἱερὰ φάλαγγ*, *sacred band*; it was a party of 300 chosen men, composed of lovers and their beloved, and therefore called *sacred*; it gained many important victories, was the first that ever overcame the Spartans (whose courage till then seemed irresistible), upon equal terms, and was never beaten till the battle at Cheronea; after which king Philip taking a view of the slain, and coming to the place where these 300, who had fought his whole phalanx, lay dead together, he was struck with wonder; and understanding that it was the band of lovers, he said, weeping, *Let them perish who suspect that these men either did or suffered any thing base*.

Before I conclude this chapter, it may be necessary to observe, that the lover was called by the Spartans *ἑσπνιλος*, *ἑσπνιλος*, or as others write it, *ἑσπνίλης*; the beloved was termed by the Thessalians *αἴτης*. Thus Theocritus (e);

Δοῖα δὲ τινε τῶδε μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι γυνέσθην
 Φῶδ'· ὁ μὲν ἦν ἑσπνιλος, φαίη χά μιν κλαῖσθαι
 Τὸν δ' ἕτερον πάλιν ὡς κεν ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴτοι αἴται.

The

(a) Idem, loc. cit.

(b) Dissert. VIII, IX, X, XI.

(c) Lib. I. p. 172, 173.

(d) Pelopida.

(e) Idyll. 2. v. 12.

The Greek Scholiast derives both the names *παρὰ τὸ τὸν ἐράμεινον ἐισαίεν* καὶ *εἰσπᾶν τὸν ἔρωτα τῷ ἀγαπῶντι*, from the lover's being inspired with affection by his beloved; and other ancient grammarians agree with him herein.

CHAP. X.

Of their Customs in expressing their Love, their Love Potions, Incantations, &c.

LOVERS had several ways of discovering their passion, and expressing the respect they had for their beloved. Every tree in the walks they frequented, every wall of their houses, every book they used, had inscribed upon it the beloved's name, with the epithet of *καλὴ* or *καλός*; whence Lucian (*a*), relating a story of one desperately in love with Venus Cnidia, after other expressions of his passion, adds, that there was never a wall or tree but what proclaimed *Αφροδίτη καλή*, *Venus fair*. Callimachus's lover has the same fancy, only that he wishes his mistress's name written on leaves, if we may credit the Scholiast upon Aristophanes (*b*),

Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοισι κεκοιμένα τόσσα φέρειεν
Γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὡς ἔρεωσι καλήν.

May the kind trees on leaves such letters bear
As shall proclaim my dear Cydippe fair.

'Twas in allusion to this practice, that one in Euripides declared he should never entertain a good opinion of the female sex, though the pines in mount Ida were filled with their names (*c*). Aristophanes had an eye to the same custom, when, jesting upon an old Athenian that was mightily in love with deciding causes, he says, that upon every place he writ *κηρὸς καλός*, which word signifies the cover of the judiciary urn (*d*),

— Ἀν' ἴδῃ γε πᾶ γεγραμμένον
Τὸν Πυριλάμπης ἐν θύρᾳ Δῆμον καλὸν,
Ἰὼν παρέγραψε πλησίον Κηρὸς καλός.

Lovers usually decked the doors of their beloved with flowers and garlands; for, thinking the persons their affections were placed on to be the very image of the deity of love, their house could be no less

(*a*) Aniator.
(*d*) Vespis.

(*b*) Acharn.

(*c*) Eustathius Iliad. ζ. p. 490. Edit. Basil.

less than Cupid's temple (*a*), which was accustomed to receive those honours. From the same original, they seem to have derived that other custom of making libations before their mistress's doors, and sprinkling them with wine, of which we have mention in the Scholiast upon Aristophanes (*b*), where he reports, that many of the Thessalian gentlemen were in love with the beautiful Nais, and publicly owned their passion, by sprinkling the doors of her house with wine.

When a person's garland was untied, it was taken for a sign of being in love (*c*); and for a woman to compose a garland, was another indication of her passion (*d*),

Εάν τις πλέκη
Γύνῃ τέφανον, ἔρῳ δοκεῖ.

The wreathing garlands in a woman is
The usual symptom of a love-sick mind.

They had several methods of discovering whether their love would prove successful; that of the *κότλας* was very frequent at entertainments, which is hereafter described. Two other ways we have in Theocritus (*e*),

Εγνὼν πρᾶν, ὅκα μεν μεμναμένῳ εἰ φίλεις με,
Οὐδὲ τὸ τηλέφρον ποτεμάζετο τὸ πλατάγημα,
Ἀλλ' αὐτῶς ἀπαλᾷ ποτὶ παχεὶ ἐξεμαράνθη·
Εἶπε κῆ Ἀγροῖά τ' ἀλαδία κουκινόμαντις,
Ἀπρᾶν ποιολογεῦσα, παραιδίας, ἕνεκ' ἐγὼ μὲν
Τὴν ὀλῶ ἐγχεῖμαι, τὴν δὲ μεν λόγον ἔδνα ποιῶ.

All this I knew, when I design'd to prove
Whether I should be happy in my love;
I press'd the long-live, but in vain did press,
It gave no lucky sound of good success:
To Agrio too I made the same demand,
A cunning woman she, I cross'd her hand;
She turned the sieve and sheers, and told me true,
That I should love, but not be lov'd by you.

Greeks.

Both these customs I have already described in one of the precedent books (*f*), which the reader may consult.

When their love was without success, they had several arts to procure the affections of their beloved. The Thessalian women were famous for their skill in this, as well as other magical practices. The means whereby it was effected were of divers sorts: it

(*a*) Athenæus, Lib. XV.

(*b*) Pluto, Act. I. Sc. I.

(*c*) Athenæus, lib.

cit. (*d*) Aristophanes Thesmophor.

(*e*) Idyll. III. v. 28.

(*f*) Lib. II.

Cap. XVIII. p. 319.

it was sometimes done by potions called *φίλτρα*, which are frequently mentioned in authors of both languages. Juvenal speaks thus (a):

*Hic Magicos offert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
Philtrea, quibus valeant mentem vexare mariti.*

This pedlar offers magic charms, the next
Philtres, by which the husband's mind's perplex'd.

Their operations were violent and dangerous, and commonly deprived such as drank them of their reason. Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos report, that Lucullus the Roman general first lost his reason, and afterwards his life, by one of them. Lucretius the poet ended his life the same way; and Caius Caligula (as Suetonius reports) was driven into a fit of madness by a philtre given him by his wife Cæsonia; which story is mentioned by the same poet (b),

——— *Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,
Cui totam tremuli frontem Cæsonia pulli
Infudit.*———

Some nimbler juice would make him foam and rave,
Like that Cæsonia to her Caius gave,
Who plucking from the forehead of the foal
His mother's love, infus'd it in the bowl.

Dryden,

Ovid likewise assures us, that this was the usual effect of these potions;

*Nec data profuerint pallentia philtrea puellis,
Philtrea nocent animis, vimque furoris habent.*

All pois'nous drugs and necromantic arts
Ne'er move the scornful maids relentless hearts,
They but distract the senses, seize the brain,
And Venus' rites and mysteries profane.

J. A.

The ingredients they were made up of were of several sorts, divers of which, applied by themselves, were thought effectual. Some of the most remarkable were these that follow:

Hippomanes, a piece of flesh upon the forehead of colts new foaled, of a black or brown colour, in bigness and shape like a fig, which the mares bite off as soon as they have foaled, but if they be prevented, forsake their offspring; whence it was thought a prevalent medicine to conciliate love, especially when reduced to powder, and swallowed with

(a) Satir. VI. v. 600.

(b) Loc. cit.

with some drops of the lover's blood. It is frequently mentioned by the writers of natural history. Aristotle, Pliny, Solinus, Columella, with many others, have thought it worth their notice. The poets are full of its effects; whence Dido in Virgil (to omit other instances) has recourse to it, when pretending to recal Æneas to her affection (a),

*Quæritur & nascentis equi de fronte revulsus
Et matri præreptus amor.*————

She from the forehead of a new foal'd colt
Th' excrescent lump doth seek.————

The same word is frequently taken in another sense, and is described by Pliny to be *virus distillans ab inguine equæ coitum maris appetentis, & in furorem agens*. This was no less powerful than the former, as appears from Pausanias's story of a horse's statue dedicated by one Phormis an Arcadian, which being infected by a magician with the hippomanes I am speaking of, so enraged all the stone-horses that passed that way, that they would break their bridles in pieces, and throw their riders to come at it (b), and could not, without great difficulty and many stripes, be forced from it. Several of the poets speak of its effects: Ovid (c),

*Scit bene quid gramen, quid torto concita rhombæ
Licia, quid valeat virus amantis equæ.*

She knows the virtue of each herb to move
The latent feeds of a coy lady's love;
She knows the rhomb, what feats in magic are,
From pois'nous issue of a lustful mare.

Virgil will have it to proceed from Lusitanian mares impregnated by the wind (d),

*Continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis
Vere magis (quia vere calor redit ossibus) illæ,
Ore omnes versæ in Zephyrum, stant rupibus altis,
Exceptantque leves auras; & sæpe sine ullis
Conjugiis, vento gravidæ (mirabile dictu)
Saxa per, & scopulos, & depressas convalles
Diffugiunt; non, Eure, tuos, neque solis ad ortus,
In Boream, Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Auster
Nascitur, & pluvio contristat frigore cælum.
Hinc demum, hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt
Pastores, lentum distillat ab inguine virus,*

Hippo-

(a) Æneid. IV. v. 515.

(b) Eliac. 4. prope finem.

(c) Lib. I. Eleg. VIII.

(d) Georgic. III. 271.

*Hippomanes, quod sæpe male legere novercæ,
Miscueruntque herbas, & non innoxia verba.*

When at the spring's approach their marrow burns,
(For with the spring their genial heat returns),
The mares to cliffs of rugged rocks repair,
And with wide nostrils snuff the western air;
When (wondrous to relate) the parent wind,
Without the stallion, propagates the kind;
Then fir'd with am'rous rage they take their flight
Through plains, and mount the hills unequal height;
Nor to the north, nor to the rising sun,
Nor southward to the rainy regions run,
But bearing to the west, and hov'ring there,
With gaping mouths they draw prolific air,
With which impregnate, from their groins they shed
A slimy juice, by false conception bred;
The shepherds know it well, and call the same
Hippomanes, to note the mother's flame;
This gather'd in the planetary hour,
With noxious weeds, and spell'd with words of pow'r,
Dire stepdames in the magic bowl infuse,
And mix for deadly draughts the pois'nous juice. *Dryden.*

The same story is attested by Aristotle. Others make hippomanes to be a plant in Arcadia, which also was powerful in producing the fore-mentioned effects (a);

Ἱππομανὲς φυτὸν ἔστι παρ' Ἀρκάσι· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσαι
καὶ πῶλοι μαίνονται ἀν' ὥρεα, καὶ θοαὶ ἵπποι·
Ὡς καὶ Δέλφιδ' ἴδοιμι καὶ ἐς τὸδε δῶμα περῆσαι
Μαινομένων ἱκέλον, λιπαρῶς ἐκτοσθε παλαιστράας.

Hippomanes, a plant Arcadia bears,
This makes steeds mad, and this excites the mares;
And oh! that I could see my Delphis come
From th' oily-fencing house so raving home. *Creech,*

Ἰουγ is the name of a small bird, the Latin of which is not agreed on; some translate it *passerculus*, others will have it the same with *torquilla*, *frutilla*, or with *regulus*. This bird the writers of fables tell us (b) was once the daughter of Pan and Pitho, or Echo, and having inveigled Jupiter into Io's love, was transformed by Juno; upon this she became the darling of Venus, and retaining the same inclinations she had formerly, still served to promote the affairs of love: The first

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I i

time

(a) Theocritus Idyll. 6. v. 48.

(b) Suidas, Isacius, Tzetzes in Lycaphronem, v. 310. ubi commentarius noster adeundus.

time the goddess made use of her was in the Argonautic expedition, when she invented love-magic with charms and potions, a chief ingredient whereof was this bird, which she communicated to Jason, to gain his access to Medea's affections. Hence Pindar (a),

Μαινὰδ' ὄρνιν Κυπριγενεῖα φέρει
 Πρῶτον ἀνδράποισι, λιτάς τ' ἐπαοι-
 δὰς ἐκδιδάσκειν σοφὸν Αἰσονίδα·
 Ὄφρα Μηδείας τοκέων ἀφέλαι-
 τ' αἰδῶ. —————

The goddess Venus first disclos'd the use,
 To Jason first the magic charm display'd,
 Told how the *bird* would fire the maid,
 And glowing love into her breast infuse;
 Nor duty, nor parental love should bind,
 Too weak and feeble is that force;
 When *Lynx* steers the lover's course,
 A safe admittance he is sure to find,

H. H.

The part most valued by enchanters was the tongue, which they looked on as having a sovereign virtue in love potions: Sometimes they fastened the whole bird to a wheel of wax, which they turned over the fire till both were consumed, thus inflaming the party in whom they had a mind to create love. Others there are that will have *lynx* to signify nothing but a musical instrument; and some take it for all sorts of allurements.

To these may be added several herbs, and insects bred out of putrid matter, with other animals, such as the fish called *exenris*, or *remora*; the lizard, with another not much unlike it, called *stellio* and *stincus*; the brains of a calf, the hair upon the extremity of a wolf's tail, with some of his secret parts; the bones of the left side of a toad eaten by ants, for these were thought to generate love, whereas, those on the right side caused hatred. Others took the same bones, when the flesh was devoured by ants, and cast them into a vessel of water, wherein those that sunk, being wound up in a white linen cloth, and hung about any person, inflamed him with love, the others with hatred. Other parts of the toad were used in poisonous compositions; whence Juvenal (b),

At nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubetæ.

But now with pois'nous entrails of a toad
 They urge their husband's fate.

To

(a) Pythion. Od. IV.

(b) Sat. VI. v. 658.

To these others add the blood of doves, the bones of snakes, screech-owl's feathers, bands of wool twisted upon a wheel (which were very much used on these occasions, for their resemblance to the soft ties of love), especially such as had been bound about one that hanged himself; some of these are mentioned by Propertius (a),

*Improba non vicit me moribus illa, sed herbis,
Staminea rhombi ducitur ille rota;
Illum turgentis ranæ portenta rubetæ,
Et lecta exsectis anguibus ossa trahunt,
Et strigis inventæ per busta jacentia plumæ,
Cinctaque funesto lanea vitta viro.*

Were there to merits but a due regard,
I should not fear my rival's being preferr'd;
But she, too conscious of my pow'ful charms,
By spells and magic tears him from my arms;
The pois'nous bones of swelling toads she takes,
And mingles them with those of crested snakes;
Then strait where owls frequent she doth repair,
And picks their scatter'd feathers up with care;
Next she procures some fatal woollen band
That late bound him that dy'd by his own hand,

H. H.

Several other ingredients of love-potions are mentioned in Lælius's verses cited by Appuleius (b),

*Philtra omnia undique eruunt,
Antipathes illud quæritur,
Trochisci, iynges, tæniæ,
Radiculæ, herbæ, surculi,
Aureæ ilices, bichordilæ,
Hinnientium dulcedines.*

From ev'ry part they magic draughts procure,
For that much-fam'd antipathes they seek,
Pills, fillets, and those love-enforcing birds,
Roots too, and baneful herbs, and sappy sprigs,
With scarlet oaks, and hippomanes.

Other sorts of ingredients were rags, torches, and, in short, all relics, and whatever had any relation to dead corpses, or funerals. Sometimes a nest of young swallows was placed in a convenient vessel, and buried in the earth till they were famished; then they opened the grave,

grave, and such of them as were found with mouths shut were thought conducive to allay the passion of love; but the rest, which perished with mouths gaping for food, were thought to excite it. To the same end they used bones snatched from hungry and ravenous bitches, which were believed to derive some part of the eager desire of those animals into the potion: Hence Horace gives us this elegant description of an enchantress's practices (a),

*Canida brevibus implicata viperis
Crines & incomptum caput,
Jubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
Jubet cupressos funebres,
Et uncta turpis ova ranæ sanguine,
Plumamque nocturnæ strigis,
Herbasque quas & Iolchos, atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax,
Et ossa abrore raptæ jejunæ canis,
Flammis aduri Colchicis.*

Canidia then does for the charm prepare,
And binds with snakes her uncomb'd hair;
Maid, speed she cries, and pillage ev'ry tomb,
Bring cypress and wild fig-tree home;
Let eggs first steep'd in blood of toads be sought,
And feathers from the screechowl brought;
Bring ven'mous drugs, such as Iolchos yields,
And poison from Iberian fields;
Bring bones from jaws of hungry bitches torn,
And those I'll seeth, and those I'll burn,
As first Medea did inform.

H. H.

To these they added another ingredient more powerful than any of the rest, which the poet has thus described in the same ode (b),

*Abacta nulla Veja conscientia,
Ligonibus duris humum
Exhauriebat ingemens laboribus;
Quo posset infossus puer
Longo die bis terve mutata dapis
Inemori spectaculo,
Cum promineret ore, quantum extant aquæ
Suspensa mento corpora;
Exsucta uti medulla, & aridum jecur
Amoris esset poculum,
Interminato cum semel fixæ cibo
Intabuissent pupulæ.*

Veja,

(a) Epod. V. v. 14.

(b) V. 29.

Veja, who ne'er remorse of conscience felt,
 Nor blush'd at her own horrid guilt,
 Toils at the spade, and digs the fatal pit,
 In which th' unhappy lad she set,
 Where choicest dainties, while his life should last,
 Oft feast his eyes, deny'd his taste;
 Just o'er the brim appears his sickly head,
 As their's who in the rivers wade;
 That there his marrow drain'd and liver dry,
 Might with love potions her supply,
 As soon as e'er his fainting eye-balls show'd
 Approaching death for want of food.

H. H.

Let us pass now to some other arts they had of exciting love: Some thought the udder of an hyena tied about their left arm, a good expedient to entice to their affections any woman they fixed their eyes on; others took *πίτυρα*, a sort of small and hard olives, or (as others interpret it) barley-bran, which, either by itself, or made up in paste, they cast into the fire, hoping thereby to inspire the flames of love; hence Simætha in Theocritus (a),

Νῦν θυσῶ τὰ πίτυρα.——

Now will I strew the barley-bran.

Sometimes they used *ἄλφιτα*, or *flour*, which the Scholiast upon Theocritus will have termed *θυλήματα*. That poet has described this custom, where he introduces his enchantress thus calling out to her maid (b),

Ἀλφιτὰ τοι πρῶτον πυρὶ τάσσεται, ἀλλ' ἐπίπασσε,
 Θέστυλι δειλαία, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπύσσαι;
 Ἡ γὰρ γέ τοι, μυσαρά, καὶ τιν' ἐπίχαρμα τετυγμαι,
 Πᾶσ' ἄμα, καὶ λέγε ταῦτα, τὰ Δελφίδος ὅσ' αἶα πάσσω.

First burn the flour, then strew the other on,
 Strew it; how? where's your sense and duty gone?
 Base Thestylis, and am I so forlorn,
 And grown so low, that I'm become your scorn?
 But strew the salt, and say in angry tones,
 I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's bones.

Greeks.

Instead of bran or flour, it was usual to burn laurel, as we learn from the same enchantress, who proceeds thus:

Δέλφιδος

(a) V. 33.

(b) Ibid. v. 18.

Δέλφιδ' ἐμ' ἀνίασεν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Δέλφιδι δάφναν
 Αἶθω· ἥ ὡς αὐτὰ λακείη μέγα καπνυρίσασα,
 Κῆξαπίνης ἄφθνη, κεδεῖ σπυδὸν εἰδομένη αὐτῆς,
 Οὕτω τοι καὶ Δέλφιδ' ἐνὶ φλογὶ σάρκα ἀμαθύνει.

First Delphid injur'd me, he rais'd my flame,
 And now I burn this bough in Delphid's name;
 As this doth blaze, and break away in fume;
 How soon it takes! let Delphid's flesh consume.

Greech,

It was likewise frequent to melt wax, thereby to mollify the person's heart whom they desired; hence she goes on,

Ὡς τῆτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω,
 Ὡς τάκοιτ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφιδ'.

As this devoted wax melts o'er the fire,
 Let Myndian Delphis melt with soft desire.

Sometimes they placed clay before the fire, together with wax, that as one melted whilst the other hardened, so the person that then rejected them might have his heart mollified with affection and inflamed with desire, whilst their own became hard and unrelenting; or that his heart might be rendered incapable of any impression from other beauties, but easy of access to themselves. This seems to be Virgil's meaning in the first of the following verses; the latter two contain some of the customs before described out of Theocritus.

*Limas ut hic durefcit, et hæc ut cera liquefcit,
 Uno eodemque igni; sic nostro Daphnis amore;
 Sparge molam, et fragiles incende bitumine lauros;
 Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum (a).*

As fire this figure hardens made of clay,
 And this of wax with fire consumes away,
 Such let the soul of cruel Daphnis be,
 Hard to the rest of women, soft to me.
 Crumble the sacred mole of salt and corn,
 Next in the fire the bays with brimstone burn,
 And whilst it crackles in the sulphur, say,
 This I for Daphnis burn, thus Daphnis burn away.

Dryden,

It was customary to imitate all those actions they had a mind the person they loved should perform. They turned a wheel round, praying

praying he might fall down before their doors, and roll himself on the ground. Thus Theocritus's enchantress,

Χ' ὡς δινεῖθ' ὁδε ῥόμβος ὁ χάλκεος, ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας
ὧς κείνος δινεῖτο παρ' ἀμείλειασι Δύραισιν.

And, Venus, as I whirl this brazen wheel,
Before my doors let perjur'd Delphid roll.

We are told that it has been usual to compose an image of wax, and calling it by the name of the person to be inflamed with love, to place it near the fire, the heat whereof affected the image, and the person represented by it, at the same time (a). Virgil's enchantress speaks of drawing it three times round the altar.

—— terque hæc altaria circum
Effigiem duco ——

Thrice round this altar I the image draw.

She had before taken care to have it bound, thereby to intimate the tying his affections ;

Terna tibi hæc primum triplici diversa colore
Licia circumdo. ——

Three threads I of three diff'rent colours bound
About your image. ——

It was not unfrequent to sprinkle enchanted medicaments upon some part of the house where the person resided. Thus Theocritus's enchantress commands ;

Θέσυλι, νῦν δὲ λαβοῖσα τὸ τὰ θρόνα ταυθ', ὑπόμαζον
Τῶς τήνω φλιῶς καθυπέρετρον, ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν
Εκ θυμῷ δεδεμαι· (ὃ δὲ μὲν λόγον εἰδέναι ποιεῖ)
Καὶ λέγ' ἐπιφθύσσοισα, τὰ Δέλφιδος ὅσα πάσσω.

Now take these poisons, I procure you more,
And strew them at the threshold of his door,
That door where violent love hath fix'd my mind,
Though he regard not, cruel and unkind !
Strew them, and spitting say in angry tones,
I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's bones.

Creech.

If they could get into their hands any thing that belonged to the person whose love they desired, it was of singular use. The same enchantress

(a) Wierus, Lib. V. Cap. XI.

chantress burns the border of Delphid's garment, that the owner might be tortured with the same flame ;

Τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς χλαῖνας τὸ κράσπιδον ὤλεσε Δέλφεις,
Εγὼ νῦν τίλλοισα κατ' ἀγρίῳ ἐν πυρὶ βάλλω.

This piece from dear false Delphid's garment torn,
I tear again, and am resolv'd to burn.

Virgil's enchantress deposite her lover's pledges in the ground, under, neath her threshold,

*Has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,
Pignora cara fui ; quæ nunc ego limine in ipso,
Terra, tibi mando ; debent hæc pignora Daphnin.*

These garments once were his, and left to me,
The pledges of his promis'd loyalty ;
Which underneath my threshold I bestow,
These pawns, O sacred earth, to me my Daphnis owe.

Dryden.

The design of which action seems to be the retaining her lover, and securing his affections from wandering.

Virgil has thus described another method in the nymph's command to her woman,

*Fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque fluenti,
Transque caput jace ; ne respexeris : His ego Daphnin
Aggrediar, nihil ille Deos, nill carmina curat.*

Bear out these ashes, cast them in the brook ;
Cast backwards o'er your head, nor turn your look ;
Since neither gods nor godlike verse can move,
Break out ye smother'd fires, and kindle smother'd love.

Dryden.

I shall only trouble you with one expedient more, which was their tying venereal knots, to unite the beloved person's affections with their own :

*Necte tribus nodis termos, Amarylli, colores ;
Necte, Amarylli, modo ; & Veneris, dic, vincula necto.*

Knit with three knots the fillets, knit them straight ;
And say, these knots to love I consecrate,

Her caution about the number of knots is observable, for most of their actions in these rites were confined to the number three. Theocritus's enchantress is no less exact in this circumstance ;

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Virgil
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Ες τρεῖς ἀποσπίνδω, καὶ τρεῖς τὰς πότνια φωνῶ.

Thrice, thrice I pour, and thrice repeat my charms.

Virgil has assigned the reason hereof to the pleasure the gods were thought to take in that number.

——— *Numero Deus impare gaudet.*

Unequal numbers please the gods.

Whether this fancy owes its original to the supposed perfection of the number three, because, containing a beginning, middle, and end, it seems natural to signify all things in the world; or whether to the esteem the Pythagoreans, and some other philosophers had for it, on the account of their Trinity; or lastly (to mention no more opinions), to its aptness to signify the power of all the gods, who were divided into three classes, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, I shall leave to be determined by others. Thus much is certain, that the ancients thought there was no small force and efficacy in unequal numbers; whence we find Vegetius advising, that the ditches round encampments should be at the least nine feet in breadth, at the most seventeen, but always of an unequal number (*a*): shepherds are likewise advised to take care that the number of their sheep be not even (*b*); but the number three, was acceptable to the gods above all others; whence we find three Fatal Sisters, three Furies, three names and appearances of Diana, according to the poet:

——— *Tria virginis ora Dianæ.*

Three diff'rent forms does chaste Diana bear.

The sons of Saturn, among whom the empire of the world was divided, were three; and for the same reason, we read of Jupiter's *fulmen trifidum*, Neptune's *trident*, with several other tokens of the veneration they had for this number.

Many of their other practices were the same with those used at common incantations: The *charm*, or form of verses, had little difference beside the proper application to the present occasion; Virgil's nymph speaks of her verses as of the same sort, and endued with the same efficacy as Circe's:

——— *nihil hic nisi carmina defunt:*

Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin;
Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere lunam,

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K k

Carminibus

(*) Lib. III. Cap. VIII.

(b) Geoponic. Lib. XVIII.

*Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssæi,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.*

———We want but verse; restore, my charms,
My ling'ring Daphnis to my longing arms;
Pale Phœbe drawn by verse, from heav'n descends,
And Circe chang'd with charms Ulysses's friends:
Verse breaks the ground, and penetrates the brake,
And in the winding cavern splits the snake.

Dryden.

And the herbs and minerals used in other magical operations, were no less sought for in this, there being in them (as it was thought), some wonderful powers, which were equally prevalent in all supernatural and miraculous effects; whence we find Virgil's nymph alluring Daphnis to her love by the very same medicaments, which Mœris had found effectual in performing other magical feats:

*Has herbas, atque hæc Ponto mihi lecta venena
Ipse dedit Mœris; nascuntur plurima Ponto;
His ego sæpe lupum fieri, et se condere silvis
Mœrin, sæpe animas imis excire sepulcris,
Atque fatas alio vidi traducere menses.*

These pois'nous plants for magic use design'd,
(The noblest and the best of all the baneful kind)
Old Mœris brought me from the Pontic strand,
And cull'd the mischief a bounteous land,
Smear'd with the pow'rful juices, on the plain
He howls a wolf among the hungry train;
And oft the mighty necromancer boasts,
With these to call from tombs the stalking ghosts;
And from the roots to tear the standing corn,
Which whirl'd aloft, to distant fields is borne.

Dryden.

The gods likewise (to mention no more instances of their agreement), were the same that superintended all magical arts, as we learn from Theocritus's Simœtha, who is introduced invoking the moon and Hecate to her assistance:

——— Ἀλλὰ Σελάνη
Φαίνει καλὸν, τὴν γὰρ ποταίσσομαι ἄσυχᾳ, δαῖμον,
Τᾷ χθονία δ' ἑκάτα, τὰν κ' σκύλακες τρομέοντες
Ερχαμέναν νεκύων ἀνά τ' ἡρία, κ' μέλαν αἷμα.
Καίρ', ἑκάτα δασπλήτι, κ' ἐς τίλος ἄμμιν ὀπάδει,
Φάρμακα ταῦτ' ἐδούσα χερσίονα μήτε τι Κίρκης,
Μήτε τι Μηδείας, μήτε ξανθᾶς Περιμήδας.

Moon

—Moon, shine bright and clear,
To thee I will direct my secret pray'r;
To thee and Hecate, whom dogs do dread,
When stain'd with gore she stalks amidst the dead.
Hail, frightful Hecate, assist me still,
Make mine as great as fam'd Medea's skill.

Grecch.

Thus far concerning their arts in exciting love. It may be inquired, in the next place, Whether they had any means to allay the passion, when once raised? Now it appears, that it was common to set the patient at liberty by the help of more powerful medicaments, or demons superior to those that had bound him; whence we find Canida, in Horace, complaining that all her enchantments were rendered ineffectual by art superior to her own;

*Quid accidit? cur dira barbaræ minus
Venena Medæ valent,
Quibus superba fugit ulta pellicem,
Magni Creontis filiam,
Cum palla, tabo munus imbutam, novam
Incendio nuptam abstulit?
Atqui nec herba, nec latens in asperis.
Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicum.
Ah, ah, solutus ambulat veneficæ
Scientioris carmine.*

Am I so serv'd? my base degrading charms,
Shall Colchos foster greater harms?
What! shall the present spell'd with magic rage,
Medea's vengeful breast assuage?
Since the fallacious gift to flames is turn'd,
And her unhappy rival burn'd?
Then what am I? There's not an herb doth grow,
Nor root, but I their virtues know,
And can the craggy places show;
Yet Varus flights my love, above my pow'r,
And sleeps on rosy beds secure;
Ah! much I fear some rival's greater skill
Defends him from my weaker spell.

H. H.

But love, inspired without the assistance of magic, scarce yielded to any cure. Apollo himself could find no remedy against it, but is introduced lamenting in these words (a);

K k 2

Inventum

(a) Ovid Metam. I. v. 521.

*Inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem
Dicor, & herbarum est subiecta potentia nobis;
Hei mihi! quod nullis amor est medicabilis herbis,
Nec profunt domino, quæ profunt omnibus, artes.*

Med'cine is mine, what herbs and simples grow
In fields and forests, all their pow'rs I know,
And am the great physician call'd below;
Alas! that fields and forests can afford
No remedies to heal their love sick lord!
To cure the pains of love no plant avails,
And his own physick the physician fails.

Dryden.

The same poet professes in another place, that no art was ever able to set a lover at liberty (a);

*Nulla recantatas deponent pectora curas,
Nec fugiet vivo sulphure victus amor.
Quid te Phasiacæ juverunt gramina terræ,
Cum cuperus patria, Colchi, manere domo?
Quid tibi profuerunt, Circe, Perseides herba,
Cum tibi Neritias abstulit aura rates.*

Not all the pow'r of verse with magic join'd
Can heal the torture of a love-sick mind;
Altars may smoke with expiatory fire,
Too weak to make a well fix'd love retire,
Love by repulse still works the passion higher.
What help, Medea, did thy potions yield?
Not all the drugs that stock'd the Colchian field,
Could ease to your distracted breast afford,
When forc'd from home, you lov'd the foreign lord,
Nor greater the relief that Circe found,
When left by her Ulysses homewards bound;
Nor herbs, nor poisons could her grief allay,
When envious blasts had stoll'n her dear away.

H. H.

But notwithstanding the difficulty of this cure, there is not wanting variety of prescriptions adapted to the several causes and occasions of the malady; as appears from the old nurse's words to Myrrha, desperately in love (b);

*Seu furor est, habeo quæ carmine sanet, & herbis;
Sive aliquis nocuit, magico lustrabere ritu.
Ira deum sive est, sacris placabilis ira.*

Madness

(a) De remedio amoris.

(b) Metam. X. v. 397.

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(a)
Cap. 2
(c) Æ

Madness by sacred numbers is expell'd,
And magic will to stronger magic yield;
If the dire wrath of heav'n this fury rais'd,
Heav'n is with sacrifice and pray'r appeas'd.

Hopkins.

The antidotes may be reduced to two sorts. They were either such as had some natural virtue to produce the designed effect; such are agnus castus, and the herbs reputed enemies to generation (a): Or, secondly, such as wrought the cure by some occult and mystical power, and the assistance of demons; such are the sprinkling of the dust wherein a mule had rolled herself (b), the tying toads in the hide of a beast lately slain (c), with several others mentioned by Pliny; amongst which we may reckon all the minerals and herbs, which were looked on as amulets against other effects of magic; for those were likewise proper on such occasions; whence the poets usually mention Caucasus, Colchis, and other places famous for magical plants, as those which alone could furnish remedies and antidotes against love. I shall only set down one instance, wherein the poet, inquiring what should be the cause his mistress had forsaken him, puts this question among others (d);

— *An quæ*
Lectu Prometheis dividit herba jugis.

What! do those odious herbs, the lover's bane,
Growing on Caucasus, produce this pain?

By Prometheus's mountain he means Caucasus, which was remarkable for herbs of sovereign power, that sprung out of Prometheus's blood.

The infernal gods were called upon for assistance, as may be learned from Virgil's Dido, who signifies her pretended design to dispel the remains of her love for Æneas, in these words (e);

Sacra Jovi Stygio, quæ rite incepta paravi,
Perficere est animus, finemque imponere curis,
Dardaniq; rogam capitis permittere flammæ.

Thus will I pay my vows to Stygian Jove,
And end the cares of my disastrous love;
Then cast the Trojan image on the fire,
And as that burns my passion shall expire.

Dryden.

Silius

(a) Vide Archæolog. hujus, Lib. II. Cap. III. Cap. XVI.

(c) Idem, Lib. XXXII. Cap. X.

(e) Æneid. IV. v. 638.

(b) Plinii, Nat. Hist. Lib. XXX.

(d) Propertii, Lib. I. Eleg. XII.

Silius introduces Anna, Dido's sister, telling how she had endeavoured to render the same gods propitious (a) ;

*Nigro forte Jovi, cui tertia regna laborant,
Atque atri sociæ thalami nova sacra parabam,
Queis ægram mentem, & trepidantia corda levaret
Infelix germana tori.*——

To grisly Jove of hell I off'rings paid,
And to the swarthy consort of his bed,
In pity of my love-sick sister's grief,
And in assurance of a bless'd relief,
To charm her cares to sleep, her fears to rest,
And still the tumults of her troubled breast.

J. A.

Not long before, the same person, relating how the diviners essayed to restore Dido to her right mind, says, they invoked the gods of night (whereby she means the shades below) to aid them ;

*Heu ! sacri vaturn errores, dum numina noctis
Eliciunt, spondentque novis medicamina curis.*

O soothing priestcraft ! O the close disguise
Of cheat, imposture, and well varnish'd lies !
With a pretended zeal the shades they implore,
The gods of night demurely they adore,
With promis'd cures they gull our easy minds,
A solemn vow their holy knav'ry binds.

J. A.

I shall only mention one expedient more, whereby they cured themselves of love ; it is the water of Selemnus, a river that falls into the sea near Argyra in Achaia. The story is thus : Selemnus, a beautiful young shepherd in those parts, was beloved by Argyra, the nymph, from whom the town and fountain of that name were called ; but the flower of his age being over, the nymph deserted him, upon which he pined away, and was transformed into a river by Venus ; after this he still retained his former passion, and (as the Patrensiens report) for some time conveyed his waters through a subterraneous passage to Argyra's fountain, in the same manner that Alpheus was said to join himself with Arethusa, till by Venus's favour, the remembrance of her was caused to vanish quite out of his mind. Hence it came to pass, that as many as washed themselves in this river, were made to forget that passion. Thus Pausanias (b).

Thus much concerning their love. I am not ignorant that enlargements might be made in every part of this chapter ; but what has been said will (I hope) be sufficient to satisfy the reader's curiosity, without trespassing too far upon his patience.

CHAP.

(a) Lib. VIII.

(b) Achaicis, p. 442, & 445. Edit. Hanov.

CHAP. XI.

Of their Marriages.

THE first inhabitants of Greece lived without laws and government, no bounds were prescribed to their passions, their love (like the rest of their desires) was unconfined, and promiscuous mixtures, because forbidden by no human authority, were publicly allowed. The first that restrained this liberty was Cecrops, who having raised himself to be king over the people afterwards called Athenians, amongst many other useful constitutions, introduced that of marriage (*a*). Others refer the honour of this institution, together with the invention of dancing, to Erato, one of the muses; but some rather understand that story of the marriage solemnity, the regular conduct whereof, they say, was first ordered by Erato. However that be, it was in some time received by all the Grecians; for no sooner did they begin to reform their savage and barbarous course of life, and join themselves in towns and societies, but they found it necessary to confine the unruly lusts of men, by establishing lawful marriage, with other rules of good manners.

Marriage was very honourable in several of the Grecian commonwealths, being very much encouraged by their laws, as the abstaining from it was discountenanced, and in some places punished; for the strength of states consisting in their number of people, those that refused to contribute to their increase, were thought very cold in their affections to their country. The Lacedemonians are very remarkable for their severity against those that deferred marrying, as well as those who wholly abstained from it (*b*). No man among them could live without a wife beyond the time limited by their lawgiver, without incurring several penalties; as first, the magistrates commanded such once every winter to run round the public *forum* naked; and to increase their shame, they sung a certain song, the words whereof aggravated their crime, and exposed them to ridicule. Another of their punishments was, to be excluded from the exercises, wherein (according to the Spartan custom) young virgins contended naked (*c*). A third penalty was inflicted upon a certain solemnity, wherein the women dragged them round an altar, beating them all the time with their fists (*d*). Lastly, They were deprived of that respect and observance which the younger sort were obliged to pay to their elders, and therefore, saith Plutarch (*e*), no man found fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, a great captain, and one that had commanded armies, who, coming into the

(*a*) Vide Arthæolog. hujus, Lib. I. Cap. 41. (*b*) Stobæus, LXV. de laude Nuptiarum.
 (*c*) Plutarchus Lycurgo. (*d*) Athenæus, Lib. XIII. (*e*) Loc. citat.

the place of assembly, a young man, instead of rising and making room, told him, " Sir, you must not expect that honour from me being young, " which cannot be returned to me by a child of your's when I am old." To these we may add the Athenian law (*a*), whereby all that were commanders, orators, or intrusted with any public affair, were to be married, and have children, and estates in land; for these were looked on as so many pledges for their good behaviour, without which they thought it dangerous to commit to them the management of public trusts.

Polygamy was not commonly tolerated in Greece, for marriage was thought to be a conjunction of one man with one woman; whence some will have γάμος derived παρὰ τὸ δύο ἅμα εἶναι, from two becoming one. When Herodotus reports that Anaxandridas the Spartan had two wives, he remarks that it was contrary to the custom of Sparta (*b*). The rest of the Grecian cities did, for the most part, agree herein with the Lacedemonians; only upon some emergent occasions, when their men had been destroyed by war, or other calamities, toleration was granted for marrying more wives; an instance whereof we have at Athens in Euripides's time, who, as some say, conceived an hatred against the whole sex, for which he is famous in story, by being harassed with two wives at once (*c*). Socrates is said to have been married to Xantippe and Myrto at the same time (*d*); and Athenæus concludes it was then reputed no scandal, because we never find any of his enemies casting it in his teeth (*e*); but some think the matter of fact may be justly called into question; and, in Plutarch's opinion, Panetius of Rhodes, ἰναυῶς ἀντρέψας, has fully confuted it in his discourse concerning Socrates (*f*).

The time of marriage was not the same in all places: The Spartans were not permitted to marry till they arrived at their full strength (*g*); and though I do not find what was the exact number of years they were confined to, yet it appears from one of Lycurgus's sayings, that both men and women were limited in this affair; which that lawgiver being asked the reason of, said, his design was that the Spartan children might be strong and vigorous. The Athenian laws are said once to have ordered, that men should not marry till above 35 years of age; for human life being divided by Solon into ten weeks (ἑβδομάδης) he affirmed, *in harum hebdomadam quinta maturitatem ad stirpem relinquentem homini inesse*; that in the fifth of these weeks men were of ripeness to multiply their kind (*h*); but this depended upon the humour of every lawgiver, nothing being generally agreed to in this matter. Aristotle (*i*) thought 37 a good age, Plato 30; and Hesiod was much of the same judgment, for thus he advises his friend:

Ωγαῖος,

(*a*) Dinarchus in Demosthenem.
Lib. XV. Cap. XX.

(*b*) Lib. V.

(*c*) Gellius Noct. Attic.

(*d*) Diogenes Laertius Socrate.

(*e*) Lib. XIII.

(*f*) Plutarchus, Pericle.

(*g*) Xenophon de Repub. Lacedæm.

(*h*) Censu-

rinus de die natali, Cap. XIV.

(*i*) Polit. Lib. VII. Cap. XVI.

Ωραίῳ δὲ γυναῖκα τὸν ποτὶ οἶκον ἀγαθῶν,
Μῆτε τριηκόνταν ἔτιον μάλα πολλ' ἀπολείπων,
Μῆτ' ἐπιθεὶς μάλα πολλὰ γάμῳ δὲ τοὶ ὦρι (a).

The time to enter on a marry'd life
Is about thirty, then bring home a wife;
But don't delay too late, or wed too young,
Since strength and prudence to this state belong.

J. A.

Women married sooner than men; some of the old Athenian laws permitted them to marry at twenty-six, Aristotle at eighteen, Hesiod at fifteen,

Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέτορος ἡβῆς, πέμπτῃ δὲ γαμοῖτο (b).

A wife when fifteen choose, then let her wed,
I' th' prime for Hymen's rites, for th' joys of th' marriage-bed.

Where the poet advises that women be permitted to grow to maturity in four years, *i. e.* four after ten, and marry in the fifth, *i. e.* the fifteenth. Others think he means they must continue unmarried four years after their arrival at woman's estate, *i. e.* at fourteen years, and marry in the fifth, *i. e.* the nineteenth. But as the women were sooner marriageable than men, so their time was far shorter, it being common for men to marry much older than women could expect to do, as Lyfistrate complains in Aristophanes (c),

ΛΥ. Περὶ τῶνδε κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γηρασκῶν ἀνιῶμαι.

ΠΡ. Οὐκὼν γ' ἄνδρες γηρασκῶσιν; ΛΥ. Μὰ Δὲ ἀλλ' ἐκ εἵπας ὁμοίον,

Ὁ γὰρ ἡκὼν μὲν, κἂν ἢ πολὺς, ταχὺ παῖδα κόρην γεγάμηκιν.

Τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς μικρὸς ὁ καιρὸς, κἂν τῷ μὴ πιλᾷσθαι

οἰδεὶς ἐθέλει γῆμαι πάντην, ὁττινομένη δὲ κάθηται.

LY. 'Tis some concern to me, when I reflect
On the poor girls, that must despair of man,
And keep a stale and loath'd celibacy.

PR. What? ha'nt the men the same hard measures then?

LY. Oh! no, they have a more propitious fate,
Since they at sixty, when their vigour's past,
Can wed a young and tender spouse to warm
Their aged limbs, and to repair their years:
But women's joys are short and transient;
For if we once the golden minutes miss,
There's no recalling so severe 's our doom;
We must then long in vain, in vain expect,
And by our ills forewarn posterity.

J. A.

Vol. II.

L I

The

(a) *Egy. καὶ Ημερ. C. 313.*

(b) *Ibid. 316.*

(c) *Lyfistrate.*

The times or seasons of the year most proper for marriage were, according to the Athenians, some of the winter months, especially January, which, for that reason, was called γαμηλιών (a). Hence the person in Terence, the scene of whose fable is laid in Greece, affirms the soothsayers had forbidden to enter upon matrimony till winter (b).

*Aruspex vetuit ante brumam autem quid novi
Negotii infepere*—————

Until the seasonable time of year,
When frosty weather *binds* all things, the priest
Counsell'd us by all means to put off marriage.

The most convenient season was when there happened a conjunction of the sun and moon, at which time they celebrated their festival called Θεογάμια, or marriage of the gods (c). Clytemnestra in Euripedes having asked Agamemnon when he designed to give Iphigenia in marriage to Achilles, he answers, that the full moon was the fittest time;

Θταν σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλος (d).

When the *full moon* darts forth her lucky rays.

Themis in Pindar advises that Thetis be married to Peleus in the same season (e); for by διχομηνίδες ἐσπέραι, he means the full moon, which happens in the middle of lunar months, which were used in the old Grecian computations. The poet's words run thus:

————— Εὐ διχομηνίδισσι

Δὲ ἐσπέραις, ἑρατὸν

Λύοι κεν χαλινὸν ὕ-

φ' ἥρωι παρδενίας.

When crescent Phœbe is about to shine,
In a full orb with radiant light,
Then may he marry, then may she invite
The hero, both their loves to join,
Then let them blend and tie, their joys, their all combine.

J. A.

This custom seems to have proceeded from an opinion they had of the moon's power in generation. Some prescribe other days:
Hesiod

(a) Olympiodorus in Meteora Aristotelis, Eustathius in Iliad. ε'.
(c) Hesiodi Scholiastes Ημῆρ.

Od. 4. p. 751. Edit. Benedict.

(d) Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 717.

(b) Phormione.

(e) Isthm.

Hesiod thinks the fourth most convenient, because (as one of the Scholiasts observes) it was dedicated to Venus and Mercury (a);

Εν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἀγεῖσθαι ἐς οἶκον ἀκοῖτιν,
Οἰωνὸς κρίνας οἱ ἐπ' ἔργματι τέτῳ ἀριστοί.

On the fourth day of the moon's age, your wife
Bring home, to enter on the cares of life;
But first take heed yourself to certify
In the respective signs of augury.

J. A.

The sixteenth, or, as some, the eighteenth, is mentioned as most unfit of all others (b);

Ἐκτῇ δ' ἡ μέσση μάλ' ἀσύμφορός ἐστι φυτοῖσιν,
Ἀνδρογόνος τ' ἀγαθῇ, κέρη δ' ἔσσύμφορός ἐστιν
Οὔτε γινώσθαι πρῶτ', ἔτ' ἂρ γάμος ἀντιβόλῃσαι.

Whatever trees you plant the sixteenth day,
They'll never thrive, but wither and decay;
But if your wife's deliver'd of a son,
His life with lucky prospects is begun;
But girls, if born, or married now, will see
Their years annoy'd with woe and misery.

J. A.

Several other days were looked on as favourable, or otherwise, in this and all other affairs, which it would be too tedious to enumerate in this place.

Most of the Greeks looked on it as scandalous to contract within certain degrees of consanguinity. Hermione in Euripides speaks of the custom of brethren's marrying their sisters, with no less detestation than of sons marrying their mothers, or fathers their daughters (c);

———Ταῖς τὸν πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος·
Πατὴρ τε θυγατρὶ, παῖς τε μητρὶ μίγνυται,
Χορὴ τ' ἀδελφῷ διαφόνε δ' οἱ φίλτατοι
Χωρεῖσι· καὶ τῶν ἐδὲν γ' ἐξέρχεται νόμος.

Such things Barbarians act, such villanies
Are the result of lust, or perverse will,
Where no laws cement, and no right confines.
Fathers their daughters, sons their mothers force
To an incestuous bed, and hurried on
By boiling lusts, brothers with sisters join;
All things are free; the most exalted love
Can't 'gainst incentive lust secure your life.

J. A.

Several

L 12

(a) *Ημέρ.* v. 36.

(b) *V.* 18.

(c) *Andromach.* v. 173.

Several of the barbarous nations seem to have overlooked the rules of decency, and allowed unlawful and incestuous mixtures. The Persians are especially remarkable for such practices; for their Magi, the most sacred persons among them, were the offspring of mothers and their sons: Hence Catullus (a),

*Nascetur Magus ex Gelli matrisque nefando
Conjugio, & discat Persicum aruspicium:
Nam Magus ex matre & gnato gignatur oportet,
Si vera est Persarum impia religio.*

Gellius hath issue by his mother got,
Nor is it in his heraldry a blot;
The boy must straight be made profoundly wise
In all the magic trumpery and lies.
What must the Persian religion be,
Where such an act is no impiety?

J. A.

The Lacedemonians were forbidden to marry any of their kindred, whether in the direct degrees of ascent or descent; but a collateral relation hindered them not: for nephews married their aunts, and uncles their nieces; an instance whereof Herodotus gives us in Anaxandridas, who married his sister's daughter (b). The marriages of brothers and sisters were utterly unlawful, though countenanced by several examples of their gods: an ample account hereof may be seen in Byblis's words, when in love with her brother Caunus, where, notwithstanding the greatness of her passion, she confesses that no examples were sufficient to license her incestuous desires (c);

*Dii melius! Dii nempe suas habuere sorores:
Sic Saturnus Opim junctam sibi sanguine duxit,
Oceanus Tethyn, Junonem rector Olympi.
Sunt superis sua jura. Quid ad cœlestia ritus
Exigere humanos, diversaque fœdera tento?
Aut nostro vetitus de corde fugabitur ardor;
Aut, hoc si nequeo, peream precor ante, toroque
Mortua componar, positaque dei oscula frater:
Et tamen arbitrium quærit res ista duorum.
Finge placere mihi, scelus esse videbitur illi;
At non Æolidæ thalamos timuere sororum:
Unde sed hos novi? Cur hæc exempla paravi?
Quo feror? obscæna procul hinc discedite flammæ.*

The

(a) Epigram. XCI.

(b) Lib. V.

(c) Ovid. Metam. Lib. IX. 491.

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(a)
(b)
(c)

The gods forbid ; yet those whom I invoke
 Have lov'd like me, have their own sisters took.
 Great Saturn, and his greater offspring Jove,
 Both stock'd their heaven with incestuous love :
 Gods have their privilege ; why do I strive
 To strain my hopes to their prerogative ?
 No, let me banish this forbidden fire,
 Or quench it with my blood, or with't expire ;
 Unstain'd in honour, and unhurt in fame,
 Let the grave bury both my love and shame ;
 But when at my last hour I gasping lie,
 Let only my kind murderer be by ;
 Let him, while I breathe out my soul in sighs,
 Or gaze't away, look on with pitying eyes ;
 Let him (for sure he can't deny me this),
 Seal my cold lips with one kind parting kiss :
 Besides 'twere vain should I alone agree
 To what another's will must ratify.
 Could I be so abandon'd to consent
 What I have past for good and innocent,
 He may perhaps as worst of crimes resent,
 Yet we amongst our race examples find
 Of brothers, who have been to sisters kind :
 Fam'd Canace could thus successful prove,
 Cou'd crown her wishes in a brother's love.
 But whence cou'd I these instances produce ?
 How came I witty to my ruin thus ?
 Whither will this mad phrenzy hurry on ?
 Hence, hence you naughty flames, from hence be gone,
 Nor let me e'er the shameful passion own.

Oldham.

Yet it was not reputed unlawful, in several places, for brothers to marry their half-sisters ; and sometimes their relation by the father, sometimes by the mother, was within the law. The Lacedemonian lawgiver allowed marriages between those that had only the same mother, and different fathers (*a*). The Athenians were forbidden to marry sisters by the same mother, but not those by the same father, as we are told by Philo the Jew (*b*). An instance hereof we have in Archeptolis, Themistocles's son, who married his sister Mnesiptolema (*c*) ; as likewise in Cimon, who being unable, through his extreme poverty, to provide a suitable match to his sister Elpinice, married her himself. Nor was this contrary to the laws or customs of Athens, as Athenæus (*d*) is of opinion ; for, according to Plutarch's (*e*) account, it was done public-ly

(*a*) Phil. Judæus, Lib. de specialibus legibus ad præceptum VII. contra moechos.
 (*b*) Libro de legibus specialibus. (*c*) Plutarchus, Themistocle. (*d*) Lib. XII.
 (*e*) Cimone.

ly, and without any fear of the laws: Cornelius Nepos likewise (a) assures us, it was nothing but what the custom of their country allowed. We find, indeed, that Cimon is sometimes taxed for his familiarity with Elpinice; but this is only to be understood of his taking her after she had been married to Callias; for it appears from the forecited authors, that Cimon first married her himself, then gave her to Callias a rich Athenian; after which he again became familiar with her, which indeed was looked on as adultery, she being then another man's wife.

Most of the Grecian states, especially those that made any figure, required their citizens should match with none but citizens; for they looked upon the freedom of their cities as too great a privilege to be granted upon easy terms to foreigners, or their children. Hence we find the Athenian laws sentencing the children of such matches to perpetual slavery; an account whereof has been given in one of the foregoing books (b). This was not all; for they had a law, that if a foreigner married a freewoman of Athens, it should be lawful for any person to call him to account before the magistrates called *Thesmothetæ*, where, if he was convicted, they sold him for a slave, and all his goods were confiscated, and one third part of them given to his accuser. The same penalty was inflicted upon such citizens as gave foreign women in marriage to men of Athens, pretending they were their own daughters, save that the sentence of slavery was changed into ignominy, whereby they were deprived of their voices in all public assemblies, and most other privileges belonging to them as citizens. Lastly, If any man of Athens married a woman that was not free of that city, he was fined a thousand drachms (c). But these laws were not constant and perpetual. Sometimes the necessity of the times so far prevailed, that the children of strange women enjoyed all the privileges of free born citizens. The old law, which prohibited the men of Athens to marry strangers, having been some time disused, was revived by Pericles, and afterwards, at the instance of the same person, abrogated by a decree of the people (d), but again renewed in the archonship of Euclides, at the motion of Aristophon, when it was enacted, that no persons should be free denizens of Athens, unless both their parents were free (e).

Virgins were not allowed to marry without the consent of their parents; whence Hero in Musæus (f) tells Leander, they could not be honourably joined in marriage, because her parents were against it.

*Ἀμφαδὸν ἔδυναμεθα γάμοις ὁσίοισι πελάσσαι.
Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς τοκέσσιν ἐπύαδεν.*

My parents to the match will not consent,
Therefore desist, it is not pertinent.

Hermione

(a) Cimone.

(b) Lib. I. Cap. IX.

(c) Demosthenes Orat. in Nearam.

(d) Plutarchus Pericle.

(e) Demosth. in Eubulidem.

(f) V. 179.

Hermione in Euripides (a) professes she had no concern about her marriage, but left that wholly to her father ;

Νυμφευμάτων μὲν τῶν ἐμῶν πατὴρ ἐμὸς
Μίριμναν ἔχει, καὶ ἐμὸν φρονεῖν τάδε.

I'm not concern'd, my father will take care
Of all things that respect my nuptials.

The mother's consent was necessary as well as the father's; and therefore Iphigenia in Euripides was not to be given in marriage to Achilles till Clytemnestra approved the match (b). Nor were men permitted to marry without consulting their parents; for even the most early and ignorant ages were too well acquainted with the right which parents have by nature over their children, to think these had power to dispose of themselves without their parents consent. Achilles, in Homer, refuses Agamemnon's daughter, and leaves it to his father Peleus to choose him a wife (c);

Ἦν γὰρ δὴ με σώσει θεοί, καὶ ὅπως ἴκωμαι,
Πηλεὺς δὴν μοι ἔπειτα γυναῖκα γαμήσεται αὐτός.

If by heav'n's blessing I return, a bride
My careful father will for me provide.

And Pamphilus in Terence is betroth'd by his father Simo, who is introduced thus speaking (d);

—hac fama impulsus Chremes
Ultero ad me venit, unicam gnatam suam
Cum dote summa filio uxorem ut daret;
Placuit; despondi; hic nuptiis dictus est dies.

When virgins had no fathers, their brothers disposed of them. Thus we find Creon promising his sister Jocasta to any person who should destroy the sphinx that infested Thebes; and Orestes gave his sister Electra to his friend Pylades. When they had neither parents nor brethren, or if their brethren were not arrived to years of discretion, they were disposed of by their grandfathers, those especially by the father's side; when these failed, they were committed to the care of guardians, called ἐπίτροποι, or κύριοι (e). Sometimes husbands betrothed their wives to other persons upon their death-beds, as appears from the story of Demosthenes's father, who gave his wife Cleobule to one Aphobus with a considerable portion. When he was dead, Aphobus took the portion, but refused to marry the woman; whereupon Demosthenes made his complaint to the magistrates, and accused him in an elegant oration.

(a) Andromache.
Act I. Sc. I.

(b) Iphigen. in Aulide.

(c) Iliad. i. v. 39.

(d) Andria,

(e) Demosthenes in Stephanum testem.

oration (a). And that this custom was not unusual, appears from the same orator's defence of Phormio, who being a slave, and faithful in his business, his master gave him both his liberty and his wife.

They had several forms of betrothing, such as this cited by Clemens the Alexandrian (b) out of Menander, *Παῖδων σπέρει τῶν γνησίων δίδωμι σοι τὴν ἐμαυτῆ θυγατέρα*; i. e. *I give you this my daughter to make you father of children lawfully begotten.* The dowry was sometimes mentioned, as we find in Xenophon (c), where Cyaxares betrothes his daughter to Cyrus, *Δίδωμαι σοι, ὦ Κῦρε, αὐτὴν ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα θυγατέρατι ἔσαν ἡμῶν, ἐπιδίδωμαι δ' αὐτῇ ἐγὼ καὶ Φορὴν Μηδίαν πᾶσαν*, i. e. *I give you, Cyrus, this woman, who is my daughter, with all Media for her dowry.* The persons to be married plighted their faith to one another, or to their relations. Thus Clitophon and Lucippe swear to each other (d), the former to be constant and sincere in his love, the latter to marry him, and make him master of all she had. Ovid makes the next ceremony after betrothing, to be the virgin's oath to her lover;

Promisit pater hanc, hæc & juravit amanti.

Her father promis'd, she an oath did take
Her faithful lover never to forsake.

The ceremony in promising fidelity was kissing each other, or giving their right hands, which was the usual form of ratifying all agreements. Hence Clytemnestra in Euripides calls for Achilles's right hand to assure her of his sincere intention to marry her daughter (e);

—Δεξιάν γ' ἡμῖν χεῖρα
Σύνειπον, ἀρχὴν μακαρίαν νυμφευμάτων.

Join your right hand to mine, a sacred tie
Of this our compact.—

The Thebans had a custom for lovers to plight their faith at the monument of Iolaus, who was a lover of Hercules, and assisted him in his labours (f), and was therefore believed to take care of love affairs when advanced into heaven.

In the primitive ages, women were married without portions from their relations, being purchased by their husbands, whose presents to the woman's relations were called her *dowry*. Thus we find Shechem bargaining with Jacob and his sons for Dinah: "Let me find grace
" in your eyes (saith he) and what ye shall say unto me, I will
" give: Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me; but give me the damsel to wife (g)."

Several

(a) Orat. in Aphobum.

(d) Achill. Tat. Lib. V.
Pelopida.

(b) Stromat. Lib. II.

(e) Iphigen. in Aëlid. v. 831.

(g) Gen. XXXIV. 2.

(c) Κυρουειδ. Lib. VIII.

(f) Plutarchus

(a) Pol.
(d) Eu.

Several instances may be produced to the same purpose, were not this custom too well known to need farther confirmation; only thus much must be observed, that when civility and good manners came to be established in any place, it was usually laid aside; for Aristotle makes it one argument to prove that the ancient Grecians were an uncivilized people, because they used to buy their wives (a). No sooner, therefore, do we find them beginning to lay aside their barbarous manners, but this practice was left off; insomuch that Medea, in Euripides, complains that women were the most miserable of all rational creatures, because lying under a necessity of purchasing their own masters at a dear rate (b). So frequent became the custom for women to bring portions to their husbands, that some make the most essential difference between *γυνή* and *παλλακή*, i. e. *wife* and *concubine*, to consist in this, that wives had dowries, whereas concubines were usually without; whence one in Plautus, the scene of whose action is laid in Greece, speaks thus (c):

—Sed ut inops,
Infamis ne sim, ne mihi hanc famam differant, ne
Germanam meam sororem in concubinatum tibi
Sic sine dote dedisse magis, quam in matrimonium.

Tho' I am low i' th' world, and am but mean,
I'll offer some small matter for her dowry,
Lest this aspersion should be thrown abroad,
That she as mistress, not as wife, is to you.

Hence men who were content to marry wives who had no fortune, commonly gave them *προικῶα*, an instrument of writing, whereby the receipt of their dowry was owned. The rest of their distinction was chiefly founded upon this; for she that had a dowry, thought it a just title to a greater freedom with her husband, and more respect from him, than such as owed their maintenance to him. Hence Hermione, in Euripides, is enraged that the captive Andromache should pretend to be her rival in Pyrrhus's affections;

Κόσμον μὲν ἀμφὶ κρατὶ χρυσίας χλιδῆς,
Στολμόν τε χρωτὸς τῶνδε ποικίλων πέπλων
Οὐ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως, εἰδὲ Πηλέως ἄπο
Δόμων ἀπαρχὰς δεῦρ' ἔχουσ' ἀφικόμεν·
Ἀλλ' ἐκ Λακαίνης Σπαρτιάτιδος χθονὸς
Μενέλαον ἡμῖν ταῦτα δωρεῖται πατὴρ
Πολλοῖς σὺν ἔθνοισι, ὥς' ἐλευθεροσχεῖν,
Ἰμεῖς μὲν ἐν τοιοῖσδ' ἀμείβομαι λόγοις·
Σὺ δ' ἔσα δέλη, καὶ δορίκτητος γυνή,
Δόμους καταρχεῖν, ἐκβαλῶσ' ἡμᾶς, δέλεις
Τέσδ' (d);

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(a) Politic. Lib. II. Cap. VIII.

(b) Euripidis Med. 230.

(c) Trinummus.

(d) Euripid. Andromach. 147.

This rich attire, these costly ornaments,
 My various change of clothes, and all my jewels,
 Ne'er did Achilles or old Peleus give;
 No, they are only kind indulgent tokens
 Of my dear father's blessing: These I brought
 From Sparta with a fortune great and noble,
 To show my quality, and that I might
 Speak freely, without any slavish awe;
 And dost thou think, *thou dirty, servile woman*,
 To paramount, to cast me out, and gain
 Th' ascendant o'er my lord's affections?

J. A.

So sensible was Lycurgus of this, and some other inconveniences attending this custom, that partly for fear wives should domineer over their husbands, and partly out of a desire that men should choose wives more for the sake of their persons than their money, and that no woman's poverty should hinder her of an husband, he quite banished it out of Sparta (a). Solon agreed herein with Lycurgus; for all the dowry he permitted the Athenian wives to have, was a little inconsiderable household stuff, and three suits of clothes: "For (says Plutarch) he would not have marriages for gain or an estate, but for pure love, kind affection, and to get children (b)." But some are of opinion, that this ordinance had no relation to dowries, but only to those gifts which the bride brought with her, called *ἐπιδόματα*, of which an account will afterwards be given. And that Solon did not prohibit other dowries, appears hence, that men who had no sons, were allowed to entail their estates upon daughters; and every heiress (the Athenians called them *ἐπίκλητοι*) was obliged to marry her nearest relation, lest her estate should go out of the family; but in consideration of her dowry, she had the privilege, when her husband was impotent, to lie with his nearest kinsman; which law was contrived against those who, conscious of their own inability, would match with heiresses for the portion's sake, and make use of a law to put violence upon nature; yet (saith my author) it was wisely done to confine her to her husband's nearest kinsman, that the children might be of the same family. A farther privilege heiresses had above other women was, that their husbands were obliged to lie with them thrice a month (c). When there were any orphan virgins without inheritance, whom they termed *ῥήσσαι* (d), he that was next in blood was obliged to marry her himself, or settle a portion on her according to his quality; if he was *πεντακοσίουδραμης*, one of the first rank, five minæ, or 500 drachms; if *ἰππικὸς*, of the second rank, 300; if *ζωγικὸς*, of the third rank, 150: But if she had many relations equally allied, all of them contributed their proportions to make

(a) Justin. Lib. III. Plutarch. Apothegm. Laconic. Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. VI. Cap. VI. (b) Plutarchus Solone. (c) Idem loc. citato. Eustathius in *Iliad* ex Aristophone Grammatico.

make up the sum: If there were more than one virgin, their nearest kinsman was only obliged to marry, or give a portion to one of them; and upon his refusal to do this, any person was allowed to indict him before the Archon, who was obliged to compel him to his duty; and if he refused to put the law in execution, was fined 1000 drachms, which were consecrated to Juno the goddess of marriage (a). Terence has several hints at these customs; for his scenes being laid in Athens, he frequently describes the usages of that city. Thus in Phormio (b);

*Lex est, ut orbæ, qui sint genere proximi,
Eis nubant, & illos ducere eadem hæc lex jubet.*

It's an establish'd form in Attic laws,
That the next male kinsman without demur,
Must be t' an orphan girl in wedlock join'd.

In the same comedy (c), he expressly mentions the five minæ given by the men of the first quality;

*Etsi mihi facta injuria est, verumtamen
Potius quam lites secler, aut quam te audiam
Itidem ut cognata si sit, id quod lex jubet
Dotem dare, abduce hanc, minas quinque accipe.*

Though I've been herein bubbled, here's the sum;
Five minæ, as the law enjoins, and take her
As my kinswoman; this I'll rather do
Than sacrifice my patience to your talk,
Or enter once the clutches of the law.

J. A.

It may be observed further, that afterwards, when money became more plentiful, the relations of these virgins increased their dowries; for we are told by Eustathius (d), that the Πέντακοσιομέδιμοι gave ten minæ, and men of inferior quality, without doubt, raised their contributions proportionably. When virgins had no relations to provide for them, and were descended from men that had been serviceable to their country, it was common for the state to take care of them; a remarkable instance hereof we have in Aristides's two daughters, to each of which the city gave 300 drachms for her portion (e). Nor is it to be wondered (saith my author) that the Athenians should make provision for those that lived in their city, when hearing that the granddaughter of Aristogiton (a famous patriot that opposed Pisistratus's sons) was in a low condition in the isle of Lemnos, and like to want an husband, because without a portion, they sent for her to Athens, married

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(a) Demosthenes Orat. ad Macartatum de Hagniana hæreditate. (b) Aët. I. Sc. II.
(c) Aët. II. Sc. III. (d) Iliad. φ'. (e) Plutarch. Aristide.

her to a person of great quality, and gave her a farm belonging to the city for a dowry. Indeed, however generous the love of the more ancient Athenians was, their successors commonly made money the chief tie of their affections; and the later Spartans were of the same humour, even whilst the laws of Lycurgus were still in being; for we find, that whilst Lyfander was in a flourishing condition, and passed for a wealthy man, several persons engaged themselves to his daughters, who seeing afterwards how poor and honest he died, broke off their contract. It is true the Spartans punished them severely for their perfidiousness; but that seems done rather out of respect to Lyfander's memory (*a*), than to their ancient constitution, which, as soon as riches began to be possessed and admired at Sparta, seems to have been laid asleep. The Grecians indeed, notwithstanding the prohibition of some of their laws, were generally lovers of money, and seem to have matched rather for the sake of that, than other more commendable qualifications. Nor was this a late corruption, but entertained even in the primitive times; for we find Andromache called by Homer (*b*) Πολύδωρος, i. e. according to Eustathius, Πολύπρωμος, *possessed of a large dowry*; and before the use of money was common, virgins increased their husbands estates, by adding sheep and oxen to their flocks and herds, wherein the riches of those ages chiefly consisted; whence (as the same author observes), they are sometimes honoured with the epithet of ἀλφειοίται. And from the expence fathers were at on this account, came the proverb,

Παῖς μοι τριτογενὴς εἴη, μὴ τριτογένεια.

Which is nothing but a father's wish, that his children might rather be boys than girls. As to the quantity of dowries, nothing can be determined; the humours of persons, and their particular exigencies, being the laws they were usually directed by in such cases; only it may be observed, that in Crete, sisters were put off with half the share of their brothers (*c*). The dowry was named προῖξ, sometimes μέλις, παρὰ το μελίσσειν τὸν ἄδρα, or ἔδνα, γ. ἡδανα, παρὰ τὸ ἡδαιν, as designed to procure the favour and goodwill of the person they were given to; sometimes φορὴν, from φέρειν, because brought by the wife to her husband. Some of the same names are used for the man's dowry or portion, as Eustathius has observed. When the wife had a dowry, it was commonly expected her husband should make her a settlement, to be a maintenance for her in case he should happen to be parted from her by death or divorce; this was usually an house or land, and was anciently called ἀποτίμημα (*d*), being a return equivalent to the dowry; afterwards it was frequently termed ἀντιφέρην, i. e. *a recompence for her dowry*, or ὑπόβολον from ὑποβάλλειν, because it was ὑποβαλλόμενον τῇ φορῇ, given instead of her dowry. But where no such security was given,

(*a*) Plutarchus Lyfandro. Lib. IV. Cap. VIII.

(*b*) Iliad. ζ.

(*c*) Alexander ab Alex. Ger. Dier.

(*d*) Hesychius, Harpocration, Suidas, Pollux.

given, husbands that divorced their wives were obliged to return their dowry. The same obligation reached their heirs, upon refusal to maintain the wives of those whose estates they inherited: Hence Telemachus in Homer, having suffered many affronts, and sustained great losses by his mother Penelope's gallants, yet thinks it not prudent to dismiss her to her father Icarius, because that could not be done without returning her portion (a);

—Κακὸν δὲ με πολλ' ἀποτίνειν
 Ικαρίῳ, αἷκ' αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ἀπὸ μητέρα πέμψω.

I could not now repay so great a sum
 To the old man, should I dismiss her home
 Against her will. —————

Which words seem to intimate farther, that if the woman departed of her own accord, the fore-mentioned obligation became void. Yet, in case the woman departed from her husband in the manner which was allowed by the laws, her dowry was restored to her. This we find to have been the practice at Athens.

In the same city it was the custom, when any man's estate was confiscated, that the wife's dowry should be assigned to her.

In the same city it was decreed, that he who did not restore to his wife, when divorced, her dowry, should pay nine oboli every month whilst it was detained, for interest. If this was neglected, an action termed *οὐτίς δίκη*, was preferred against him in the odeum by the woman's (*ἐπίτροπος*) guardian (b). This is to be understood of the dowries of those of the lowest class of citizens, to whom, as hath been before observed, Solon allotted 150 drachmæ; for it being the custom for one *μνᾶ*, which is equivalent to 100 drachmæ, to bring in an interest of six oboli every month, the interest of 150 drachmæ must amount to nine oboli.

Hence the payment of the dowry was also attested by sufficient witnesses, and also by a written instrument called *προικῶνα*. If these could not be produced, the husband was not obliged to allow his wife a separate maintenance. If the woman deceased without children, her dowry was repaid to the person by whom she had been endowed (c); for the dowry was intended as a maintenance to the children, and therefore when the woman's sons came to be of age, they enjoyed their mother's dowry whilst she was living, only allowing her a competent maintenance (d). What other things wives brought to their husbands above their portions, were called *παράφορνα ἐπίτροικον, ἐπιμέλια*, and by latter Greeks *ἐξάτροικα*.

Before men married it was customary to provide themselves an house to settle in; to which practice Hesiod's advice is an allusion.

Οἶκος

(a) Odyss. ε'. v. 132.
 de hæred. Pyrrhi.

(b) Demosthenes in Neæram.

(c) Conf. Isaac Orat.

(d) Demosthenes in Phanippum, & in Stephanum Testem.

Οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα, γυναῖκά τε (a); ———

First see you have a settlement, and wife.

The woman in Theocritus asks her lover whether he was making an house for her.

Τεύχεις μοι θαλάμους, τεύχεις κὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλὰς;

What? Are you furnishing an house! Have you Provided beds? ———

To which he replies,

Τεύχω σοι θαλάμους. ———

Beds I procure, don't fear. ———

Protefilaus in Homer, being called to the Trojan war soon after his marriage, is said to have left δῦμον ἡμιτελῆ, his house half finished (b);

Τὲ δὲ κὶ ἀμφιδρυφὸς ἄλλοχθι Φυλάκῃ ἐλέλειπτο,
καὶ δόμῳ ἡμιτελῆς. ———

At Phylace he left behind his spouse,
There to lament in an half-finish'd house.

Some indeed will have Οἶκος to be meant of his family, which is called ἡμιτελής, because he left it before he had any children (c). The same ambiguity is found in Valerius Flaccus, who has thus imitated Homer (a);

————— *Conjux miseranda Caico*
Linguitur, & primo domus imperfecta cubili.

Nigh where Caicus in clear streams doth glide,
His solitary house and wife abide,
Unblest with th' offspring of the bridal night,
Who might solace the thoughts, the pensive mind delight.

J. A.

Catullus has expressed the same thought thus (e):

Conjugis ut quondam flagrans advenit amore
Protefilæam Laodamia domum

Inceptam

(a) *Erg.* c. 23. vide Turneb. *Adv. Lib.* XXI. *liabes vetus in loc. cit.*

(d) *Lib.* VI.

(b) *Iliad.* c. v. 700.

(c) *Schö.*

(e) *Epigram.* ad Mallium.

*Inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacra
Hostia cœlestes pacificasset heros.*

As fair Laodamia once did come,
Inflam'd with passion, to th' unfinish'd home
Of her dear lord, before the sacrifice
Had e'er appeas'd the heav'nly deities.

J. A.

But the former sense seems more agreeable to the way of speaking in those times, it being then the constant custom to build an house before marriage. Hence women, whose husbands died soon after marriage, are said to be left *widows in a new built house*; as the Greek Scholiast observes upon that verse of Homer (a);

Χηράσας δὲ γυναῖκα μυχῷ θαλάμοιο νέοιο.

The Athenian virgins were presented to Diana before it was lawful for them to marry. This ceremony was performed at Brauron, an Athenian borough; it was called ἀρκτεία, the virgins themselves ἄρκτοι, and the action ἀρκτεία, the custom being instituted to appease the goddesses, who had been incensed against some of the Athenians for killing a bear; the story whereof is described at large in one of the precedent books (b). Another custom there was for virgins, when they became inarrriageable, to present certain baskets full of little curiosities to Diana, to gain leave to depart out of her train (virgins being looked on as that goddess's peculiar), and change their state of life. To which custom Theocritus has this allusion (c);

Ἦνθ' ἂν τὰ Εὐβόλοιο Καναφόρος ἄμμιν Ἀναξά
Ἀλσὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτέμιδος. —

Anaxo, Eubul's daughter, full of love,
Came to me with a basket for Diana's grove.

The action was called κανηφορεῖν, and the virgins κανηφόροι, from the baskets they carried. The Bœotians and Locrians had a custom, for persons of both sexes, before their nuptials, to offer sacrifice to Euclia, who had an image and altar in their market-place. This Euclia some will have to be the daughter of Menœcius, and sister of Patroclus; others rather think her the same with Diana (d); it is not improbable that Diana received this surname from Patroclus's sister, or that she was worshipped by the name of Diana Euclia; for Diana being the goddess of virginity, it is not to be wondered that one honoured for the preservation of her virginity, should be worshipped under her name, since it is common to attribute to those that were first eminent for any sort of

(a) Iliad. ε'. v. 66

(b) Lib. II. Cap. XX. in πραιμόνια.

(c) Idyll. ε'. v. 66.

(d) Plutarchus Aristide.

of virtue or excellent quality, the actions of all that afterwards imitated them. Hence we have several Jupiters, Minervas, Bacchus's, Hercules's, &c. the famous exploits of many persons, distant as well in time as place, being ascribed to one hero. To return, we find Diana concerned in the preparatory solemnities before all marriages; for a married life being her aversion, it was thought requisite for all that entered upon it, to ask her pardon for dissenting from her. This was done by prayers and several sorts of sacrifices; whence Agamemnon in Euripides, pretending he was going to match Iphigenia with Achilles, speaks thus to Clytemnestra (a);

Εκπιπτε παῖδα δαμάτων πατρός μέτα,
Ὡς χερσίδες πάρεσιν ὑπηρεπισμέναι,
Προχύται τε βάλλειν πῦρ καθάρειον ἐκ χερῶν
Μοσχοὶ τε, πρὸ γάμων ἄς διὰ πεισῆν χερῶν
Ἀγρίμιδι, μέλανος αἵματός Φυσήματα.

Send Iphigenia quickly forth with me,
Hymen is now propitious, all things wait
To grace the solemn gladness of this day,
The holy water's ready, with the cakes,
To cast upon the fire, the calves are brought,
Whose blood in grateful vapours must arise,
T' atone the breach of chaste Diana's rites.

J. A.

These were called γαμήλια εὐχαὶ, προγάμια, προτέλεια εὐχαὶ, or προτέλεια, for τέλει and γαμή are terms of the same signification (b), the former denoting marriage, either as a general name for all sorts of rites and ceremonies, or (as some say) because the longing expectations of married persons are thereby consummated, and brought to an end, or because persons that are married become complete and perfect men, and renounce all the customs and desires of childhood; whence γῆμαι, to marry, is termed τελεωθῆναι, to be made perfect (c). Married persons are called τέλει (d), and are said to be ἐν βίῳ τελεῖσθαι. The same epithet is commonly given to the gods that had the care of marriage; whence we read of Jupiter τέλειος, Juno τέλεια (e), &c. These gods were likewise rendered propitious before the nuptials, and the sacrifices, with other devotions offered them, were all known by the same names with those offered to Diana; Juno's were called (besides their general name) Ηρατέλεια, from her own name, which, in Greek, is Ηρα. Several other deities had their share in these honours. Minerva, surnamed παρθένα, the virgin, had a peculiar title to them at Athens, upon the same account they were paid to Diana; and it was not permitted a virgin to marry, till she had paid her

(a) Iphigen. in Aulid. 1110.
in Iliad μ'.
complutes.

(d) Bisetus in Aristoph. Thesmopher.

(b) Eustathius in Iliad. 6'.

(e) Eustathius
(c) Suidas, aliique

her devotion to this goddess's temple in the citadel (*a*). Venus likewise, and all the rest of the *γαμήλιοι θεοί*, gods superintending marriage, were invoked (*b*). The Lacedemonians had a very ancient statue of *Αφροδίτη Ηγά*, i. e. *Venus Juno*, to which all mothers sacrificed when their daughters were married (*c*). The most ancient Athenians paid the same honour to heaven and earth, which were believed to have a particular concern in marriages, the latter of these being rendered fruitful by the benign influence of the former, and therefore a fit emblem of marriage (*d*). The Fate and Graces being thought first to join, and then preserve the tie of love, were partakers of the like respect (*e*); and it is probable that several other deities at different places, and for different reasons, claimed a share therein. The day wherein this ceremony was performed, was usually that which immediately went before the marriage (*f*); it is commonly called *γαμήλια*, *κρηῶτις* (*g*), from the custom they had of *shaving* themselves on this occasion (*h*), and presenting their hair to some of the fore-mentioned deities, or other gods, to whom they had particular obligations. Pollux (*i*) mentions some who offered their hair to Diana, and the *fatal* sisters. At Trœzen the virgins were obliged to consecrate their hair to Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, who died for his chastity, before they entered into marriage bonds (*k*). The Megarensian virgins offered their hair with libations at the monument of Iphinoe, daughter of Alcathous, who died a virgin; the Delians to Hecæerge and Opis (*l*); the Argians and Athenians (to trouble you with no more instances) to Minerva. Statius has mentioned this ceremony (*m*), speaking of that goddess's temple.

—————*Hic more parentum*
Infides, thalamis ubi casta adolesceret ætas,
Virgineas libare comas, primosque solebant
Excusare toros.—————

When maiden blushes could make no pretence;
And vig'rous age had sully'd innocence,
As anciently the Argives hither came
To vent their passion, and their love proclaim;
They paid Diana then their virgin hair,
T' excuse the first embraces of their dear.

J. A.

But these names (*γαμήλια* and *κρηῶτις*) were at Athens peculiar to one day of the solemnity called *apaturia*, wherein fathers had their children entered into the public register, at which time they offered sacrifices for their prosperity, with a particular respect to their marriages.

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(*a*) Suidas, &c. (*b*) Etymologici Auctor, &c. (*c*) Pausanias Laconicis. (*d*) Proclus in Timæum Platonis Comment. v. (*e*) Pollux, Lib. III. Cap. III. Etymologici Auctor. v. *γαμήλια*. (*f*) Hesychius. (*g*) Etymologici Auctor. (*h*) Pollux, loc. cit. &c. (*i*) Onomast. Lib. III. Cap. III. (*k*) Lucianus de Dea Syria. (*l*) Pausanias Atticis. (*m*) Thebaid. II.

and commonly shaved off some of their hair to be dedicated to some of the deities, especially her to whose honour that festival was celebrated. But though the time of presenting their hair might not be constantly the same, yet the custom itself seems to have been universally observed, not only by women, but men, who rarely failed of performing this ceremony upon their arrival to years of maturity. Some of their locks were carefully preserved for this use; and therefore, when Pentheus in Euripides threatens Bacchus to shave his hair, the young god tells him it would be an impious action, because he designed it for an offering to some deity (a);

ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος, τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω,

This lock is sacred, this I do preserve
As some choice votive off'ring for the god.

The hair was called πλόκαμος θεοπότηριος, because presented to a god, as an acknowledgment of his care in their education. The deity thus honoured was commonly Apollo, as Plutarch reports, when he tells us, that Theseus, according to the custom of the Grecian youth, took a journey to Delphi to offer the first-fruits of his hair to the god of that place (b). But this could not concern the poorer sort, to whom such journeys would have been too expensive: Nor were those of better quality under any strict obligation to pay this honour to Apollo, it being not unusual to do it to other gods, such especially as were thought to have protected their infancy from danger, and preserved them to manhood. Instances are needless in a thing so well known; only it may be necessary to observe, that the deities of rivers were commonly thought to have title to this respect; which conceit seems to have proceeded from the opinion of some philosophers, who thought all things were first produced out of water, and still nourished and rendered fruitful by it; whence the poets took occasion to give the epithet καρποφόρος, to watery deities, as well as Apollo, those being no less instrumental in the growth and increase of living creatures, than the sun, whose influences without moisture can contribute nothing to the production or preservation of life; hence both were looked on as deserving their returns of gratitude for the first gift, as well as continuance of life (c). I shall only trouble you with the following example of hair presented to rivers, whereby what I have said concerning the reason of this custom, will be confirmed; for Achilles his preserving his hair as a present to Sperchius, on condition he should return home in safety, and afterwards shaving it when he found the fates had decreed that he should be slain before Troy, plainly shows that they used to preserve their hair to the gods, as a grateful acknowledgment of their care in preserving them.

(a) Bach. v. 594.
enarrat.

(b) Theseo.

(c) Eustathius Iliad, ψ'. ubi hanc rem fusius

them. Homer's words run thus, when he speaks of Patroclus's funeral (a) :

Εἰθ' αὖτ' ἀλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρεκός τις Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Στὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην,
 Τὴν ῥα Σπερχεῖα ποταμῷ τρέφει τελεδύωσαν.
 Οχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπεν, ἰδὼν ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον.
 " Σπερχεῖ, ἄλλως σοι γέ πατήρ ἤρῃσατο Πηλεὺς,
 " Σοὶ τε κόμην κερεῖν, ρίζειν δ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην,
 " Πεντήκοντα δ' ἑνορχα παρ' αὐτόθι μῆλ' ἱερεύσειν
 " Ες πηγὰς, ὅθι τοι τιμένος, βαμὸς τε θυεῖς.
 " Ως ἤρ'· δ' ὁ γέρον, σὺ δέ οἱ νόον ἔκ ἐτέλεσσας.
 " Νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἐ νεολαί γε φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
 " Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωϊ κόλῃν ὀπάσαιμι φέρεσθαι.

Then did Achilles, that brave prince prepare
 For other rites, he shav'd his golden hair,
 While at a distance from the pile he stood,
 That hair he'd nourish'd, Sperchius, for thy flood ;
 Then, as he look'd upon the stream, he said
 (While grief and anguish did his soul invade),
 " My loving father made a vow (in vain)
 " That when I see my native soil again,
 " I should my hair in pious duty shave
 " To thee, and thou an hecatomb shouldst have ;
 " That fifty rams I to thy source should bring,
 " And pay them at thy shrine a thankful offering :
 " Thus, thus old Peleus vow'd ; but since I can't
 " Return, and you'll his wish by no means grant,
 " My dear Patroclus I'm resolv'd shall have
 " These locks ; it is for him I do 'em shave.

J. A.

And the custom of nourishing hair, on religious accounts, seems to have prevailed in most nations. The Jews had their Nazarites: Osiris the Egyptian consecrated his hair to the gods, as we learn from Diodorus (b). And to mention no more, we find in Arian's account of India, that it was a custom there *κομᾶν τῷ θεῷ*, to preserve their hair for some god, which they first learnt (as that author reports) from Bacchus.

To return : Before the marriage could be solemnized, the other gods were consulted, and their assistance implored by prayers and sacrifices, which were usually offered to some of the deities that superintended these affairs, by the parents, or other relations of the persons to be married. Nor can these offerings be thought the same with those already mentioned, and called *προτέλεια*, since we find them plainly distinguished

N n 2

(a) Iliad. ψ'. v. 140.

(b) Lib. I.

distinguished by Euripides, in a dialogue between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra concerning the marriage of their daughter Iphigenia :

ΚΛΥ. Προτίθει δ' ἡδε παῖδος ἑσφαζας δια ;

ΑΓΑ. Μέλλω γ', ἐπὶ ταύτῃ κ' καθίσταιν τύχη.

ΚΛΥ. Καπιτα δαίσις τις γάμος ἐσύτερον ;

ΑΓΑ. Θύσας γε θυλάδ', ἅπερ μ' ἐχρην θύσαι θεοῖς (a).

CLY. Well, have you kill'd the victims for the goddesses,
My daughter's wedding to initiate ?

AGA. I'll see that done, for that is my design,

CLY. And then the wedding dinner? AGA. That we'll have,
When to the gods the victims offer'd are. J. A.

When the victim was opened, the gall was taken out, and thrown behind the altar (b), as being the seat of anger and malice, and therefore the aversion of all the deities who had the care of love, as well as those who became their votaries. The entrails were carefully inspected by soothsayers; and if any unlucky omen presented itself, the former contract was dissolved, as displeasing to the gods, and the nuptials prevented. The same happened upon the appearing of any ill-boding omen without the victim. Thus we find in Achilles Tatius, that Clitophon's designed marriage with Calligone was hindered by an eagle, that snatched a piece of the sacrifice from the altar (c). The most fortunate omen which could appear was a pair of turtles, because of the inviolable affection those birds are said to have for each other. The same may be observed of *κορώναι*, which were thought to promise long life or happiness, by reason of the length of their lives, which is proverbially remarkable, and the perpetuity of their love; for when one of the mates is dead, the other remains solitary ever after (d); for which reason, the appearance of those birds single, boded separation or sorrow to the married couple; whence (as we are told by Horapollon) it was customary at nuptials to sing *Κόρη ἐκκόρει κορώνην*, whereby the maids were put in mind to watch, that none of these birds, coming single, should disturb the solemnity; or perhaps it might be done to avert the pernicious influences of that unlucky omen, if it happened to appear. Another remedy against evil omens was this: They wrote over their house doors, ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΟ ΚΑΚΟΝ, *LET NO EVIL ENTER*. To this sentence they sometimes joined the master of the house's name, as appears from a new-married person, who wrote thus upon his house :

Ο ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣ
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙ ΜΗΔΗΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ.

i. e.

(a) Eurip. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 718.
Plutarchus de conjugal. præcept.

(b) Calius Rhodigin. Lib. XXVIII, Cap. XXI.
(c) Lib. II. (d) Alex. ab Alex.

i. e. Here dwells Hercules, the victorious son of Jupiter, let no evil enter.

This gave occasion to Diogenes's jest; for, seeing upon the door of a vicious fellow, the fore-mentioned prayer, "Then," said he, "Let not the master of the house enter (a)."

The bridegroom's garments were all dyed, as Suidas (b) has observed out of Aristophanes. However that be, both the married persons and their attendants, were richly adorned, according to their quality.

Σοὶ δὲ γάμος· χερδὸν ἦν, ἵνα χερὶ καλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν
Εἵματα ἐννυθῶν, τὰ δὲ τοῖσι παρασχεῖν, οἳ κέ σ' ἄγωνται.

The time was nigh completed, when a bride
You was to be, and richly drest in clothes,
With your attendants on that solemn time.

They were likewise decked with garlands of various herbs and flowers; whence Clytemnestra in Euripides speaks thus to Achilles about her daughter Iphigenia (c):

Ἀλλ' ἄμυνον, ὦ θεῶς καὶ, τῇ τ' ἐμῇ δυσπραξίᾳ,
Τῇ τε λεχθείσῃ δάμαρτι σῇ, μάτην μὲν, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς
Σοὶ κατατίψας ἐγὼ νιν ἦγον ὡς γαμβρὴν.

Thou darling offspring of a goddess, help,
Pity, redress, avenge my woful loss
In my dear child, thy wife; but oh! in vain,
Though I had crown'd her to be wedded to thee.

J. A.

The herbs were usually such as some way or other signified the affairs of marriage, as those sacred to Venus, or (which are mentioned by the Scholiast (d) upon Aristophanes) σισύμβριον, μήκων, σήσαμον, &c. Cakes made of sesame were likewise given at marriages, that herb being παλυνός, remarkable for its fruitfulness, according to the same author. The Bæotians used garlands of wild asparagus, which is full of prickles, but bears excellent fruit, and therefore was thought to resemble the bride, who had given her lover some trouble in courting her, and gaining her affections, which she recompenced afterwards by the pleasantness of her conversation. The house where the nuptials were celebrated was likewise decked with garlands; a pestil was tied upon the door, and a maid carried a sieve (e), the bride herself bearing φεύγον, φύγητρον, or φεύγητρον (f), an earthen vessel, wherein barley was parched, to signify her obligation to attend the business of her family.

The

(a) Diogenes Laertius in Diogene.

(b) V. Βασιλά.

(c) Iphigen. in Aulid.

v. 903.

(d) Pace.

(e) Pollux, Lib. III. Cap. III.

(f) Idem. Lib. I.

Cap. XII. Hesychius.

The bride was usually conducted in a chariot from her father's house to her husband's in the evening (a), that time being chosen to conceal her blushes. Thus we find in Catullus's *Epithalamium*:

*Vesper adest, juvenes consurgite, vespere Olympo
Expectata diu vix tandem lumina tollit:
Surgere jam tempus, jam pingues liquere mensas:
Jam veniet virgo, jam dicetur Hymenæus.*

She was placed in the middle, her husband sitting on one side, and one of his most intimate friends on the other, who, for that reason, was called *πάροχος*. This custom was so frequent, that when the bride went to her husband's house on foot, the person who accompanied her retained the same name. The same was called *νυμφευτής*, *παρανυμφίος*, and *παρανυμφος* (b), though this is more commonly used in the feminine gender, and signifies the woman that waited upon the bride, sometimes called *νυμφεύτρια*. When the bridegroom had been married before, he was not permitted to fetch the bride from her father's house, but that care was committed to one of his friends, who was termed *νυμφαγωγός* (c), or *νυμφοστόλος*, which words are likewise taken for the persons that assisted in making up the match, and managing the concerns which related to the marriage, who, if women, were called *προμύστριαι*, *προξενήτριαι*, &c. One thing farther may be observed in the bride's passage to her husband's house, viz. that torches were carried before her, as appears from the messenger in Euripides, who says, he called to mind the time when he bore torches before Menelaus and Helena (d):

*Νῦν ἀναεῖμαι τὸν σὸν ὑμέναιον πάλιν,
Καὶ λαμπάδων μεμνήμεθ', ἅς, τετραόροις
Ἰπποῖς τροχάζων, παρέφερον· σὺ δ' ἐν δίφροισι
Σὺν τῷδε νύμφῃ δᾶμ' ἔλιπες ἄλκιον.*

I call to mind as yesterday the pomp
Of your procession on the wedding-day,
How you was carried in a coach and four,
While I with torches blazing in the air,
Drove foremost on from your dear parents house,
That happy nurs'ry of your tender years.

J. A.

These torches were usually carried by servants, as appears from the following words of Hesiod (e):

*Τῆλε δ' ἀπ' αἰδομένον δαῖδων σέλας ἐιλύφαζες
Χερσὶν ἐνὶ δάμωκ.*

The

(a) Suidas, v. Ζεῦχος: Eustathius *Iliad* λ'. p. 765.

(b) Hesychius, v. Νυμφαγωγός.

(c) Hesychius, vide Pollucis *Onomast.* Lib. III. item Suidam, Phavorinum, cæteroque Lexicographos.

(d) Helen. v. 728.

(e) Scut. Hercul. v. 275.

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Homer

(a) Il
cration,

The servants then did flaming torches bear,
Which darted forth a quiv'ring light from far.

They were sometimes attended with singers and dancers, as Homer acquaints us in his description of Achilles's shield (a);

Εν δὲ δύο πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
Καλὰς ἐν τῇ μὲν ῥα γάμοι τ' ἔσαν, εἰλαπίναιτε,
Νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων. δαῖδαν ὑπολαμπομπάνων,
Ἡγίεον ἀνὰ ἄστυ, πολὺς δ' ὕμναιος ὄρωρε·
Κῆροι γ' ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
Αὐλοί, φόρμιγγες τε βοὴν ἔχον, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
Ἰσάμεναι δαύμαζον ἐπὶ προδυροῖσιν ἐκάστη.

With nice and curious touches next appear
Two stately cities, in one nuptials are;
Here polish'd art with nature doth agree
In framing figures of festivity,
Feasts, revels, balls, the sculpture represents,
With various sorts of music instruments,
Lamps shine with brightness on the solemn state,
While the brisk bridegroom leads his charming mate;
Measures young men observe, with active feet,
While the pomp does advance along the street;
The music plays, Hymen, Hymen, they cry,
While aged matrons stand admiring by.

J. A.

The song they were entertained with in their passage was called ἀγμά-
τιον μέλος, from ἄμα, the coach they rode in, the axletree whereof
they burnt when arrived at their journey's end, thereby signifying, that
the bride was never to return to her father's house. The Rhodians
had a peculiar custom of sending for the bride by a public crier.
When the bridegroom entered the house with his bride, it was custom-
ary to pour upon their heads, figs, and divers other sorts of fruits, as
an omen of their future plenty (b). The day of the bride's departure
from her father was celebrated in manner of a festival, and called
Προσχειρήτρια (c). It seems to have been observed at her father's
house, before she departed, being distinct from the nuptial solemnity,
which was kept at the bridegroom's house, and began at evening, the
usual time of the bride's arrival there.

The bride being come to the bridegroom's house, was entertained
with a sumptuous banquet, called by the same name with the mar-
riage, viz. γάμος, as Pollux hath observed from the following verse in
Homer;

Εἰλαπίν,

(a) Iliad, c. v. 490.
eration, Suidas.

(b) Aristophanis Scholiast. in Plutum, p. 78.

(c) Harpo-

Εἰλαπίν, ἢ γάμος, ἐπεὶ ἐκ ἑρανος ταῦτε γ' εἰσιν.

A shot-free banquet, or a marriage feast,
Not such as is by contribution made.

Whence δαίειν γάμον is to make a *nuptial entertainment*. Thus Homer (a);

——— Δαίσειν δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι.

To make a marriage-feast for th' Myrmidons.

The same poet has this expression in other places (b);

——— Δαίνυντα γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἔτησιν.

Making a nuptial banquet for his friends.

What was the design of this entertainment we learn from Athenæus, who (to pass by the joy and mirth it was intended to promote) tells us there were two reasons for it; the first was, the respect due to the gods of marriage, who were invoked before the feast, and had no small share in it; and it is thought by some, that most of the Grecian festivals were first observed on this ground. The second end of this entertainment was, that the marriage might be made public (c); for all the relations of the married couple were invited as witnesses of their marriage, and to rejoice with them; whence the young man in Terence concludes, the marriage he there speaks of could not be presently consummated, because time was required to invite friends, and to make necessary preparations (d);

*Ducenda est uxor, ut ais; concedo tibi:
Spatium quidem apparandis nuptiis,
Vocandi, sacrificandi dabitur paululum.*

That he's oblig'd to marry her, I grant;
But then some time before must be allow'd
For the procuring of all requisites;
His friends must be invited to the wedding,
And he address the gods with sacrifice.

H. H.

During the solemnity, the company diverted themselves, and honoured the gods of marriage with music and dancing; we seldom read of marriage without them. All the songs were called ὑμέναιοι, or ὑμῶνες. Thus both Homer and Hesiod.

——— Ποῶν

(a) Iliad, 4.

(b) Odyss. 8.

(c) Athenæus, Lib. V. Cap. I. init.

(d) Phorm. Act. IV. Sc. IV.

Πολὺς δ' ὑμῖναι ὀρώρει.

Many Hymens sung. —

The Romans used the same term (a);

Hymenæum, turbas, lampadas, tibicines.

Your Hymens, hubbubs, flambeaus, and scrapers.

This name was taken from the frequent invocations of Hymen, or Hymenæus, the god of marriage, always made in these songs; as in this verse of Catullus,

Io Hymen, Hymenæe Hymen ades, O Hymenæe.

This Hymenæus, we are told, was an Argian, whom (b) they received into the number of their gods, and thus remembered for a generous action, in delivering certain Athenian virgins from the lust and cruelty of some Pelasgians. Others derive the words ἀπὸ τῆς οὐκ ἔχοντος from the married couple's *inhabiting together*; others, lastly, from ὑμῖν, which signifies the *membrana virginalis*.

About the time of their entertainment there were several significant ceremonies, relating some way or other to the state of marriage. One at Athens was this: There came in a boy, covered with thorn boughs and acorns, carrying a basket full of bread, and singing Εφυγον κακὸν, εὔρον ἀμεινον, i. e. *I have left the worse, and found the better*. Which saying was used at one of their festivals, when they commemorated their change of diet from acorns to corn; but seems at this time to have signified also the happiness which the married persons were entering upon, and that marriage was preferable to a single life. The Lacedemonians had a custom of carrying about a sort of cakes made in various figures, and called κυρτοί, whilst they danced and commended the bride in songs (c).

When the dances were ended, the married couple were conducted to the marriage-bed, called in Latin, *lectus genialis*, in Greek, κλίνη νυμφιδίη, or γαμικὴ, or (when the persons were first married, and in their youth *κρηίδιον λεγος*. It was richly adorned, as the quality of the person would bear; the coverings was usually purple, whence the poet (d),

Purpureumve tuum consternens veste cubile.

Spreading a garment o'er thy purple bed.

Apollonius speaks of the same colour, and flowers wherewith they used to straw it (e);

Vol. II.

O o

Ενθα

(a) Terentius Adelph.
zus, Lib. X.
1141.

(b) Homeri Scholiastes Iliad. ε'. v. 593.
(d) De nuptiis Pelei & Thetidis, v. 1402.

(e) Athen-
Argon. IV.

Ενθα τότε ἐστέρισαν λέκτρον μέγα, τοῖοδ' ὕπερθε
 Χρύσειον αἰγλήεν κῶας βάλλον, ὅφρα πέλοιτο
 Τιμήεις τε γάμος καὶ αἰδοίμιος ἄνδρα δὴ σφι
 Νύμφαι ἀμοργόμεναι λευκοῖς ἐνὶ παικίλῃ κόλπῳ
 Εσφόρειον. —————

Then richly they adorn'd the marriage-bed,
 A costly purple skin they o'er it spread;
 And that the nuptials they might celebrate
 With more magnificent and pompous state,
 The beauteous nymphs brought in their snowy breasts
 Flowers of various colours. —————

H. H.

In the same room there was commonly placed a side-bed, called κλίνη παράβυστος (a), ὑπὲρ τῆς τὴν παῖδα μὴ ἀδυμῆσαι, as Pollux accounts for the custom (b). But before they went to bed, the bride bathed her feet; whence Trygæus in Aristophanes (c), intending to marry Opora, no sooner brings her to his house, but commands his servants to provide a vessel of water, then to make ready the bed,

Ἀλλ' εἴστω' ὥς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν,
 Καὶ τὸν πύλον κατάκλυζε καὶ θέρμαιν' ὕδαρ,
 Στόρυδι μοι καὶ τῇδε κερίδιον λεχός.

Bring home my bride as soon as possible,
 Then wash the vessel, and the water warm,
 And next prepare for us the nuptial bed.

This water the Athenians always fetched from the fountain Callirhoe, afterwards called Εννιάκρενον, from nine cisterns supplied by it with water. The person that brought it was a boy nearly allied to one of the married couple, whom they termed λυτροφόρος, from his office (d). This being done, the bride was lighted to bed with several torches; for a single torch was not enough, as may be observed from the miser in Libanius (e), that complains he could not light the bride to bed with one torch. Round one of the torches the married person's mother tied her hair-lace, which she took from her head for this use. Seneca alludes to this custom (f);

————— Non te duxit in thalamos parens
 Comitata primos, nec sua festas manu
 Ornavit ædes, nec sua lætas faces
 Vittæ revinxit. —————

Your

(a) Hesychius.
 109. cit.

(b) Lib. III. Cap. III.
 (c) Declamat. XXXVIII.

(c) Pace.

(d) Suidas, Pollux,

(f) Theb. v. 505.

Your mother did not at the wedding wait,
Nor you into your chamber introduce,
Nor with her hand the bridal house adorn'd,
Nor with her hair-lace ty'd the joyful torch.

H. H.

The relations of the married persons assisted in the solemnity, and it was looked on as no small misfortune to be absent; the mothers especially were assiduous in lighting torches when their sons wives entered the houses. Jocasta in Euripides severely chides Polynices for marrying in a foreign country, because she, with the rest of his relations and friends, were deprived of their offices at his nuptials (a);

Σὲ δ', ὃ τέκνον, κ' γάμοισι δὴ κλύω
Ζυγύντα, παιδοποιὸν ἀδονῶν
Ξένοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἔχειν,
Ξένον τε κῆδος ἀμφέπειν·
Ἀλασα ματρὶ ταῦτε,
Λαῖω τε σὼ παλαιγενεῖ,
Γάμων ἐπακτὰν ἄταν·
Εγὼ δ' ἔτε σοὶ πυρὸς ἀνῆψα φῶς
Νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις.
Ὡς πρέπει ματρὶ μακαρία,
Ἀνυμέναια δ' Ἰσμενὸς ἐκχευέη
Λατροφόρον χλιδᾶς
Ἀνὰ δὲ Θηβαίαν πόλιν
Εσιγάδῃ σᾶς εἴσοδος νύμφας.

But you, my son, not without grief I hear,
Are join'd in wedlock in a foreign land,
There taste the pleasures of the genial bed,
And on a stranger propagate your kind;
This, this is matter of most killing grief
To me, and your good grandfire Laius,
When we reflect upon those coming ills,
That must undoubtedly attend the match:
For neither I, as well becomes the care
Of happy mothers, lighted up the torch,
And blest the nuptials by that pious act;
Nor old Ismenus, rich in rolling streams,
Furnish'd out water for your nuptial washings,
Nor was the entrance of your bride proclaim'd
Through Theban streets, but all as unconcern'd
As when no native does bring home his bride.

H. H.

The

O o 2

(a) Phœniss. v. 339. in quem locum vide Scholiastem.

The bride's mother had no less a right to this office, for we find Clytemnestra, though professing all due submission to Agamemnon, when desired by him to absent herself from Iphigenia's marriage, steadfastly refusing it, as a thing against all justice, notwithstanding his promise to perform her part of the ceremony (a);

ΚΛ. Ημᾶς δὲ πῦρ χρὴ τήνικαυτὰ τυγχάνειν;
 ΑΓ. Χάρις πρὸς Ἀργεῖον, παρθένας τε τημέλει.
 ΚΛ. Λιπύσσα παῖδα; τίς δ' ἀναστήσει φλόγα;
 ΑΓ. Ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶς, ὃ νυμφίοις πέπει.
 ΚΛ. Οὐχ ὁ νόμος ἔτῃ, καὶ σὺ δὲ Φαῦλ' ἡγῇ τάδε.

CL. Whither mean time shall wretched I repair?

AG. To Argos, let those maids employ your care.

CL. And leave my child? Who then the torch will light?

AG. That be my care, I will perform that rite.

CL. And is that fit? let Agamemnon judge.

H. H.

After a little disputing they proceed thus:

ΑΓ. Πιθῆ. ΚΛ. Μὰ τὴν ἀνάσσαν Ἀργεῖαν θεάν·
 Ἐλθὼν δὲ, τᾶξον πρᾶσσε, τὰ ν' δόμοις δ' ἐγώ,
 Ἀ χρὴ παρῆναι νυμφίοισι παρθενοῖς.

AG. Without more reas'nings my demands obey.

CL. By Juno, that o'er Argos bears the sway,
 Sooner would wretched Clytemnestra bleed
 Than give consent to so unjust a deed;
 Affairs abroad better my lord become,
 'Tis fit that I should manage things at home.

H. H.

The married couple being shut together in the chamber, the laws of Athens obliged them to eat a quince, whereby was intimated that their first conversation ought to be pleasing and agreeable (b). The husband then loosed his wife's girdle, whence *λύειν ζώνην* is to deflower, and *γυνὴ λυσίζωνος*, a woman who has lost her virginity. This girdle was not (as some seem to fancy) worn by maids only, but used as well after marriage as before, being designed to secure the weaker sex from the sudden attempts of men inflamed with lust, whence Nonnus calls it *σαόφρων*, and when he introduces the satyrs endeavouring to embrace certain virgins, we find their honour secured by it (c). The same appears farther from the mention which author's make of untying women's girdles in child-birth, and from calling such girls only *ἄμυτροι*, i. e. *not having a girdle*, as were not arrived to maturity.

At

(a) Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 731.

(b) Plutarchus Solone, & in Conjugal. præcept.

(c) Lib. XII. circa finem.

(a)

At this time the young men and maids stood without the door, dancing and singing songs, called ἐπιθαλάμια, from θάλαμος, the *bride-chamber*, and making a great noise, by shouting and stamping with their feet, which was termed κτυπία, or κτυπίον (a), and designed to drown the maids cries. Lest the women should go to her assistance, one of the bridegroom's friends stood centinel at the chamber-door, and from his office was called θυρωρός (b). This song, as likewise all the rest, was termed ὕμναι, and consisted of the praises of the bridegroom and bride, with wishes for their happiness, as may appear (to pass by other instances) from Theocritus's epithalamium of Helena, which begins thus :

Εν περ' ἄρα Σπάρτα, ξανθότριχι παρ Μενελάω,
Παρθενικαὶ δάλλοντα κόμαις ὑάκινθον ἔχουσιν,
Πρόσθε νογράφτω θαλάμῳ χορὸν ἐσάσαντο,
Δώδεκα τὰι πρῶται πόλιν ἄνθρα χαρῆμα Λακωνῶν,
Αἰνὰ Τυνδάρεω κατεκλάζατο τὰν ἀγαπατῶν
Μναστήσας Ελέαν ὁ νεώτερος Ἀρτέμιος υἱός
Λειδὸν δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι ἐς ἐν μέλ' ἐγκροῖσσαι
Ποσσὶ περιπλέκτοισ, περὶ δ' ἴαχε δῶμ' ὕμναίῳ.

At Sparta's palace twenty beauteous maids
The pride of Greece, fresh garlands crown'd their heads
With hyacinth and twining parsley drest,
Grac'd joyful Menelaus's marriage-feast,
When lovely Helen, great in conq'ring charms,
Resign'd her willing beauty to his arms :
They danc'd around, joy flow'd from ev'ry tongue,
And the vast palace sounded with the song.

Greech.

They returned again in the morning, saluted the married couple, and sung ἐπιθαλάμια ἑγερτικά, for that was the name of the morning songs, which were designed to awake and raise the bridegroom and bride; as those sung the night before were intended to dispose them to sleep, and are on that account termed ἐπιθαλάμια κοιμητικά. This custom appears from Theocritus's chorus of virgins, who conclude the forecited epithalamium with a promise to return early in the morning :

Εὐδὲτ' ἐς ἀλλάλων σέρον φιλότητα πνέοντες
Καὶ πόθον ἔγρεσθε δὴ πρὸς αἶν', μήτι λάθησθε·
Νύμμεθα κάμμετες ἐς ὄρθρον, ἐπεὶ κα πρῶτος αἰοῖδες
Εξ ἑυνᾶς κελαδήσῃ ἀνασχάν εὐτριχα δειρήν·
Ἦμῶν, ὦ ὕμναιε, γάμῳ ἐπὶ τῷδε χαρείης.

Sleep in each others arms, and raise desire,
Let ardent breathings fan your mutual fire,

But

(a) Hesychius.

(b) Pollux. Lib. III. Cap. III.

But rise betimes, forget not, we'll return
 When first the crowing cock shall wake the morn,
 When through his feather'd throat he sends his voice;
 O Hymen, Hymen, at this feast rejoice.

Greeks

The solemnity lasted several days. The day before the marriage was termed *πρόυλια*, as preceding that whereon the bride did *αὐλιζεσθαι* *νυμφίῳ*, lodge with the bridegroom. The marriage-day was called *γάμος* the day following, according to Pindar, *ἐπίθεσις*, which word signifies a day added to any solemnity; Hesychius (a) calls it *παλία*, which may perhaps be derived from *παλιν*, because the former day's mirth was as it were repeated, whence the Romans called it *repositio*; unless for *παλιν* we might be allowed to read *παλαιά*, and then it would be the same with Athenæus's *ἑὸν ἡμέρα* (b); for *ἑὸν* denotes any thing that has ceased to be new; whence Tully calls a book *ἑὸν*, when men's first and eager inquiry after it is cooled: And Athenæus, in another place has opposed *τὰς ἀκμαίας γάμου ἡμέρας* to the *τὸ ἑὸν τῆς συμποσίας* (c). Others call the second day *ἐπαύλια*, or *ἐπαυλία*. The third day was termed *ἀπαύλια*, or rather *ἀπαύλια*; because the bride, returning to her father's house, did *ἀπαυλιζεσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ*, lodge apart from the bridegroom, though some place this upon the seventh day after marriage; others will have it so called, because the bridegroom lodged apart from his bride at his father-in-law's house. It is possible both may be in the right, and that both bridegroom and bride might lie at her father's house, but in different beds. Others make *ἀπαύλια* to be the same with *ἐπαύλια*; whence a seeming difficulty arises, since those two words import contraries, one seeming to denote the bride's lodging apart from the bridegroom, the other with him; but this may be easily solved, by applying *ἐπαύλια* to her lodging with her husband, and *ἀπαύλια* to her departure from her father's house (d). On the day called *ἀπαύλια* (wherever that was) the bride presented her bridegroom with a garment called *ἀπαυλητήρια*. Gifts were likewise made to the bride and bridegroom, by the bride's father and friends, called sometimes *ἀπαύλια* sometimes *ἐπαύλια*: These consisted of golden vessels, beds, couches, plates, ointment-boxes, combs, sandals, and all sorts of necessaries for house-keeping, which were carried in great state to the house by women, who followed a person called *πανηγύρις*, from carrying a basket in the manner usual at processions, before whom went a boy in white apparel, with a torch in his hand. It was also customary for the bridegroom and his friends to give presents to the bride, which they called *ἀνακαλυπτήρια* (e); and Hesychius will have the third day to be called *ἀνακαλυπτήριον*, because then the bride first appeared publicly unveiled.

(a) Γάμος.

(b) Lib. III. Cap. XV.

(c) Lib. IV.

(d) Vide Pollucum Lib. I.

Cap. III. Hesychium, Suidam, Etymologici Auctorem, Phavorinum, &c. in v. ἀπαύλια.

(e) Suidas.

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(a) Phurr
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Νυμφιδίς σπέεροιο παρακλίνεσα καλύπτραν.

Pluto to Proserpine a present gave,
When first she laid aside her maiden veil,
And at the marriage show'd herself uncover'd.

There is a story of the Sophister Harmocrates relating to this custom, that having a woman not very agreeable imposed upon him by Severus the Roman emperor, and being asked his *ἀνακαλυπτήρια*, when she took off her veil, he replied, *ἐγκαλυπτήρια μὲν ἐν τοιαύτῃ λαμβάνων, It would be more proper to make her a present to keep her veil on, unless her face was more agreeable.*

The ceremonies of the Spartan marriages being different from all others, I have reserved them for this place, and shall set them down in Plutarch's own words (*c*): "When the Spartans had a mind to marry, their courtship was a sort of rape upon the persons they had a fancy for, and those they chose not tender and half children, but in the flower of their age, and full ripe for an husband. Matters being agreed between them, the *Νυμφευρία*, or woman that contrived and managed the plot, shaved off the bride's hair close to her skin, dressed her up in man's clothes, and left her upon a mattress; this done, in comes the bridegroom in his every-day clothes, sober and composed, as having supped at his ordinary in the common-hall, and steals as privately as he can into the room where the bride lay, unties her virgin-girdle, and takes her into his embraces; thus, having staid a short time with her, he returns to the rest of his comrades, with whom he continues to spend his life, remaining with them as well by night as by day, unless he steals a short visit to his bride, and that could not be done without a great deal of circumspection and fear of
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(a) Phurnutus de Natura Deorum in Neptuneo.
Argo, p. 48. Edit. Paris,

(b) Phœnissis,

(c) Ly-

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(a) Γάμοι. (b) Lib. III. Cap. XV. (c) Lib. IV. (d) Vide Pollucum Lib. Cap. III. Hesychium, Suidam, Etymologici Auctorem, Phavorinum, &c. in v. ἀπαύλια et ἐπαύλια. (e) Suidas.

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(a) Phurnutus de Natura Deorum in Neptune.
Argo, p. 48. Edit. Paris.

(b) Phœnissis,

(c) Ly-

“ being discovered. Nor was she wanting (as may be supposed) on her
 “ part to use her woman’s wit in watching the most favourable opportuni-
 “ ties for their meeting, and making appointments when company was
 “ out of the way. In this manner they lived a long time, insomuch
 “ that they frequently had children by their wives before they saw
 “ their faces by day-light. The interview being thus difficult and
 “ rare, served not only for a continual exercise of their temperance,
 “ and furthered very much the ends and intentions of marriage, but
 “ was a means to keep their passion still alive, which flags, and decays,
 “ and dies at last, by too easy access and long continuance with the be-
 “ loved object.”

CHAP. XII.

Of their Divorces, Adulteries, Concubines, and Harlots.

THE Grecian laws concerning divorces were different; some per-
 mitted men to put away their wives on slight occasions; the Cre-
 tans allowed it any man that was afraid of having too great a number
 of children; the Athenians likewise did it upon very small grounds
 but not without giving a bill, wherein was contained the reason of
 their divorce, to be approved (if the party divorced made an appeal
 by the chief magistrate (*a*). The Spartans, though marrying without
 much nicety in choice, seldom divorced their wives; for we read that
 Lyfander was fined by the magistrates, called Ephori on that account
 and though Aristo, one of their kings, put away his wife with the ap-
 probation of the city, yet that seems to have been done rather out of
 an earnest desire to have a son to succeed in his kingdom, which he
 could not expect by that woman, than according to the custom of his
 country (*b*). But whatever liberty the men took, their wives were
 under a greater restraint, for it was extremely scandalous for a woman
 to depart from her husband: Hence we find Medea in Euripides (*c*) com-
 plaining of the hard fate of her sex, who had no remedy against the
 mens unkindness, but were first under the necessity of buying their
 husbands with large portions, and then to submit to their ill usage with-
 out hopes of redress.

Πάντων δ' ὅς' ἐς' ἑμψυχα, καὶ γνώμην ἔχει,
 Γυναικες ἰσμεν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν
 Ἀς πρῶτα μὲν δεῖ χρημάτων ὑπερβολῇ

(*a*) Genial. Dier. Lib. IV. Cap. VIII.(*c*) Medea, v. 230.(*b*) Herodotus, Lib. VI. Cap. LXII.(*a*) Alc.

Πόσιν πρίσθαι, διοπότην τε σώματος
 Λαθεῖν· κακὸν γὰρ τὸδ' ἐτ' ἄλγιον κακόν,
 Κἂν τῷδ' ἀγὼν μεγιστος, ἢ κακὸν λαθεῖν,
 Ἡ' χρηστὸν· ἔ γὰρ εὐκλείης ἀπαλλαγῇ
 Γυναιξίν, ἐδ' οἶναι τ' ἀνήνασθαι πόσιν.

Of all those creatures to whom kinder heav'n
 Has life and more exalted reason giv'n,
 We women the most wretched fate endure;
 First husbands we at highest rates procure,
 Then yield ourselves submissive to their pow'r:
 But oh! the curse, the hazard lies in this,
 If he's unkind I choose, there's no redress,
 But good, or bad, I am for ever his;
 Divorces are too scandalous to name,
 And no law suffers us to throw off them.

H. H.

The Athenians were somewhat more favourable to women, allowing them to leave their husbands upon just occasions; only they could not do it without making appeal to the archon, and presenting him a bill of their grievances with their own hands. Plutarch (a) has a story of Hipparete, Alcibiades's wife, "who (he tells us) was a virtuous lady, and fond of her husband, but at last growing impatient of the injuries done to her bed by his continual entertaining of courtezans, as well strangers as Athenians, she departed from him, and retired to her brother Callias's house. Alcibiades seemed not at all concerned at it, living on still in his former lewd course of life; but the law requiring that she should deliver to the archon in person, and not by a proxy, the instrument whereby she sued for a divorce, when in obedience to it she presented herself before him, Alcibiades came in, took her away by force, and carried her home through the forum, no man daring to oppose him, or take her from him, and she continued with him till her death. Nor was this violence to be thought a crime; for the law, in making her who desires a divorce appear in public, seems to design her husband should have an opportunity of discoursing with her, and endeavouring to retain her." Persons that divorced their wives were obliged to return their portions, as has been observed in the foregoing chapter; if they failed to do that, the Athenian laws obliged them to pay her nine *oboli* a month for alimony, which the woman's guardian was empowered to sue for at the court kept in the Odeum (b). It may be observed, lastly, That the terms expressing men and womens separation from each other were different, men were said ἀποπέμπειν, ἀπολύειν, *dimittere*, to dismiss their wives, or loose them from their obligation; but wives, ἀπολείπειν, *deserere*, *discedere*, to leave or depart from their husbands.

Vol. II.

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It

(a) Alcibiade.

(b) Demosthenes Orat. in Neæram. Vide caput præcedens.

It was not unusual to dissolve the marriage-tie by consent of both parties, and that done, they were at liberty to dispose of themselves how they pleased in a second match; an instance hereof we find in Plutarch, who reports, that when Pericles and his wife could not agree, and became weary of one another's company, he parted with her, willing and consenting to it, to another man (*a*). There is somewhat more remarkable in the story of Antiochus the son of Seleucus, who falling desperately in love with Stratonice his mother-in-law, married her with his father's consent (*b*). The Romans had the same custom, as appears from Cato's parting with his wife Martia to Hortensius, which, as Strabo assures us, was a thing not unusual, but agreeable to the practice of the old Romans (*c*), and some other countries.

What may appear more strange, is, that it was frequent in some parts of Greece to borrow one another's wives. At Athens, Socrates lent his wife Xantippe to Alcibiades (*d*), and the laws of that city permitted heiresses to make use of their husband's nearest relation, when they found him deficient. And we have the following account of the practice of the Spartans from Plutarch (*e*): "Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, he tells us, thought the best expedient against jealousy, was to allow men the freedom of imparting the use of their wives to whom they should think fit, that so they might have children by them; this he made a very commendable piece of liberality, laughing at those who thought the violation of their bed such an insupportable affront, as to revenge it by murders and cruel wars. He had a good opinion of that man, who, being grown old, and having a young wife, should recommend some virtuous, handsome young man, that she might have a child by him to inherit the good qualities of such a father, and should love this child as tenderly as if begotten by himself. On the other side, an honest man, who had love for a married woman, upon the account of her modesty, and the well-favouredness of her children, might with good grace beg of her husband his wife's conversation, that he might have a cyon of so good a tree to transplant into his own garden; for Lycurgus was persuaded that children were not so much the property of their parents as of the whole commonwealth, and therefore would not have them begotten by the first comers, but by the best men that could be found. Thus much (proceeds my author) is certain, that so long as these ordinances were observed, the women were so far from that scandalous liberty, which hath since been objected to them, that they knew not what the name of adultery meant." We are farther told by others, that strangers, as well as citizens of Sparta, were allowed the same freedom with their wives, provided they were handsome men, and likely to beget lusty and vigorous children (*f*); yet we find their kings were exempt from this law, that the royal blood

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(*a*) Pericle.(*b*) Plutarchus Demetrio, Valerius Maximus, Lib. V. Cap. VII.(*c*) Geograph. Lib. VII.(*d*) Tertullianus Apolog. Cap. XXXIX.(*e*) Lycurgus(*f*) Nicolaus de moribus apud Stobæum.

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(*a*)

blood might be preserved unmixed, and the government remain in the same lineal descent.

Notwithstanding this liberty, which was founded upon mutual consent, they accounted all other adulteries the most heinous crimes in the world, and whilst they kept to their ancient laws, were wholly strangers to them; for we are told by Plutarch (a), "That Geradas, a primitive Spartan, being asked by a stranger, *What punishment their law had appointed for adulterers?* replied, *There were no adulterers in his country:* But, returned the stranger, *suppose there were one, and the crime were proved against him, how would you punish him?* He answered, *That the offender must pay to the plaintiff a bull, with a neck so long as that he might reach over the mountain Taygetus, and drink of the river Eurotas, that runs on the other side.* The man, surprised at this, said, *Why, It is impossible to find such a bull.* Geradas smilingly replied, *It is just as possible to find an adulterer in Sparta.*

The punishments inflicted upon adulterers in Greece were of divers sorts, some of which are these that follow:

To begin with the heroic ages: If the rapes of women may be allowed room in this place, we shall find they were revenged by many cruel and bloody wars. Herodotus makes them to have given the first occasion to that constant enmity that was kept up for many ages between Greece and Asia, and never allayed till the latter was conquered, and became subject to the former (b). Lycophron agrees with Herodotus, and makes the rape of Io by the Phœnicians to have incensed the Grecians against the inhabitants of Asia; and after frequent injuries committed, and wars waged on both sides, to have reduced the Asian empire, under the dominion of the Europeans, under Alexander of Macedon; the poet's words run thus (c):

Ολοῖντο ναῦται πρῶτα Καρνεῖται κύνες,
Οἱ τὴν βοῶπιν ταυροπαρθένον κόρην
Λίηνης ἀνηρείψαντο φορτηγοὶ λῆκοι,
Πλάτιν πορεύσασαι κῆρα Μαιφίτη πρόμα,
Εχθρας δὴ πυρσὸν ἤσαν ἡπείροις διπλαῖς.

May those Phœnician sailors be accurst
That Io did convey from Lerna first,
Those savage mariners that forc'd the maid
To be the partner of Osiris's bed,
And the two empires thus embroil'd in war.

H. H.

He goes on to enumerate the continual quarrels between the two continents, till Alexander's time. But, however, the truth of this may be questioned, there being in those early ages no distinction of the world into Greeks and Barbarians, nor any common association of those

P p 2

(a) Loco citato.

(b) Lib. I. Initiō.

(c) Cassandra, v. 1291.

those amongst themselves, or against the others; yet we have a remarkable instance (to omit several others) of a long and bloody war, occasioned by Paris's rape of Helen. But to bring some instances which may seem more pertinent to our present design; what sentence the heroic ages passed upon adultery may appear, as from the revenge of Atreus upon his brother Thyestes, who was entertained at a banquet with the flesh of his own son, for defiling Aerope, Atreus's wife; and other examples of the cruelty of the men of those times, against such as committed adultery with their wives, or other near relations; so more clearly from the punishments inflicted by laws or magistrates upon such offenders, who were usually stoned to death; whence Hector in Homer tells Paris his crime in stealing another man's wife, deserves no less a punishment than *λάϊνος χιτῶν*, a stone coat, which, if he had received his demerits, he should have put on, meaning that nothing but this death could expiate so black an action:

Λάϊνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἐνὶ ὅσα ἔργας (a).

For these your crimes you had been ston'd to death.

The same punishment seems to have been frequent in more eastern countries; the Jews were particularly obliged to inflict it both on men and women, as appears from the express words of their law (b). Rich adulterers were sometimes allowed to redeem themselves with money, which was called *μοιχάνγρια*, and paid to the adulteress's husband; whence Mars being taken with Venus, Homer's gods all agree that he must pay his fine to Vulcan (c):

Οὐκ ἀρετὰ κακὰ ἔργα, κίχάνη τοι βραδὺς ὤκνῃ
Ὡς κὴ νῦν Ἡφαιστος ἐὼν βραδὺς εἶλεν Ἀρηά.
Ὡκύντ' αὖτόν περ ἐόντα θεῶν οἱ Ὀλυμποί ἔχουσι,
Χαλὸς ἐὼν, τέχνησι τὸ κὴ μοιχάνγρι ὀφέλλει.

An ill event does still on ills depend,
Not Mars his swiftness could the god defend
From limping Vulcan's most unerring snare,
But in it he surpris'd the adult'rous pair,
Therefore a greater fine Mars ought to pay.

H. H.

Nor would Vulcan consent to set his prisoner at liberty, till Neptune had engaged for the payment of it (d):

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προτίειπε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,
Ἡφαιστ', ἐπεὶ γὰρ κεν Ἀρης χρεῖσθ' ὑπαλύξας
Ὀλῆχεται φεύγων, αὐτὸς τοι ἐγὼ τά γε τίσω.

The

(a) Iliad. γ'.

(b) Deuteronom. Cap. XXII.

(c) Odyss. δ. v. 349. ubi Graec.

Scholiastes consulendus.

(d) Ibid. 354.

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Then Neptune, who the well-fix'd earth doth shake,
In answer to distrustful Vulcan, spake ;
" If you're afraid that Mars will play the cheat,
" That he'll abscond, and never pay the debt,
" I'll it discharge. —————

H. H.

It appears from the same place to have been customary for the woman's father to return all the dowry he had received of her husband ; whence Vulcan is introduced threatening to secure both Mars and Venus in chains till that was done (a) ;

————— Σφῶς δόλος κ' δεινὸς ἐρύξει,
Εἰσὶν μοι μάλα πάντα πατὴρ ἀποδάσσει ἔσθια ;
Ὅσσα οἱ ἐγὼ δόλιχα κυνῶπιδος εἶνικα κέρως,
Οὐνικά οἱ καλὴ θυγάτηρ, ἅτ' ἐκ ἐχέθυμος.

I'll not release them from the binding chain,
Till I that dowry have receiv'd again,
Which I for Venus to her father paid
'Cause she was handsome, tho' a jilt. —————

H. H.

Some think this sum was refunded by the adulterer, because it was reasonable he should bear the woman's father harmless, since it appears not that Mars's mulct was a distinct sum ; for upon Neptune's becoming surety for it, Vulcan loosed him from his bonds, without farther scruple.

Another punishment was putting out the eyes of adulterers, which seems to have been no less ancient than the former, and may be thought just and reasonable, as depriving the offender of that member which first admits the incentives of lust. Fabulous writers tell us, that Orion having defiled Candiope, or Merope, had his eyes put out by Oenopion, whom some will have to be the lady's husband, others her father (b). Phoenix, Achilles's guardian, suffered the same punishment for defiling Clytia, his father's concubine (c), which is thus expressed by Lycophron (d) ;

Τὸν πατρὶ κλεῖσον ἐσυνημένον βροτῶν,
Ὀμηρον ὃς νιν θῆκε τέλεινας λύχνους,
Ὅτ' εἰς νότον τρέφωνος νῆνιάδῃ λήχους.

The object of Amyntor's greatest hate,
And whom, since he his Clytia had defil'd,
He most inhumanly depriv'd of sight.

Homer

(a) V. 317.
tu, Lib. III.

(b) Natalis Comes Mytholog. Servius in Æneid.
(d) Cassandra, v. 421:

(c) Apollodot-

Homer indeed has no mention of this punishment, but only informs us, that his father having discovered him, prayed that he might never have any children (*a*), which Tzetzes (*b*) thinks is meant by losing his eyes, because children are dearer to parents, and afford them greater comfort than their most necessary members; but this interpretation is forced, and contrary to the sense of mythologists, ancient as well as modern, who relate the story agreeably to the literal meaning of Lycophron's words. The Locrians observed this custom in later ages, being obliged thereto by Zaleucus their lawgiver, whose rigour in executing this law is very remarkable; for having caught his son in adultery, he resolved to deprive him of sight, and remained a long time inexorable, notwithstanding the whole city was willing to remit the punishment, and requested him to spare the youth; at length, unable to resist the people's importunity, he mitigated the sentence, and redeemed one of his son's eyes by another of his own (*c*), so at once becoming a memorable example of justice and mercy.

At Gortyn in Crete, there was another method of punishing adulterers; they were covered with wool, an emblem of the softness and effeminacy of their tempers, and in that dress carried through the city to the magistrate's house, who sentenced them to ignominy, whereby they were deprived in a manner of all their privileges, and their share in managing public business (*d*).

It would be endless to enumerate all the penalties ordered for these offenders; I shall therefore pass to the Athenian laws, when I have first acquainted you, that if credit may be given to Pausanias (*e*), the first who made a law, and constituted punishments against adulterers, was Hyettus, an inhabitant of Argos, who having caught Molurus, the son of Arisbas, too familiar with his wife, slew him, and fled to Orchomenus, the son of Minyas, then king of that city of Bœotia which bore his name; the king received him kindly, and gave him part of his territories, where he called a village Hyettus, after his own name, and established severe laws against adultery.

The Athenian punishments seem to have been arbitrary, and left to their supreme magistrate's discretion; whence we find Hippomenes, one of Codrus's posterity, and archon of Athens, pronouncing a very odd sentence upon his own daughter Limone, and the man caught in adultery with her; he yoked them to a chariot till the man died, and afterwards shut up his daughter with an horse, and so starved her to death (*f*). Some time after, Draco being invested with power to enact laws, left adulterers at the mercy of any man that caught them in the act, who had free licence to dismember, murder, or treat them in what other manner he pleased, without being called to account for it; which punishment was the same that had been before appointed for this crime by Hyettus (*g*), and was continued afterwards by

(*a*) *Iliad*, i. v. 455. (*b*) In Lycophron, loc. citat. (*c*) Valerius Maximus, Lib. VI. Cap. V. (*d*) Cœlius Rhodiginus, Lib. XXI. Cap. XLV. (*e*) Bœotiacis, 597, 598. Ed. Hanov. (*f*) Heraclides de Polit. Athen. (*g*) Pausanias, loc. cit. Demosthenes in Aristocratem.

by Solon (a). Several other punishments were ordered by Solon against the same crime, when proved by evidence in lawful judicature. A man that ravished a free woman was fined 100 drachms, one that enticed her 20 (b), or (as some say) 200, it being a greater injury to a woman's husband and her family, to corrupt her mind than her body; but he that forced a free virgin, was to pay 1000, and whoever deflowered one, was obliged to marry her; whence Plautus introduces one who had corrupted a man's daughter, speaking to her father thus (c):

*Siquid ego erga te imprudens peccavi, aut gnatam tuam,
Ut mihi ignoscas, eamque uxorem des, ut leges jubent.*

If, Sir, I've injur'd you, I crave your pardon;
And if I've wrong'd your daughter's chastity,
The laws command it, and I'll marry her.

But if the virgin, or her mother, had accepted any present from her gallant, he was not obliged to make her his wife, but she was looked on as a common strumpet; whence Sostрата in Terence has these words, after her daughter had been defiled (d);

*Pejore res loco non potis est esse, quam in hoc, quo nunc sita est;
Primum indotata est; tum præterea, quæ secunda ei dos erat,
Periit, pro virgine dari nuptum non potest: hoc reliquum est,
Si inficias ibit, testis mecum est annulus, quem amiserat:
Postremo, quando ego conscia mi sum, a me culpam esse hanc procul,
Neq; pretium, neq; rem ullam intercessisse illa, aut me indignam, Geta,
Experiar.*————

Matters were never worse than now they are;
For first, she has no portion; and for that,
Which might have been instead of one, she's lost;
So that she can't pass for a virgin now:
I have but this one thing that gives me hopes,
If he deny't, the ring he lost will prove it:
And Geta, since I know my conscience clear,
Since I no by-ends had in this mishap,
Nor took a bribe, that I might blush to own,
I'll stand a trial with him at the law.

H. H.

When a man was clapped up on suspicion of adultery, he was allowed to prefer his appeal to the magistrates called Thesmothetæ, who referred the cause to proper judges; and these, in case the crime was proved against him, had power to lay on him, death only excepted, what punishment

(a) Plutarchus Solone, *Lyfias Orat.*

(b) Plutarchus, loc. cit.

(c) *Aulularia*,

(d) *Adelph. Act. III. Sc. II.*

nishment they pleased (a). There was another remarkable punishment for adulterers, called παρατιλμός, or ραφανίδασις, the part being put for the whole; for having plucked off the hair from their privities, they threw hot ashes upon the place, and thrust up a radish, mullet, or some such thing, into their fundament, whence they were ever after termed ἐνραιοῖται. Juvenal mentions this usage (b);

— Quosdam mæchos & mugilis intrat.

And some adulterers a mullet bores.

But poor men were only thus dealt with, the rich being allowed to bring themselves off with paying their fine, as the Greek Scholiast hath observed from the following passage of Aristophanes, wherein Chremylus upbraids poverty for exposing men to this disgraceful punishment.

Ο δ' αἰλὲς γε μοιχὸς διὰ σὶ πρὸ παρατίλλεται (c).

Women thus offending were treated with great severity. Plutarch tells us, that if any person discovered his sister or daughter, whilst unmarried, in this crime, he was allowed by Solon's laws to sell her for a slave. Adulteresses were never after permitted to adorn themselves with fine clothes; and in case they appeared to do so, were liable to have them torn off by any that met them, and likewise to be beaten, though not so as to be killed or disabled: The same liberty was permitted to any that found them in the temples, which were thought polluted by the admission of persons so infamous and detestable. Lastly, their husbands, though willing to do it, were forbidden to cohabit any longer with them, upon pain of ignominy, αἰτίμια (d); but persons that prostituted women, were adjudged to die (e).

We have seen what the Greeks thought of adultery; but they appear to have had a more favourable opinion of concubinage; it being permitted every where, and that without scandal, to keep as many concubines as they pleased; these they styled παλλακίδες; they were usually women taken captives, or bought with money, and always inferior to lawful wives, whose dowry, or noble parentage, or some other excellency, gave them pre-eminence. There is continual mention of them in Homer; Achilles had his Briseis, and in her absence Diomedes; Patroclus his Iphigeneia, Menelaus and Agamemnon, and to mention no more, the wisest, gravest, and eldest of them all, such as Phoenix and Nestor, had their women. Nor is it to be wondered that heathens should run out into such excesses, when the Hebrews, and those the most renowned for piety, such as Abraham and David, allowed themselves the same liberty. Yet the Grecian

wives

(a) Demosthenes in Neæram.

(b) Sat. X. 317.

(c) Plut. A& I. Scen. II.

(d) Demosthenes Orat. in Neæram.
p. 161, 162.

(e) Vide Leges Atticas, fine, Lib. I.

wives always envied their husbands this freedom, looking on it as an encroachment upon their privileges; whence we find in Homer, that Laertes, though having a great respect for his slave Euryclea, never took her to his bed for fear of his wife's displeasure (a);

Ἰσα δὲ μιν κιδνῇ ἀλόχῳ τίεν ἐν μεγάρῳσιν,
Εὐνῇ δ' ἔποτ' ἐμικτο, χόλον δ' ἀλέεινε γυναικός.

Not his own wife he lov'd above the maid,
Yet never her admitted to his bed,
The better to prevent domestic strife.

Phoenix's mother persuaded him to defile his father's concubine, to free her of so troublesome a rival, as himself relates the story (b);

——— Λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Φεύγον νέκεια πατρὸς Ἀμύντορος Οἰμενίδαο
Ὅς μοι παλλακίδ' ἐπεὶ χώσατο καλλικόμῃ
τὴν αὐτὸς φιλέσκειν, ἀτιμάζεσκε δ' ἄποιτιν,
Μητέρ' ἐμὴν· ἥ δ' αἰὲν ἐμὲ λισσέσκετο γένων
Παλλακίδι προμιγῆναι, ἵν' ἐχθήρει γέροντα,
Τῇ πιθόμην, καὶ ἔβρεξα.———

Hellas I left to shun my father's hate,
Who for his violated Miss contriv'd my fate:
For I mov'd with my mother's earnest pray'r,
(Who griev'd to see a jilt preferr'd to her)
Debauch'd, to make him loath, his Clytia.

H. H.

More instances may be collected, but it will suffice to add that of Clytemnestra, who having slain her husband Agamemnon, wreaked her malice upon Cassandra his concubine; whence Seneca has introduced her speaking these words (c):

*At ista pænas capite persolvat suo
Captiva conjux, regii pellex tori;
Trabite, ut sequatur conjugem ereptum mihi.*

My rival too, his concubine, shall share
The sad effects of rage for injur'd love;
Drag out the captive harlot, she that dar'd
Lewdly to violate the royal bed,
That she may follow him to th' shades below.

H. H.
Harlots

Vol. II.

Q 9

(a) Odyss. 4. v. 433.

(b) Iliad. 4. v. 447.

(c) Agamemnon. v. 995.

Harlots were no less common than concubines, being tolerated in most of the Grecian, and other commonwealths. Nor was the use of them thought repugnant to good manners; whence the Latin comedian speaking of Athens, saith;

Non est flagitium scortari hominem adolescentulum.

For youth to wench and whore is not a sin.

The wisest of the heathen sages were of the same mind. Solon allowed common whores to go publicly to those that hired them (a), and encouraged the Athenian youth to empty their lust upon these, to hinder them from making attempts upon the wives and daughters of his citizens. Philemon has elegantly expressed that lawgiver's design in the following fragment (b):

Εὖ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὖρες ἀνθρώπους. Σόλων·
 Σε γὰρ λίγυσι τῶτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον βροτῶν,
 Δημοτικόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, πρῶγμα, καὶ σωτήριον,
 (Καὶ μοι λέγειν τῶτ' ἔστιν ἄρμοςδον, Σόλων)
 Μεσὴν ὁρῶντα τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων,
 Τύχης τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν.
 Ἀμαρτάνοντάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,
 Στῆσαι πριάμενον γυναῖκας μετὰ τόπῳ
 Κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατισκευασμένας
 Εἰσῆσι γυναῖκα, μὴ ἑκαπατηθῆς, πάνθ' ὅρα·
 Οὐκ εὖ σεαυτὲ τυγχάνεις ἔχων; ἔχεις
 Πῶς ἢ θύρα σοι εἶσαι ἂν ἀνεργμένη·
 Εἰς ὅσολός ἐσπῆθησον· ἐκ' ἐς' ἐδεῖς
 Ἀκκισυὸς, ἐδὲ λῆρ', ἐδ' ὑπαρπαγή·
 Ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὡς βάλει σὺ, καὶ συχνὸν τρέπον.
 Εἰς ἡλθης; αἰμῶζεν λέγ', ἄλλοτρία εἴ σοι·

Cato, the Roman censor, was of the same opinion, as appears from the known story, that meeting a young nobleman of Rome coming out of the common stew, he commended him for diverting himself in that place, as we read in Horace (c);

*Quidam notus homo, cum exiret fornice, macie
 Virtute esto, inquit, sententia dia Catonis,
 Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra libido,
 Huc juvenes æquum est descendere.*———

When from the stews a certain noble came,
 This, says he, was the heav'nly Cato's theme,
 "Go on brave youth, and may you e'er succeed,
 "And never be abash'd to own the deed;

"When

(a) Plutarchus Solone.

(b) Delphis.

(c) Lib. I. Sat. II. v. 31.

(a) Ora
 (d) Pro
 in Matt

" When lust and burning love swell every vein,
 "'Tis lawful to come here, and quench the flame.

H. H.

I forbear to mention other instances, the testimony of Cicero being sufficient to confirm what I have said, when he challenges all persons to name any time wherein *men were either reprov'd for this practice, or not countenanced in it* (a). Nor can it be wondered that heathens allowed themselves this liberty, when the Jews looked on it as lawful; they were indeed forbidden to commit adultery, and fornication also was prohibited under severe penalties, but these (as Grotius (b) observes) were thought to concern only women of their own nation, their law not extending to foreigners; and we find accordingly that public stews were openly tolerated amongst them, and women residing there taken into the protection of the government, as appears from the two harlots that contended about a child, and were heard in open court by king Solomon (c). But the Jewish women were not permitted to prostitute their bodies; and therefore strange or foreign women are sometimes taken for harlots, as when Solomon advises his son to embrace "wisdom and understanding, that they may keep him from the strange woman, from the stranger, which flattereth with her words (d);" and to arm him against the allurements of harlots, he tells him, "The lips of a strange woman drop as an honey-comb, and her mouth is smoother than oil, but her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword (e)." The Athenians, as in many other things, so here had the same custom with the Jews; for though severe penalties were laid on such as defiled women that were citizens of Athens, yet foreigners had the liberty of keeping public stews, and there harlots were, for that reason, like those amongst the Jews, called *ἑταῖραι*, *strange women*.

The harlots of the primitive ages were not so wholly divested of modesty as afterwards, for they never went abroad barefaced, but, as was the custom of other women, covered themselves with veils or masks; nor were they allowed (as some think) to prostitute themselves within the cities (f); which custom seems to have been derived from the eastern nations, for we find Tamar in Genesis (g), when she had a mind to appear like a harlot, "covering herself with a veil, and sitting in an open place by the way to Timnath;" but it may be her design in placing herself there, was only that she might meet with Judah or his son, whom she desired to entice to her embraces. We find, however, that in after ages, when harlots were certainly permitted to reside in cities, they used to post themselves in the highways, as places of resort. In Solomon's reign they frequented the cities; for, speaking of an harlot, he saith, "She is loud and stubborn, her feet abide not in her house; now she is without, now in the streets, and lieth in wait in every corner (h)." Yet some ages after, when it is certain they were no more restrained

(a) Orat. pro. M. Cælio.

(b) In Matthæi, Cap. V. 27.

(c) 1 Reg. III. 16.

(d) Proverbs, VII. 4, 5.

(e) Proverbs, V. 3, 4.

(f) Chrysippus citante Grotio

in Matthæi, Cap. V. 27.

(g) Cap. XXXVIII. 15.

(h) Proverbs, VII. 11.

restrained from abiding in cities than in Solomon's days, they resorted to places of general concourse out of them, such as highways, especially where several ways met, and had tents erected to wait in for custom; hence (to omit other instances) those words of Ezekiel: "Thou hast built thy high-place at every head of the way, and hast made thy beauty to be abhorred, and hast opened thy feet to every one that passed by, and multiplied thy whoredoms (a)." Again, "Thou buildest thine eminent place in the head of every way, and makest thy high-place in every street (b)." At Athens, the harlots chiefly frequented the Ceramicus, Sciros, and the old forum, in which stood the temple of Venus Πάνδημος, where Solon permitted them to prostitute themselves. They also very much frequented a certain forum in that part of the haven Piræus which was called (στοὰ μακρὰ) *the long portico*, the parts whereof are thus described by Julius Pollux, δῆγμα, ἐμπόριον· ἐμπορίῳ δὲ μέγαν, καπηλεία, καὶ πορνεία. And in other ports there were commonly great numbers of stews, as hath been observed in the precedent book.

In some places harlots were distinguished from other women by their apparel; whence those words of Solomon (c), "There met him a woman with the attire of an harlot, and subtle of heart." What sort of habit this was, is not certain; but if the Athenian custom was in this, as in many other things, taken from the Jews, we may conclude that their whores wore flowered garments; for the Athenian lawgiver thinking it necessary to distinguish women of innocent conversation from harlots, by some open and visible mark, ordered that those should never appear abroad but in grave and modest apparel, and that the rest should always wear flowered garments. Hence Clemens of Alexandria hath remarked, that *as fugitive slaves are known by their stigmata*, ὥστε τὰ μοιχαλίδα δείκνυσιν τὰ ἀντίσματα, *so flowered garments are an indication of an harlot (d)*. The same law was enacted among the Locrians by Zaleucus, as we are told by Diodorus the Sicilian, and was also observed at Syracuse, as we learn from Phylarchus in Athenæus (e). For, though harlots were tolerated in the Grecian commonwealth, yet they were generally infamous, and consisted chiefly of captives and other slaves. Hence it was forbidden by the laws of Athens to derive the name of an harlot from any of the sacred games, as Athenæus hath observed from Polemo's description of the Acropolis; whence that author seems to wonder how it came to pass that a certain harlot was called Nemea, from the Nemean games (f).

Corinth is remarkable for being a nursery of harlots, there being in that city a temple of Venus, where the readiest method of gaining the goddess's favour, was to present her with beautiful damsels, who from that time were maintained in the temple, and prostituted themselves for hire. We are told by Strabo (g), that there

(a) Proverbs, XVI. 25.

(b) Ibid. com. 31.

(c) Proverbs, VII. 10.

(d) Pædag. Lib. III. Cap. II.

(e) Deipnosoph. Lib. XII.

(f) Vide Arist.

ethæolog. hujus, Lib. I. Cap. de Servis.

(g) Lib. VIII.

were no less than a thousand there at that time. Hence κορινθιάζειν, to act the Corinthian, is ἐταιρεύειν, to commit fornication, according to Hesychius. Λισβιάζειν, λισβιάειν, and Φοινικίζειν, are used in the same sense, the Lesbians and Phœnicians being infamous for this vice. Λισβιάζειν also signifies an impure way of kissing, whence it is interpreted by the same author, πρὸς ἄνδρα τοματεύειν and λισβιάς is expounded λαικάστρια, an harlot. The Corinthians were a genteeler sort of harlots, and admitted none to their embraces but such as were able to deposit a considerable sum, as we learn from Aristophanes (a);

Καὶ τὰς δ' ἑταίρας φασὶ τὰς Κορινθίας,
Ὅταν μὲν αὐτὰς τις πένης ὦν τύχη,
Οὐδὲ προσήκειν τὸν νῦν ἔαν δὲ πλεσιος,
Τὸν πρῶτον αὐτὰς εὐδὺς ὥς τῶτον τρέπειν.

This gave occasion to the proverb,

Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλεῖς.

Which Horace has thus translated,

Non cuivis hominum contingit adire Corinthum.

To Corinth ev'ry person cannot fail.

Some refer it to the famous Corinthian strumpet Laïs, and others assign other reasons. Their occupation indeed was very gainful, inasmuch that those whom beauty and parts recommended, frequently raised great estates. A remarkable instance hereof we have in Phryne, who offered the Thebans to rebuild the walls of their city, when demolished by Alexander, on condition they would engrave on them this inscription;

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΣΚΑΨΕΝ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕ ΔΕ ΦΡΥΝΗ Η ΕΤΑΙΡΑ.

i. e. *These walls were demolished by Alexander, but raised by Phryne the Harlot.*

To render their conversation more agreeable to men of parts and quality, they frequently employed their vacant hours in the study of mathematics, and other sciences, frequenting the schools and company of philosophers. Aspasia, Pericles's beloved mistress, used to converse with Socrates, and arrived to such a pitch in learning, that many of the Athenians resorted to her on account of her rhetoric and abilities of discourse. The most grave and serious amongst them frequently went to visit her, and carried their wives with them, as it were to lecture, to be

(a) Plat. Aët. I. Sc. II.

be instructed by her conversation. Pericles himself used her advice in the management of public affairs; and after his death, one Lyficles, a silly and obscure clown, by keeping her company, came to be a chief man at Athens (*a*). Several other examples of this sort occur in authors, as of Archianassa the Colophonian, who was Plato's mistress; Hephylis, who conversed with Aristotle till his death, and bore him a son called Nicomachus; lastly (to mention no more), Leontium, who frequented Epicurus's gardens, there prostituting herself to the philosophers, especially to Epicurus (*b*).

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Confinement and Employments of their Women.

THE barbarous nations, and amongst them the Persians especially, faith (*c*) Plutarch, were naturally jealous, clownish, and morose towards their women, not only their wives, but their slaves and concubines, whom they kept so strictly, that never any one saw them beside their own family; when at home, they were cloistered up; when they took a journey, they were carried in coaches or waggons, close covered at the top, and on all sides: Such a carriage, my author tells us, was prepared for Themistocles, when he fled into Persia, to keep him secret; so that the men who conveyed him told all they met and discoursed with upon the road, that they were carrying a young Grecian lady out of Ionia to a nobleman at court.

By the manner of Plutarch's relating this story, it may be perceived that neither he, nor his countrymen the Greeks, approved of the severity used by barbarous nations toward their women; yet themselves, though remitting something of the Persian rigour, kept their women under strict discipline, and were no less excelled by the Romans in their behaviour to them, than themselves surpassed the barbarians; for, whereas the Roman women were allowed to be present at public entertainments, and to converse with the guests, and were complimented by their husbands with the best rooms in their houses; those of Greece rarely or never appeared in strange company, but were confined to the most remote parts of the house (*d*).

To this end the Grecian houses were usually divided into two parts, in which the men and women had distinct mansions assigned. The part wherein the men lodged was towards the gate, and called

(*a*) Plutarch. Pericle. (*b*) Athenæus, Lib. XIII. Cap. V. sub finem. (*c*) The
mistake. (*d*) Cornelius Nepos, præfat. in vitas excellent. Imperatorum.

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called ἀνδρῶν, or ἀνδρωνίτις. The part assigned for the women was termed γυναικῶν, γυναικωνίτης, or γυναικωνίτις, it was the farthest part of the house, and behind the αὐλή, before which there were also other parts, called προδोμος, and προαύλιον. The sons of Priam in Homer were all placed by themselves, and separated from his daughters, who lived in more remote places (a):

Αλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πριάμοιο δόμον περικαλλέ, ἴκανε,
 Εἰσῆσ' αἰθέσῃσι τετυγμένον, αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ
 Πεντήκοντ' ἔνεσαν θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο,
 Πλησίον ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι· ἔνθα δὲ παῖδες
 Κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο παρὰ μνηστῆσ' ἀλόχοισι
 Κεράων δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς,
 Δώδεκ' ἔσαν τέγες θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο
 Πλησίοι ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι. —————

At Priam's royal palace he arriv'd,
 In which were fifty beauteous rooms contriv'd
 Of polish'd stones, by one another join'd,
 And these were for his marry'd sons design'd;
 Twelve gaudy rooms were built with equal art
 O' th' other side, but these were set apart
 For Priam's daughters. —————

H. H.

Where it may be observed, that the womens chambers are called τέγες θάλαμοι, as being placed at the top of the house; for the womens lodgings were usually in the uppermost rooms, as Eustathius remarks upon this passage (b), which was another means to keep them from company. Hence Helen is said to have had her chamber in the loftiest part of the house (c):

Ἡ δ' εἰς ὑψόροφον θάλαμον κίε διὰ γυναικῶν.

Into the upper chamber Helen went.

Penelope appears to have lodged in such another place, to which she ascended by a κλίμαξ; whence the same poet,

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν κατέβησάτο εἰς δόμοιο.

By a long ladder came down from her room.

This word signifies a stair-case, but in this place may as well denote a ladder, which seems to have been used in those days, when architecture was not much understood; whence Antigone in Euripides calls out to her guardian to help her up (d).

Ορτυγ

(a) Iliad. ζ'. v. 242.

(b) P. 409. Ed. Basil.

(c) Iliad. γ'. v. 423.

(d) Phœniss. v. 103.

Ὄρεγε νῦν, ὄρεγε γεραιὰν
 Νέα χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων,
 Ποδὸς ἵχνος ἐπαντέλλαν.

Reach out your hand, and help me up the ladder.

These upper rooms were sometimes, especially at Lacedemon, called *ἄα*, *ῶα* or *ὑπερῶα*, which words being distinguished only by the accent (the use whereof seems not to have been known by the ancient Grecians) from *ῶα*, eggs, are thought by some to have ministered occasion to the inventors of fables, to feign that Castor, Pollux, Helena, and Clytemnestra, were hatched out of eggs, when they were born in one of these lofts or upper chambers.

The women were straitly confined within their lodgings, such especially as had no husbands, whether virgins or widows (*a*), whereof the former were most severely looked to, as having less experience in the world. Their apartment, which was called *παρθενῶν*, was usually well guarded with locks and bolts, whence Agamemnon in Euripides desiring Clytemnestra to go home, and look after the virgins, which, he tells her, were by no means to be left in the house alone, receives this answer (*b*);

Ὀχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι φρεσὺνται καλῶς.

They're close kept up in their well-guarded lodgings.

Sometimes they were so straitly confined, that they could not pass from one part of the house to another without leave; whence Antigone in Euripides obtains her mother's leave to go to the top of the house to view the Argian army that besieged Thebes; notwithstanding which, her guardian searches the passage, for fear any person should have a sight of her, which, he says, would be a reflection upon her honour, and his own fidelity. The old man's words are thus addressed to the young princess (*c*);

ὦ κλεινὸν οἴκοις, Ἀντιγόη, θάλλῃ πατρὶ,
 Ἐπεὶ σε μήτηρ παρθενῶνας ἐκλιπύιν
 Μεθῆκς, μελάθρων δ' ἐς διήρες ἔχατον
 Στράτευμ' ἰδεῖν Ἀργεῖον, ἱερίαισι σαῖς.
 Επίσχες, ὥς ἂν περὶ ξρευνήσω τίβον,
 Μή τις πολιτῶν ἐν τριβῶ φαντάζεται,
 Καί μοι μὲν ἔλθοι φαῦλος ὥς δέλω ψόγῃ
 Σοὶ δ' ὥς ἀνάσση. —

But you, Antigone, my royal charge,
 The blooming glory of your father's house,
 Stir not, though suffer'd by your mother's leave

(a) Harpocraton.

(b) Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 738.

(c) Euripid. Phœniss. v. 88.

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Some time from your apartment to withdraw,
And to ascend the house's lofty top,
From thence the Argian forces to survey,
But stay till first I see the way be clear,
That by a citizen you be not seen,
For that would much reflect upon my care,
And from your royal honour derogate.

New married women were almost under as strict a confinement as virgins. Hermione is severely reproved by the old woman that waits on her, for appearing out of doors, which was a freedom, she tells her, like to endanger her reputation (a) :

Αλλ' εἰσιδ' εἴσω, μηδὲ φαντάζεσθαι
Πάροιτε τῶνδ', μή τι' αἰσχύνῃν λάθης
Πρόσθεν μελάρθρων τῶν δ' ὀρωμένῃ, τέκνον.

Go in, nor stand thus gazing at the doors,
Lest you lament the scandal you'll procure,
Should you be seen before the hall t' appear.

Menander, as cited by Stobæus (b), says expressly, that the door of the αὐλή was the farthest a married woman ought to go, and reproves one for exceeding those limits :

Τὲς τῶν γαμειτῶν ὅρας ὑπερβαίνεις, γυναῖ,
Διὰ τὴν αὐλὴν πέρασ γὰρ αὐλῆς δύρα
Ελευθέρα γυναικὶ νενόμισ' οἰκίας.

You go beyond the marry'd womens bounds,
And stand before the hall, which is unfit ;
The laws do not permit a free-born bride
Farther than to the doors o' th' house to go.

But when they had once brought a child into the world, they were no longer under so strict a confinement ; whence μήτηρ, a mother, is by some derived ἀπὸ τῆ μη τηρεῖσθαι, from her being no longer under keepers (c) ; yet what freedom they then enjoyed was owing wholly to the kindness of their husbands ; for such as were jealous kept their wives in perpetual imprisonment ; whence a woman in Aristophanes makes this complaint of the severe treatment the Athenian wives met with (d) :

Ταῖς γυναῖκανίτισιν
Σφραγίδας ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἥδη, καὶ μοχλῶς,
Τηρεῖντις ἡμεῖς, καὶ προσέτι Μολοτικῶς
Τρεφασί, μερμεραλύνει τοῖς μοιχοῖς, κύνας.

Vol. II.

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(a) Andromache, v. 876.

(b) Serm. LXXII.

(c) Etymolog. Auctor.

(d) Theophrast. p. 774. Ed. Amstelod.

But strictly us poor women they confine
 Within our chambers, under lock and key,
 Make use of mastiffs, goblins, any thing
 That may adulterers affright. ———

H. H.

However husbands might be of a better temper, yet it was looked on as very indecent for women to gad abroad; whence we find several proverbial speeches and allusions, intimating the duty of wives to stay at home. Such is that cited by Eustathius out of Euripides (a):

Ἐνδον γυναικῶν καὶ παρ' οἰκίταις λόγῳ.

Women should keep within doors, and there talk.

To the same purpose was Phidias's emblem, representing Venus treading upon a tortoise (b), which carries its house upon its back.

When they went abroad, or appeared in public, they covered their faces with veils; as we find of Penelope, when she descended from her apartment to converse with the young gentlemen that courted her (c):

Ἡ δ' ὅτε δὴ μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο διὰ γυναικῶν,
 Στῇ ῥα παρὰ σαθρὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο,
 Ἀντὰ παρειαίων σχευήνῃ λιπαρὰ κρηδύμενα.

Then from her lodging went the beauteous dame,
 And to her much expecting courtiers came,
 There veil'd before the door she stood.

The veil was so thin as that they might see through it, which appears from these words of Iphigenia (d):

Εγὼ δὲ λεπτῶν ὄμμα διὰ καλλυμμάτων
 Ἔχουσ' ἀδελφὸν τέτον ἐλόμην χερσίν,
 Ὅς νῦν ὄλωλεν. ———

Seeing my brother through my thinnest veil,
 I took him by the hand, who now is dead.

To prevent all private assignations, Solon enacted, that no wife or matron (for he took not so much care of virgins, who were always strictly confined) should go from home with more than three garments, nor should carry with her a larger quantity of meat and drink than could be purchased for one obolus, nor a basket of more than a cubit in length. He farther ordered, that she should not

(a) Iliad. i. p. 429. Ed. Baf.

(b) Plutarchus de precept. connub.

(c) Odyss. i. v. 208.

(d) Euripid. Iphigen. Taur. v. 372.

travel in the night without a lighted torch before her chariot. Afterwards, it was decreed, at the instance of Philippides, that no woman should appear in public undressed, under the penalty of paying 1000 drachms. This law was carefully put in execution by the officers called *γυναικονόμοι*, and *γυναικόσμοι*, and a tablet, containing an account of the mulcts thus incurred, was publicly exposed in the Ceramicus (a), upon a plane tree (*πλάτανος*) which stood there.

It was likewise customary for women to have attendants. Penelope has two maids with her in Homer (b):

Ὡς φάμεν, κατέβαιν' ὑπερώϊα σιγαλόοντα,
Οἷκ' οἷη' ἄμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δὺ' ἔποντο.

She said, and from her chamber straight descends,
Two maids upon her person wait.——

These seem to have been women of age and gravity; whence Homer presently subjoins:

Ἀμφίπολος δ' ἄρα οἱ κεδνὴ ἐκάτερθε παρέστη.

A maid, whose years a riper judgment shew'd,
On either side t' attend the lady stood.

Nor did these women attend their ladies when they went abroad only, but kept them company at home, and had the care of their education when young, and are therefore called *τροφῆαι*. Nor were women only appointed to this charge; for Antigone, in the forecited tragedy of Euripides, has an old man for her governor. It was likewise frequent to commit women to eunuchs, who performed all the offices of maids, and were usually entertained by persons of quality; whence Phædras speaks thus to his mistress (c):

———*Eunuchum porro dixi velle te,
Quia solæ utuntur his reginæ.*

An eunuch boy was your peculiar choice,
Since on great ladies they do chiefly wait.

The first that made eunuchs was Semiramis (d). The barbarous nations were ordinarily much fonder of them than Greeks (e), who looked upon it as an inhuman piece of cruelty to use men after that manner. Phocyllides has left a particular caution against it (f):

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Μηδ'

(a) Athenæus, Lib. VI. Cap. IX. Pollux, Lib. VIII. Cap. IX. Hesychius voce *πλάτανος*. Eustathius in Iliad. x. (b) Odyss. loc. cit. (c) Terentii Eunuch. Act. I Sc. II. (d) Ammianus Marcellinus Hist. Lib. XIV. (e) Philostratus vit. Apollonii Tyanci, Lib. I. Cap. XXI. (f) V. 175.

Μηδ' αὖ παιδογόνον ποτὲ τεμνεῖν ἄρσενά κῦρον.

Nor ever castrate a brisk vig'rous youth.

The primitive ages used their women agreeably to the simplicity of their manners; they accustomed them to draw water, to keep sheep, and feed cows or horses. The rich and noble were taken up with such employments, as well as those of inferior quality. Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel, Abraham's brother, carried a pitcher, and drew water (*a*); Rachel, the daughter of Laban, kept her father's sheep (*b*); Zipporah, with her six sisters, had the care of their father Jethro's flocks, who was a prince, or, which in those times was an honour scarce inferior, priest of Midian (*c*). The like may be observed of Andromache, Hector's lady, in Homer (*d*), where that hero thus bespeaks his horses:

Ξάνδε τε, καὶ σὺ Ποδάργε, καὶ Αἴθων, Λάμπει τε δῖε,
 Νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἀποτίνετον, ἣν μάλα πολλὴν
 Ἀνδρομάχη, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ηετίωνος,
 Ὑμῖν παρ' προτέροισι μελίφρονα πύρρον ἔθηκεν,
 Οἶνον τ' ἐγκατέσασα πιεῖν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνάγχοι (*e*).

My mettled steeds, Xanthus with yellow mane,
 Podargus, you, who fleetly beat the plain,
 Æthon, who furiously sustain'd the fight,
 And Lampus, thou whose flanks are sleek and bright,
 Now see my corn you carefully repay,
 With courage bear the labour of the day,
 Since my dear wife, when you inclin'd to eat,
 Hath mingled strength'ning liquor with your meat.

The most common employments of women were spinning, weaving, and making all sorts of embroidery and needle-work. — Instances of this nature are too numerous to be recited in this place; for so constantly were they taken up in these businesses, that most houses, where there was any number of women, had rooms set apart for this end, which seems to have been near the womens apartments, if not the same; for Pollux, enumerating the different rooms in houses, after he has mentioned γυναικειὸν, presently adds, ἱστῶν θάλαμος, ταλασιγέρῃος ἰκός, &c.

Women had likewise several other employments, the provision of all necessaries within doors being usually committed to them. I shall not insist on particulars, but only observe, in the last place, that their usage was very different, according to the temper of their husbands or guardians.

(*a*) Gen. XXIV. 15.

(*b*) Ibid. XXIX. 6.

(*c*) Exod II. 16.

(*d*) Iliad. δ. v. 185.

(*e*) Vide Comment. nostrum in Lycophron, v. 91.

guardians, the value of their fortunes, and the humour of the place or age they lived in.

The Lacedemonian women observed fashions quite different from all their neighbours; their virgins went abroad barefaced, the married women were covered with veils; the former designing (as Charilus replied to one that inquired the reason of that custom) to get themselves husbands, whereas the latter aimed at nothing more than keeping those they already had (a). We have a large account of the Spartan women's behaviour in the following words of Plutarch (b): "In order to the good education of their youth, which is the most important work of a lawgiver, Lycurgus went so far back as to take into consideration their very conception and birth, by regulating their marriages; for Aristotle wrongs the memory of this excellent person, by bearing us in hand, that after he had tried all manner of ways to reduce the women to more modesty and subjection to their husbands, he was at last forced to leave them as they were, because that in the absence of their husbands, who spent a great part of their lives in the wars, their wives made themselves absolute mistresses at home, and would be treated with as much respect as if they had been so many queens; but, by his good leave, it is a mistake, for Lycurgus took for that sex all the care that was possible: For an instance of it, he ordered the maidens to exercise themselves with running, wrestling, throwing quoits, and casting darts, to the end that the fruit they conceived might take deeper root, grow strong, and spread itself into healthy and vigorous bodies, and withal, that they might be more able to undergo the pains of child-bearing; and to the end he might take away their over great tenderness and nicety, he ordered they should appear naked as well as the men, and dance too in that condition at their solemn feasts and sacrifices, singing certain songs, whilst the young men stood in a ring about them, seeing and hearing them; in these songs they now and then gave a satirical glance upon those who had misbehaved themselves in the wars, sometimes sung encomiums upon those who had done any gallant action, and by these means inflamed young men with an emulation of their glory; for those that were thus commended, went away brave and well satisfied with themselves; and those that were rallied, were as sensibly touched with it as if they had been formally and severely reprimanded; and so much the more, because the kings and whole senate saw and heard all that passed. Now, though it may seem strange that women should appear thus naked in public, yet was true modesty observed, and wantonness excluded; and it tended to render their conversation free and unreserved, and to beget in them a desire of being vigorous and active, and filled them with courage and generous thoughts, as being allowed their share in the rewards of virtue as well as men. Hence came that sense
" of

(a) Plutarchus Apophthegmat. Laconicis.

(b) Lycurgo.

“ of honour, and nobleness of spirit, of which we have an instance in
 “ Gorgo, the wife of king Leonidas, who being told in discourse with
 “ some foreign ladies, that the women of Lacedemon were the only
 “ of the world who had an empire over the men, briskly reparted,
 “ that there was good reason, *for they were the only women that brought*
 “ *forth men.* Lastly, these public processions of the maidens, and their
 “ appearing naked in their exercises and dancings, were provocations
 “ and baits to stir up and allure the young men to marriage, and that
 “ not upon geometrical reasons, as Plato calls them (such are interest
 “ and equality of fortune), but from the engagements of true love and
 “ affection.”

Afterwards, when Lycurgus's laws were neglected, and the Spartans
 had degenerated from the strict virtue of their forefathers, their women
 also were ill spoken of, and made use of the freedom which their law-
 giver allowed them to no good purposes; insomuch that they are cen-
 sured of unlawful pleasures, and branded by Euripides, as cited by Plu-
 tarch (a), with the epithet of *ἀνδραγαγεῖς*, i. e. *possessed with furious love*
of, and, as it were, running mad after men.

C H A P. XIV.

Of their Customs in Child-bearing, and managing Infants.

THOSE who desired to have children, were usually very liberal in
 making presents and offerings to the gods, especially to such as
 were thought to have the care of generation. I shall not trouble the
 reader with a particular account of the names of these deities, and
 the manner they were worshipped in; but it may be requisite to ob-
 serve, that the Athenians invoked, on this account, certain gods called
Τετοπάτορες, or *Τετοπάτρες*. Who these were, or what the origina-
 tion of their name, is not easy to determine: Orpheus, as cited by
 Phanodemus in Suidas, makes their proper names to be Amaclides, Pro-
 tocles, and Protocleon, and will have them to preside over the winds.
 Demo makes them to be winds themselves; but what business the
 winds or their governors have in generation, is difficult to imagine.
 Another author, in the same lexicographer, tells us their names were
 Cottus, Briareus, and Gyges, and that they were the sons of *Οὐρανὸς*
 and *Γῆ*, i. e. *Heaven and Earth*. Philocrus likewise makes Earth their
 mother; but instead of Heaven, substitutes the Sun or Apollo for their
 father, whence he seems to account as well for their being accounted
 the superintendants of generation, as for the name of *Τετοπάτορες*.

(a) Numa.

for being immediately descended from two immortal gods, themselves (saith he) were thought *τρίτοι πατέρες*, the third fathers, and therefore might well be esteemed the common parents of mankind, and from that opinion derive those honours, which the Athenians paid them as the authors and presidents of human generation (a).

The goddess who had the care of women in childbed was called *Εἰλείθυια*, or *Εἰλήθυια*, sometimes *Ελευθώ*, as in the epigram;

——— *Μόχθον Ελευθῆς*

Εκφυγες.———

You're past the pangs o'er which Eleutho reigns.

She is called in Latin, *Lucina*. Both had the same respects paid by women, and the same titles and epithets. *Elithyia* is called by Nonnus (b),

——— *Αρήγων Θελυτρεάων.*

The succouring deity in child-birth.

Ovid speaks in the same manner of the Latin goddess (c);

——— *Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.*

Lucina, kind to teeming ladies.

The woman in Theocritus invokes *Elithyia* (d);

Ενθα γὰρ Εἰλείθυιαν ἐρώσατο λυσίζωνον.

For there thy mother t' *Elithyia* prays,
To ease her throes.———

The Roman women called for *Lucina's* assistance; whence Ovid,

——— *Tu voto parturientis ades.*

You kindly women in their travail hear.

Several other things are common to both. As *Elithyia* was styled *ωδί-
ωνι επαραγωγος, Θελειων σωτειρα*, &c., so likewise *Lucina* was graced with various appellations, denoting her care of women. Their names, indeed, appear to have distinct originals, yet both have relation to the same action; for *Εἰλήθυια* is derived *ἀπὸ τῆ ἐλεύθειν*, from *coming*, either because she came to assist women in labour, or rather, from her being in-
voked

(a) Vide Suidam, Etymologici Auctorem, Phavorinum, Hesychium, &c. (b) Dionysiac. (c) Fast. Lib. II. (d) Idyll. 7.

voked to help the infant *ἐρχομαι εἰς τὸ φῶς*, to come into the light, or the world. Lucina is taken from *lux*, light, for the same reason, according to Ovid,

— *Tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti.*

Lucina, you first brought us into light.

The Greek name *Φωσφόρος*, sometimes attributed to this goddess, is of the same import with the Latin, *Lucina*, being derived *ἀπὸ τοῦ φῶς φέρειν*, from bringing light; because it was by her assistance that infants were safely delivered out of their dark mansions, to enjoy the light of this world. In allusion to this, the Greek and Latin goddesses were both represented with lighted torches in their hands; which reason seems far more natural than that which some assign, viz. *ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν τῷ πύρρῳ εἶσιν αἱ ἀδινεῖς*, that the pain of bearing children is no less exquisite than that of burning (a).

Who this Elithyia is, authors are not well agreed: Some will have her to be an Hyperborean, who came from her own country to Delos, and there assisted Latona in her labour; they add, that this name was first used at Delos, and thence derived to other parts of the world (b). Olen, the first writer of divine hymns in Greece, makes her the mother of Cupid, whence it might be inferred she was the same with Venus, were not Pausanias, who cites this passage of Olen, against it, when he brings this as a different account of Cupid's descent, from that received one of his being Venus's son (c). The same poet, cited by the same author (d), will have her to be more ancient than Saturn, and the self same with *Περσέμενη*, which is the Grecian name for fate. Others make her the same with Juno, Diana, the moon, &c. What appears most probable, is, that all the *Θεοὶ γυνεῶν*, i. e. those deities who were thought to have any concern for women in childbed, were called Elithyæ, and Lucina; for these are general names, and sometimes given to one deity, sometimes to another.

Juno was one of these goddesses; whence the woman thus invokes her;

Juno Lucina, fer opem.—

Juno Lucina, help, assist the labour.

There are several remarkable stories concerning Juno's power in this affair, whereof I shall only mention that about Alcmena, who having incurred this goddess's displeasure, by being Jupiter's mistress, and being with child by him, Sthenelus's wife being likewise with child at the same time, but not so forward as the other, Juno

(a) Pausanias Arcadicis, p. 443. Edit. Hanov.

(c) Boeoticis, p. 281.

(d) Arcadicis, p. 487.

(b) Idem Atticis, p. 31.

(e) Il-

Juno first obtained that he who should be first born should rule over the other, then altered the course of nature, caused Eurystheus to be born of Sthenelus's wife, and afterwards Hercules of Alcmena, whence Hercules was always subject to Eurystheus, and undertook his famous labours in obedience to his commands.

The daughters of this goddess were employed in the same office, and dignified with the same title, as we find in Homer (a);

Ως δ' ὅταν ὠδίνουσιν ἔχῃ βέλῳ ὄξυ γυναιῖκα,
Δριμὺν τό τε προΐεσι μογοφόροι Εἰλείθυιαι,
Ἡρῆς θυγατέρες πικρὰς ὠδίνας ἔχουσι·
Ὡς ὄξει ὠδύναι δύνων μένος Ἀτρεΐδαο.

Such racking smart Atrides felt, such pain,
As pregnant wives in labour do sustain,
Which Juno's daughters th' Elithyia give,
As both to child and mother a relief.

The moon was another of these deities, infomuch that Cicero will have *luna*, the moon's name in Latin, to be the same with *lucina*; nor was it without reason that the moon was thought one of the deities that had the care of child-bearing, since, as several philosophers are of opinion, her influences were very efficacious in carrying on the work of generation (b).

Diana being commonly reputed the same with the moon, was likewise thought to bear the same office, as we find in Horace, who having invoked celestial Diana, proceeds thus (c):

*Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis Ilithyia, tuere matres,
Sive tu Lucina probus vocari,
Seu Genitalis:
Diva, producas sobolem, patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Fæminis, prolisque novæ feraci
Lege marita.*

Propitious Ilithyia, thou, whose care
Presides o'er child-birth, lend a pitying ear,
Prolific wombs defend and bless,
May they conceive, and in their issue have success;
Let laws and statutes of the wise
Promote, enjoin, encourage marriage-ties,
And may our senators agree
T' enact good wholesome rules for bridal sympathy:
Whether we thee *Lucina* name,
Or whether *Luna*, still the same

Vol. II.

S f

W' invoke

(a) Iliad. x. v. 269.

(b) Cicero de Nat. Deor. Lib. II.

(c) Carmine Seculari.

W' invoke, we humbly crave thy influence and aid,
With blooming joys to crown the rites of th' nuptial bed. J. A.

The same poet, in another place, has attributed the same care to this goddess, not in her celestial capacity, and as bearing the same character with the moon, but as frequenting these lower regions, and traversing the woods (a):

*Montium custos, memorumque virgo,
Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque lombo,
Diva triformis.*

Goddess, to whom belongs each hill, each brake,
Where frightened deer their covert make,
Triple Diana, who dost hear,
And help child-bearing women after the third pray'r.

Hence she is called in Theocritus, *μογασίκος*, the common epithet of Elithyia,

Ἀλλὰ τὴν βασίλειαν μογασίκος Ἀρτεμὶς ἐστὶ.

Orpheus gives her divers other titles relating to this affair (b):

*Πασιφάνης, θαλάσσης, θεὰ δίκτυνα, λοχέια,
Ωδίνων ἐπαρωγὴ, καὶ ὠδίνων ἀμνηστὴ,
Λυσίζωνε, &c.*

The epithets *φαισφόρος*, *φεισέσιος*, &c. which denote the giving of life and light, being likewise attributed to Proserpina, make it seem that she was also thought to be concerned for women in labour; which cannot appear strange, if we consider her as the same goddess with Diana, who being in three different capacities, as conversant in heaven, earth, and hell, has three distinct names; in heaven she is *Σελήνη*, the moon; upon the earth, *Ἀρτεμὶς*, *Diana*; in hell, *Περσεφόνη*, *Proserpina*; whence are those epithets, whereby the poets denote her threefold character, as *τρίμορφος*, *triformis*, *tergemina*, with several others.

One end of invoking these goddesses was, that the women might be delivered without pain, which was thought an infallible token of the divine favour; whence Theocritus, in his encomium of Ptolemy, reckons it as an extraordinary blessing that his mother Berenice brought him into the world without pain (c):

*Σὲ δ', αἰχμητὰ Πτολεμαῖε,
Αἰχμητὰ Πτολεμαίᾳ ἡρίζηλος Βερενίκα.*

(a) Lib. III. Od. XXIII.

(b) Hymno in Dianam.

(c) Idyll. 2 v. 5.

Καὶ σὲ Κόω, ἀτίταλλε βρέφος νεογιλὸν ἶοντα
Διχαμίνα παρὰ πατρός, ὅτι πρῶταν ἴδες αὖ
Εἰδα γὰρ Εἰλείθυιαν ἑώσατο λυσίζωνον
Αἰγιόνας θυγάτηρ βεβαρημένα ὠδίνεσσιν,
Ἡ δὲ οἱ εὐμεινοῖσα παρίστατο, καδδ' ἄρα πάντων
Νωδυνίαν κατέχευε μελῶν.

But Berenice hath these births outdone,
She brought great Ptolemy as great a son;
First Coos danc'd thee, thee, mankind's delight,
She took thee at the first approach to light:
For there thy mother to Lucina pray'd
To ease her throws, and found a speedy aid;
She came, stood by, and gently loos'd her pain;
Thy very birth was easy as thy reign.

Creech.

Nay, so great an opinion had they of this favour, that the gods were believed to vouchsafe it to none but the chaste and the virtuous, whence it came to be looked on as a convincing proof of a woman's honesty. Thus we find in Plautus (a), that when Amphitryon expresses his jealous thoughts concerning Alcmena, this argument is offered to allay his passion:

BR. ——— *uxorem tuam*

*Neque gementem, neque plorantem nostrum quisquam audivimus,
i. e. profecto sine dolore peperit.*

Your wife is brought to bed with ease, since none
Hath heard so much as groan or sigh come from her.

Another token of divine favour was thought to be conferred when they brought forth twins, which happening to Alcmena, was urged as another proof of her innocence (b):

BR. — *ego faciam, tu idem ut aliter prædices,*

Amphitruo, piam et pudicam esse tuam uxorem ut scias;

De ea re signa atque argumenta paucis verbis eloquar:

Omnium primum, Alcmena geminos peperit filios.

[dicere,

AM *Ain' tuos geminos?* BR. *Geminos.* AM. *Dii me servant!* BR. *Sine me*

Ut scias tibi, tuæque uxori Deos esse omnes propitios.

BR. I'll wipe away aspersions, and declare

By a sure token, Sir, my lady's chaste,

You'll not then falsely in the least suspect

That she hath injur'd or defil'd your bed:

Sir, *she hath brought forth twins.* AM. *Twins say you?* BR. *Yes.*

S f 2

AM. Bless

(a) Amphitryone, Act V. Sc. I.

(b) Ibidem.

AM. Bless me! *BR.* I'll this protest, to show that you
And my good mistress are the care of heaven.

J. A.

They had likewise other means to procure an easy delivery, one of which was, to hold in their hands palm branches, tokens of joy and conquest, and used as emblems of persons raised from great afflictions to prosperity; it being observed of that tree, that the hanging of heavy weights upon it, is a means to cause it to branch out to a greater height. Latona, when brought to bed with Apollo, made use of this expedient to ease her pain; whence Theognis thus bespeaks that god (a):

——— Σε δ' αὖ τέκε πότνια Λητώ,
Φοῖνικ' ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη.

When handling palm Latona brought you forth.

Homer likewise mentions Latona's travelling near a palm tree (b):

Χαῖρε, μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ἀπόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀρτέμιν ἰοχέαιραν·
Τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ,
Κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρος καὶ Κύνδιον ὄχθον
Ἀρχοτάτῳ Φοῖνικος, ὑπ' Ἰωπόῳ ῥέεθροις.

What tides of bliss do sport about thy throne;
What joys do in eternal circles run,
Latona, who hath such a daughter, such a son!
Diana, queen of woods, she there bears sway,
Apollo's reign great empires do obey;
Her birth Ortygia boasts, the god was born
Under a palm-tree, Delos to adorn;
Inopus nigh, peep'd up with swelling tide,
And in curl'd surges smilingly did glide.

J. A.

It is observable, that the ancient Athenians used none but men-midwives, it being forbidden by one of their laws, that women or slaves should have any concern in the study or practice of physic. This proving very fatal to many women, whose modesty suffered them not to intrust themselves in the hands of men, one Agnodice disguised herself in man's clothes, and studied physic under a certain professor, called Herophilus, where, having attained to a competent skill in that art, she revealed herself to her own sex, who agreed with one consent to employ none beside her. Hereupon the rest of the physicians, enraged at their want of business, indicted her before the court of Areopagus, as one that corrupted

mens

(a) Gnom. v. 5.

(b) Hymn. in Apollin. v. 14.

mens wives. To obviate this accusation she discovered what sex she was of; upon this the physicians prosecuted her with great eagerness, as violating the laws, and encroaching upon the mens prerogative; when, to prevent her ruin, the principal matrons of the city came into court, and addressed themselves to the judges, telling them, "That they were not husbands, but enemies, who were going to condemn the person to whom they owed their lives." Upon this the Athenians repealed the old law, and permitted free women to undertake this employment (a).

No sooner was the child brought into the world but they washed it with water; whence Callimachus, speaking of Jupiter's nativity, has these words (b):

Εἶθα σ' ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπιδύκατο κόλπον,
 Αὐτίκα δίξητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ὃ' κε τόκοιο
 Λύματα χυτλάσαιο, τὶν δ' ἐνὶ χερσὶν τα λούσσαι.

As soon as you was born, and saw the light,
 Your mother's grateful burden and delight,
 She sought for some clear brook to purify
 The body of so dear a progeny.

Lycophron also designing to express the murder of Cilla and her son Munitus, which was effected as soon as the child was born, says they died before the boy was washed or suckled (c);

Ἰν' ἄλυσσά πάππε, καὶ χαμμενῆδος μόροι
 Τῆς λαδρονύμφος πόρετιος μαινομένης
 Σκύμνον κίχυνται, πρὶν λαφύσασθαι γένος,
 Πρὶν ἐκ λοχέως γυνῆ χυτλάσαι δρόσῳ.

A stol'n embrace sent Cilla to the fates
 With her Munitus, the young bastard-brat,
 Who both were kill'd nigh unto Ilus's tomb,
 Her grandfather, before the child had been
 Cleans'd from the issue of the spurious birth.

The Lacedemonians bathed their new-born infants, not in water, as was the custom of all other countries (saith Plutarch in his life of Lycurgus), but wine, to prove the temper and complexion of their bodies; for they had a conceit that weakly children would fall into convulsions, or immediately faint upon their being thus bathed; on the contrary, those who were of a strong and vigorous constitution, would acquire a greater degree of firmness by it, and get a temper in proportion like steel in the quenching.

The next action observable, is cutting the child's navel, which was done by the nurses, and called ὀμφαλητομία (d), whence arose the proverbial

(a) Hyginus, Fab. CCLXXIV.

(b) Hymno in Jovem. v. 14.

(c) Cassandra,

319. ubi consulendus Meurfii Commentarius.

(d) Suidas in ista voce.

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(b) Hymno in Jovem. v. 14.

(c) Callandrea,

319. ubi consulendus Meursii Commentarius.

(d) Suidas in ista voce.

verbal saying, ὀμφαλός σε ἐ περιτμήθη, i. e. thy navel is not cut; which is as much as if we say, you are an infant, and scarce separated from your mother. There was a place in Crete called Omphalium, from ὀμφαλός a navel, because Jupiter's navel-string was cut there, whence Callimachus speaks to him thus (a):

Τετάρκι τοι πέσε, δαῖμον, ἀπ' ὀμφαλός· ἔνθεν ἐκείνο
Ομφάλιον μετέπειτα πέδον καλέουσι Κύδωνες.

Then the nurse wrapped the child in swaddling bands, lest its limbs, being then tender and flexible, should happen to be distorted; only the Spartan nurses were so careful and experienced, that without using swaddling-bands their children were straight and well proportioned. Their management of children differed likewise from all the rest of the Grecians in several other instances, for "they used them to any
" sort of meat, and sometimes to bear the want of it, not to be afraid
" in the dark, or to be alone, nor to be froward, peevish, and crying,
" as they are generally in other countries, through the impertinent
" care and fondness of those who look to them. Upon this account
" Spartan nurses were frequently hired by people of other countries;
" and it is reported that she who suckled Alcibiades, was a Spartan (b)."

To return, new-born infants were at Athens commonly wrapped in a cloth, wherein was represented the Gorgon's head, because that was described in the shield of Minerva, the protectress of that city, whereby, it may be, infants were committed to the goddess's care. Another end of it might be, to put them in mind, when arrived at mens estate, that they were to imitate such noble and generous examples as were there represented; or to be an happy omen of their future valour; for which reasons it was likewise customary to lay them upon bucklers; thus Hercules and his brother Iphiclus were placed by Alcmena (c);

Ηρακλέα δεκάμηνον ἔοντα ποχ' ἂ Μιδιάτις
Αλκμήνα, καὶ νυκτὶ νεώτερον Ἰφικλῆα,
Ἀμφοτέρως λῆσασα, καὶ ἐμπλήσασα γάλακτος,
Χαλκίαν κατέθηκεν ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, τὰν Πτεριχάω
Ἀμφιτρυῶν καλὸν ὄπλον ἀπισκύλευσε πεισόντος.

Alcides ten months old, a vig'rous child,
Alcmena fed, and laid him on a shield,
(The shield from Pterelus Amphitryo won,
A great, auspicious cradle for his son)
With younger Iphiclus of human race,
No part of him was drawn from Jove's embrace.

Creech

The

(a) Hymno in Jovem. v. 44.
Idyll. 28. initio.

(b) Plutarchus Lycurgo.

(c) Theocritus

(a) Versu

The Lacedemonians religiously observed this ceremony; whence Nonus (a):

——— Λακωνίδες οἶα γυναῖκες
Υἱας ἀδίνουσιν ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις βοείας.

On a round buckler the Laconian dames
Lay down their burden of child-birth.———

In other places they placed their infants in a thing bearing some resemblance to whatever sort of life they designed them for. Nothing was more common than to put them in vans, or conveniencies to winnow corn, in Greek *λίνα*, which were designed as omens of their future riches and affluence (b). This was not always a real van, but commonly an instrument bearing the figure of it, composed of gold, or other materials. Thus Callimachus tells us Nemesis placed young Jupiter in a golden van (c);

——— Σὲ δὲ κοίμεισιν Ἀδρήστεια
Λίκω ἐνὶ χερσέω.

In a gold van Nemesis laid you to sleep.

One thing more is to be observed concerning the Athenians, before we dismiss this head, viz. that it was a common practice among them, especially in families of quality, to place their infants on dragons of gold; which custom was instituted by Minerva, in memory of Erichthonius, one of their kings, who had feet like those of serpents, and being exposed to the wide world when an infant, was committed by that goddess to the custody of two vigilant dragons. Euripides has largely accounted for this ceremony, when he speaks of Creusa's son, whom she bore to Apollo (d);

——— Ως δ' ἦλθε χρόνος,
Τεκνῶσ' ἐν οἴκοις παῖδ', ἀπὴννευκε βρέφος
Εἰς ταῦτον ἄντρον, ὅπερ ἠνιάθη θεῶ,
Κρέσσα· κακτίθησιν ὡς θανέμενον
Κοίλης ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ,
Προγόνων νόμον σάζεσσα, τῆ τε γηγενῆς
Εριχθονίης· κείνῳ γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κόρη
Φερὲν παραζεύξασα φύλακας σώματος,
Δισσὼ δράκοντι, παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσι
Δίδωσι σώζειν· ὅθεν Εριχθίδαις ἐκεῖ
Νόμος τίς ἐστιν ὅφειν ἐν χρυσηλατοῖς
Τρέφειν τέκνα.

The

(a) Dionysiacs, Lib. XLI.
versum sequentem.

(b) Etymologici Auctor. Callimachi Scholiastes in

(c) Hymno in Jovem.

(d) Ion. v. 15.

The time she reckon'd being out, a boy
 She was deliver'd of, the which she expos'd
 In the same close, convenient recess,
 Where the brisk god her maiden fruits had croot ;
 In a round box she there the infant left
 To perish, as the ancient custom was,
 Experienc'd by old Erichthonius.
 Since him, Minerva to Aglaurus gave,
 That she might with her sisters bring him up,
 Two dragons being guards ; the custom hence
 Is by Erechtheus's daughters thus observ'd,
 To nurse up carefully and children tend
 Entwin'd within the folds of golden serpents.

J. A.

The poet has likewise given us the same account of this custom towards the latter end of this tragedy (a).

On the fifth day after the birth, the midwives having first purified themselves by washing their hands, ran round the fire-hearth with the infant in their arms, thereby, as it were, entering it into the family, and putting it under the protection of the household gods, to whom the hearth served instead of an altar ; hence the day was called *Δρομιάφω* *ἡμας*, or (which was the more usual name) *Αμφιδρομία* ; it was celebrated as a festival, with great expressions of joy ; they received gifts from their friends. If the child was a male, their doors were decked with an olive garland ; if a female, with wool, in token of the work women were to be employed about. The cheer consisted of divers sorts of things, among which *κράμβη*, *colewort*, was always one, which the Athenian midwives used to administer to women in child-bed, as conducing to create milk. The whole ceremony is described in the following verses of Ehippus, cited by Athenæus (b), most of which, some varieties in the reading excepted, the same author cites in another place out of Eubulus (c) ;

Ἔπειτα πῶς
 Οὐτέφαν' ἔδ' εἰς εἰς πρόθε τῶν θυγῶν,
 Οὐκίσσα κρεῖε ῥινὸς ὑπεροχὰς ἀκρας
 Αμφιδρομίων ὄντων, ἐν οἷς νομίζεται
 Οπταν τε τύρε Χερρόνησίτε τόμους,
 Εψεν τ' ἑλαίς ῥάφανον ἡγλαϊσμένην,
 Πνίγειν τε παχέων ἀρνεῶν σηθύνια,
 Τίλλειν τε φάττας καὶ κίχλας ὀρεῖ σπίνους,
 Κοινῇ τε χναύειν τευδίσιν σηπίδια,
 Πιλεῖν τε πολλὰς πλεκτάνας ἐπιστρόφους,
 Πίνειν τε πολλὰς κύλικας ἐνζαρετέρας ;

(a) Ver. 1427.
 Cap. XXV. p. 65.

(b) Lib. IX, Cap. II. p. 370. Edit. Casaub.

(c) Lib. II.

But what's the reason that no crown is plac'd
Before the doors, nor grateful victim slain,
Whose frying fat delights the smelling sense,
When th' joyful Amphidromia are kept,
In which is toasted Chersōnesian cheese,
And colewort ty'd in bundles seeth'd in oil,
And linnets, doves, thrushes, and cuttle fish,
And calamary dress'd, and eat in common,
And polypus's claws with care procur'd,
To drink 'em down amidst their less mix'd cups.

The seventh day was likewise honoured with festival solemnities, that being the time the child was commonly named; to celebrate this day was called *ἑβδομεύεσθαι*. The reason why the child's name was imposed on this day, was, ὅτι ἐπίστευον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, because by this time they began to conceive hopes that it would live; for weakly infants, τὰ πλείστα ἀναρῶνται πρὸ τῆς ἑβδομῆς, commonly die before the seventh, as we are informed by Aristotle in Harpocration (a).

Some kept the eighth day after the infant's birth, calling that the γένεθλιος ἡμέρα, *natalis*, birth-day, because solemnized in memory of the child's nativity. The same day was kept every year after, during the child's life. The same day was also observed by the Jews for their circumcision, as hath been remarked by the ancient interpreter upon the following passage of Terence (b):

—porro autem Geta
Ferietur alio munere, ubi hera pepererit:
Porro alio autem, ubi erit puero natalis dies.

Others named their children upon the tenth day after their birth, on which also they invited their friends to an entertainment, and offered sacrifices to the gods. Euripides mentions this custom (c);

Τίς σε μήτηρ ἐν δεκάτῃ τόκον ὀνόμασεν;

What mother on the tenth day nam'd you?

The same is also mentioned by Aristophanes (d);

—Θύω τὴν δεκάτῃ ταύτης ἑγὼ,
Καὶ τῆνομι ὥσπερ παιδίῳ νῦν δὲ θέρμην.

On the tenth day I offer'd sacrifice;
And, as a child's, her name impos'd.

Vol. II.

T t

Some

(a) Vide *ἑβδομεύομεν*.

(b) Phormion. Act. I. Scen. I.

(c) *Agæi* fragment.

(d) Avibus, p. 564. Edit. Amstelodam.

Some will have the tenth to be the same with *Αμφιδρόμια*, but (however some persons might join the two solemnities) they were commonly distinct; to celebrate this day was called *δικάτην θύειν*, *δικάτην ἀπαθύνειν*, *δικάτην ἐσιάσαι* (*a*).

It may be observed, that when the child received its name, whether upon the tenth, or any other day, a considerable number of friends were present. This custom was not only observed by the Grecians, but at Rome, and in most other parts of the world; the chief end whereof seems to have been, to prevent controversies that might afterwards arise, when the child came into business, and was under several civil relations, if his name was not certainly known.

The child's father usually imposed the name. There was a law at Athens, whereby fathers were authorised to give names to their children, and to alter them as often as they pleased (*b*). In imposing names they observed no constant rule; yet it was common to choose some of their most eminent ancestors, whose name they desired should be continued to posterity, as an honour to themselves and their family, and a perpetual remembrance to stir up their children to the imitation of great examples. Thus we find the names of Pyrrhus, Philip, Ptolemy, &c. preserved in several of their successors. Ulpian speaks of Proxenus descended from one Harmodius, and the father of another (*c*). Plutarch says, Thucydides was the son of Olorus, who derived his name from one of his ancestors (*d*). Aristophanes makes Callias both the father and son of Hipponicus (*e*).

Ιππόνικος Καλλίας, καὶ Ἰππονίκος Καλλίας.

Lastly (to trouble you with no more instances), we are assured by Eustathius that this was a custom of very great antiquity (*f*). The same seems to have been frequent in most other nations. Few of the Roman families but what afford continual instances of this nature. Hannibal the Carthaginian bore his grandfather's name; and we find Zachary's friends in St. Luke's gospel strangely surprised, when his son the Baptist was called John, because none of his relations were known by that name.

The actions of parents were frequently perpetuated by the names of their children, as Eustathius observes (*g*). So Cleopatra, or rather Marpissa (for Eustathius and the old Scholiast are of different opinions herein), was called Halcyone, because when she was ravished by Apollo, her mother was no less afflicted than the halcyon is wont to be for the loss of her young (*h*).

(*a*) De his diebus videndi Pollux, Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Aristoteles Hist. Animal. Lib. VII. Cap. XII. Hesychius, Suidas, Harpocration, Etymologici Auctor, Phavorinus in v.

(*b*) Demosthenes Orat. adv. Boeotum, *περὶ νόμους*. (*c*) Schol. in Demosthenes Orat. de male obita legatione. (*d*) Cimone. (*e*) Avibus. (*f*) Iliad, i. p. 441.

Edit. Basil. (*g*) Iliad, i. p. 513. (*h*) Iliad, i. 557.

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Τὴν δὲ τότε ἐν μεγάροισι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 Ἀλκυόνην καλεῖσκον ἐπώνυμον, ἕνεκ' αὖρ' αὐτῆς
 Μήτηρ, Ἀλκυόνος πολυπενδῆος οἶτοι ἔχεσα,
 Κλαῖ' ἔτι μιν ἐκέργος ἀνὴρ πασι Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

Halcyone the maid her parents call'd,
 'Cause, halcyon-like, her mother much bewail'd
 Her wretched fate, when by Apollo ravish'd.

Hector's son Scamandrius was named by the Trojans, Aftyanax, because his father was τῷ ἄσσιος ἄναξ, the defender of the city of Troy; for the original signification of ἄναξ is no more than a saviour or defender; whence the gods are commonly called ἄνακτες. The story is in Homer (a):

— Ἀμα δ' ἀμφίπολ' κίεν αὐτῇ
 Παῖδ' ἐπὶ κόλπον ἔχεσ' ἀταλόφρονα, νήπιον αὐτῆς,
 Εκτορίδην ἀγαπητὸν, ἀλίγκιον ἀστὲρ καλῶ,
 Τὸν ῥ' Ἐκτωρ καλεῖσκει Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
 Ἀστυάνακτ', οἳ γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ.

The royal babe upon her breast was laid,
 Who, like the morning star, his beams display'd;
 Scamundrius was his name, which Hector gave
 From that fair flood which Ilions wall did lave;
 But him Aftyanax the Trojans call,
 From his great father, who defends the wall.

Dryden.

Ulysses was called Οδυσσεύς, διὰ τὸ οδύσσεισθαι τὸν Αὐτόλυκεν, from the anger of his grandfather Autolycus, as Homer reports, when he introduces Autolycus thus speaking to Ulysses's parents (b):

Γαμβρὸς ἐμὸς, θυγάτηρ τε, τίθειδ' ὄνομ' ὅτι κεν εἶπω
 Πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἔγωγε οδυσσάμενος τόδ' ἱκάνω
 Ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξὶν ἀνὰ χθόνα πελυβοτέραιν,
 Τῷ Οδυσσεὺς ὄνομ' ἔγω ἐπώνυμον.

Son, 'tis my pleasure that my grandchild be
 (And daughter, you observe too what I say)
 Ulysses call'd, 'tis that I'd have his name,
 Because when much enrag'd I hither came.

Mens own actions, complexions, or condition, frequently gave occasion to their names. Thus Oedipus was named διὰ τὸ οἰδεῖν τὰς πόδας; whence Seneca introduces an old man thus speaking to him (c):

T t 2

Forata

(a) Iliad. ζ'. 399.

(b) Odysse. ι'. v. 406.

(c) Oedip. v. 812

*Forata ferro gesserat vestigia,
Tumore nactus nomen ac vitio pedum.*

Your feet were bor'd with iron, from which fore
And swelling tumor you receiv'd your name.

Achilles's son was first called Πυρρὸς, from his ruddy complexion, or the colour of his hair, afterwards Νεοπτόλεμος, from undertaking the management of the Trojan war when very young. To mention other instances is needless, wherefore I shall conclude this head with Plutarch's words, wherein we have an account of the Roman, as well as the Grecian method in imposing names (a): "Hence (i. e. from the
"taking of Corioli, the chief city of the Volscians) Caius Marcius
"had his third name of Coriolanus; whence it is manifest that Caius
"was a personal proper name; that the second, or surname of Mar-
"cius, was a name in common to his family; and that the third Ro-
"man appellative was a peculiar note of distinction drawn afterwards,
"and imposed for some particular action, fortune, shape, feature, or
"virtue of him that bore it. For thus also the Grecians, in old time,
"were wont to fix an additional character on their great men, for any
"famous achievement, such as Σωτήρ, i. e. *saviour*; and Καλλίνικος, re-
"nowned for *victory*; or to express something remarkable in their
"shape or features, as Φύσκων, *gorge-belly*, and Γευπάς, *eagle-nosed*; as
"likewise upon account of their virtue and kindness, as Εὐεργέτης,
"a *benefactor*, and Φιλάδελφος, a *lover of his brethren*; or from their
"unusual felicity and good fortune, as Εὐδαίμων, *happy*, a name given
"to the second prince of Battus's family. Several kings had names
"appropriated to them in reproach and mockery, as Antigones that
"of Δώσω, i. e. *one liberal only in the future*, since he was always
"promising, but never came to performance; and Ptolemy, who is
"styled Λάμυρος, for the fond opinion he had of his own wit and plea-
"santness. This latter kind of denomination, by way of raillery, the
"Romans did very much delight in; for one of the Metelli was sur-
"named by them Διαδήματος, because he had for a long time together
"walked about with his head bound up, by reason of an ulcer in his
"forehead. There are some who even at this day derive names from
"certain casual incidents at their nativity; one, for instance, who
"happens to be born when his father is abroad in a foreign country,
"they term *Proculus*; another born after his father's decease, they
"style *Posthumus*; and when twins come into the world, whereof one
"dies at the birth, the survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Nay, they use to
"denominate, not only their *Syllas* and *Nigers*, i. e. men of a pimpled vi-
"sage or swarthy complexion, but their *cæci* and *claudii*, i. e. the blind
"and lame, from such corporal blemishes and defects, thus wisely accus-
"toming their people not to reckon the loss of sight, or any other bo-
"dily misfortune, as a matter of ignominy and disgrace, but that they
"should

(a) Marcio Coriolano.

"should answer to such names without shame or confusion, no otherwise than to the most familiar compellations."

Sometimes they took a more compendious way to dispose of their children, either killing them outright, or exposing them in some desert place, or elsewhere, to the mercy of fortune. To do the latter of these they termed *ἐκτίθισθαι*, or *ἀποτίθισθαι*; nor was it accounted a criminal or blame-worthy action, but permitted by some lawgivers, and expressly encouraged and commanded by others. The Lacedemonians are remarkable for their behaviour in this matter; for they allowed not fathers to nourish their children when inclined to do it, but obliged them to carry all their new-born infants to certain triers, who were some of the gravest men in their own tribe, and kept their court at a place called *Λίσχη*, where they carefully viewed such as were brought to them; if they found them lusty and well-favoured, they gave order for their education, and allotted a certain proportion of land for their maintenance; but if weakly or deformed, they ordered them to be cast into a deep cavern in the earth, near the mountain Taygetus, as thinking it neither for the good of the children themselves, nor for the public interest, that they should be brought up, since nature had both denied them the means of happiness in their own particular, and of being serviceable to the public, by not enduing them with a sufficient measure of health and strength. On this account it was, that new-born infants were bathed in wine (*a*), as has been already observed. The place into which the Lacedemonians cast their infants was called *Ἀποτίται*; whence *ἀποτίθισθαι* is usually taken for exposing with a design to destroy; whereas *ἐκτίθισθαι* commonly bears a milder sense; for many persons exposed their children, when they were not willing they should perish, only because they were unable to maintain them: daughters especially were thus treated, as requiring more charges to educate and settle them in the world than sons; whence the saying cited out of Posidippus,

Υἱὸν τρέφει τις καὶ πενὴς τις ὦν τύχη,
Θυγατέρα δὲ ἐκτίθῃσι καὶ ἡ πλέσιος

A man; though poor, will not expose his son,
But if he's rich, will scarce preserve his daughter.

The Thebans disliked this barbarous custom, having a law whereby the practice of it was made capital; such as were not of ability to provide for their children, were ordered to carry them, as soon as born, to the magistrates, who were obliged to take care for their maintenance, and when they were grown up, used them as slaves, taking their service as a recompense for the charges and trouble they had been put to (*b*).

Children were usually exposed in their swaddling-clothes, and laid in a vessel; thus Ion was exposed by Creusa (*c*);

— Ἀπὸ τῆς

(*a*) Plutarchus Lycurgo.
pides Ione, v. 16.

(*b*) Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. II. Cap. VII.

(*c*) Euri-

——— Ἀπὴνεγκε βρέφος
 Εἰς ταῦτον ἀντρον, ὅπερ πῦνάδῃ θεῶ
 Κρέσσα, κακτιθῆσιν ὡς θανόμενον
 Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ.

The infant first she in a vessel put,
 Then in that den, where with the god before
 Herself had lain, she it expos'd to die.

Aristophanes calls it ὄσρακον, speaking of Oedipus (a) ;

——— Αὐτὸν γενόμενον
 Χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐξέδεσαν ἐν ὄσράκῳ.

It is sometimes termed χύτρα, whence χυτρίζειν is the same with ἐκτιθεῖν, and χυτρίσμός with ἐκθεσις (b).

The parents frequently tied jewels and rings to the children they expos'd, or any other thing whereby they might afterwards discover them, if Providence took care for their safety. Another design in thus adorning these infants was, either to encourage such as found them to nourish and educate them, if alive, or to give them human burial, if dead. The last of these reasons is assigned by Euripides, speaking of Creusa (c) ;

——— Ἦν εἶχε παρθένος χλιδὴν
 Τέκνῳ προσάψασ' ἔλιπεν, ὡς θανόμενον.

Her costly robe she o'er the infant cast,
 And left it to expire.———

Terence introduces Softrata assigning another reason for this practice, when she relates how she had caused her daughter to be expos'd, to save her from her husband Chremes, who had straitly commanded that she should be put to death (d) ;

——— *Ut stultæ & miseræ omnes sumus
 Religiosæ ; cum exponendam do illi, de digito annulum
 Detraho, & eum dico ut una cum puella exponeret,
 Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis,*

We are all tender superstitious fools :
 So when I first deliver'd up my child
 To be expos'd, I strait pull'd off my ring,
 And bade the man to leave it with the girl ;
 So had she there deceas'd, she still had kept
 Some pledge that would denote my former love.

Before

(a) Ranis. (b) Hesychius. (c) Loc. cit. v. 26. (d) Heauton. Act. IV. Sc. 1

Before the conclusion of this chapter, it will be necessary to add something concerning the purification of women coming out of childbed, for during their lying there they were looked on as polluted; whence the Athenians enacted a law that no woman should bring forth in Delos, an island consecrated to Apollo, because the gods were believed to have an aversion to all sorts of pollution. Iphigenia in Euripides tells us, that no person who was guilty of murder, or had touched a woman in childbed, or a dead corpse, could be admitted to Diana's altar (a):

———Βροτῶν μὲν ἢν τις ἄψῃται φόνε,
ἢ καὶ λοχέας, ἢ νεκρῶ δίγῃ χερσὶν,
βαμὲς ἀπέεργε, μυστὰρὸν ὡς ἡγούμενη.

They who by these pollutions are defil'd,
By murder, childbed, or but touch'd the dead,
Let them, as things unhallow'd, be deny'd
T' approach Diana's altar.———

When the fortieth day came, the danger of childbirth being then over, they kept a festival, called from the number of the day *τσσαράκοτος*; at this time the woman, having been before purified by washing, entered into some of the temples, most commonly Diana's, which from her labour till that time she was not allowed to do (b); here she returned thanks for her safe delivery, and offered sacrifices. It was likewise the custom to present her garments to Diana, who acquired hence the surname of *Χιτώνη* (c); and women after their first child did farther offer their *zonæ* to the same goddess, who was on that account called *Αυτοζώνη*, and had a temple at Athens dedicated to her under that title (d).

CHAP. XV.

Of their different sorts of Children, Wills, Inheritances; the Duties of Children to their Parents, &c.

THE Scholiast on Homer makes four different sorts of children.

1. Οἱ γνήσιοι, or *ἱθαγενεῖς*, children born in lawful marriage.
2. Οἱ πόρνοι, those born of concubines or harlots.
3. Οἱ σκώτιοι, whose fathers were not known, wherein they were distinguished from the former.
4. Οἱ παρθεναῖοι, such as were born of women, who, though vitiated before

(a) Iphigen. Taur. v. 280.
Anchi Scholiastes, Hymn. I.

(b) Censorinus de Natal. Cap. XI.

(c) Calli-

(d) Apollonii Scholiastes.

fore marriage, were still taken for virgins. This and other divisions of children I shall pass by, only taking notice of three sorts.

1. *Γνησίοι*, lawfully begotten.

2. *Νέδοι*, born of harlots, which word in a large sense may comprehend the three latter sorts of children before mentioned.

3. *Θετοί*, adopted.

It will be necessary to add something more concerning every one of these. First, Those were reputed lawfully begotten who were begotten in lawful marriage, which was measured by different rules, as the affairs of every state required. In some places whoever had a citizen for his father, though his mother was a foreigner; in others those also who were born of free women, when their fathers were foreigners, passed for legitimate, and inherited the freedom of the city they were born in, and all privileges consequent thereto. Most commonwealths at their first constitution, and after great losses of inhabitants by war, plagues, or otherwise, seem to have taken this course to replenish and strengthen their country with people; but when that exigence ceased, and it became necessary to restrain the too great increase of free citizens, they commonly enacted that none should be esteemed legitimate but such as were descended from parents both citizens (*a*), which order was dispensed with or abrogated as oft as fresh occasions required. This may be observed at Athens in Pericles' time; for when Pericles was in a flourishing condition, and had sons lawfully begotten, he proposed that Solon's old law should be revived whereby it was ordered that they only should be reputed true citizens of Athens whose parents were both Athenians, whereupon almost five thousand lost their freedom, and were sold for slaves. But Pericles himself afterwards having lost all his legitimate sons, so far prevailed with the Athenians, that they cancelled the law, and yielded that he might enrol his natural son in the register of his own ward by his paternal name, which was a thing the *Νέδοι*, natural children, were incapable of, as having nothing to do with the name, family (*b*), or estate of their father, as neither were they allowed to intermeddle in sacred or civil affairs. For fear any person should insinuate such children into the city register, wherein all the citizens names were kept, they made severe scrutinies in every borough, which was termed *δικηνομήτης* (*c*), whereby all persons not duly qualified were ejected from the city. There was also a court of justice in the Cynosarges, a place in the suburbs of Athens, where examination was made concerning such persons. Nor were such as had only one parent an Athenian, though allowed the freedom of Athens, reputed equal to such as were Athenians of the whole blood; for we find in Plutarch (*d*), that while these performed their exercises at the schools within the city, those of the half blood, with the foreigners, were only allowed to exercise at Cynosarges, where was a Gymnasium dedicated to Hercules.

(*a*) Aristoteles Politic. Lib. III Cap. V.

(*c*) Harpocration.

(*d*) Themistocle.

(*b*) Aristophanes Scholiastes Avia

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(*a*) Lib

who himself was illegitimate, as not being descended from two immortal gods, but having a mortal woman for his mother. Themistocles, my author tells us, offended at his reproach, persuaded divers of the young noblemen to accompany him to anoint and exercise themselves at Cynozarges, whereby he seemed (saith he) with some ingenuity to take away the distinction between the truly noble and the stranger, and between those of the whole and those of the half blood of Athens. But of this practice I have treated more largely in one of the preceding books (a).

There was never any time that I know of (whatever some may pretend to the contrary), when illegitimacy was not reputed a disgrace, unless in those ages wherein men lived without laws and government, allowing promiscuous mixtures, and all other sorts of uncleanness. Eustathius will have concubines and their sons to have been as honourable as their wives and sons begotten in lawful marriage, about the time of the Trojan war (b); but the whole course of antiquity seems to be clearly against him; for I do not find one single instance, in any ancient author, which can countenance this opinion. It is possible, indeed, that concubines might sometimes have greater respect than lawful wives, bastards than legitimate children; but that was owing to the partial affections of husbands, which women, by their superior beauty and arts of insinuation might gain, but can by no means be attributed to the practice of those times. The chief reason Eustathius alleges, is, that Agamemnon calls Teucer Νόθος, when encouraging him to fight; at which time it would have been very improper to have given him opprobrious language. The hero's words run thus (b):

Τεῦκερ, φίλη κεφαλὴ, Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν
Βάλλ' ἔτας αἶ κέν τι φέως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι.
Πατρί τε σὼ Τελαμῶνι, ὃ σ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἔοντα,
Καὶ σε νόθον περ ἔοντα κομίσσαστο ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

Teucer, you much-lov'd Grecian chief, advance,
If you'd your fire's or country's fame enhance;
Without delay let some exploit be done
Worthy your country, worthy Telamon,
Who in your nonage show'd his gen'rous care;
For though of spurious birth, he held you dear,
At his own table brought you up, ———

H. H.

In which words Agamemnon excites Teucer, the natural son of Telamon, to-behave himself with courage, by two reasons; first, that so doing, he would be instrumental in delivering the Grecians from their enemies, who daily got ground of them; the other, that such an action would be a credit to his father, whose honour he ought to have a more
Vol. II. U u tender

(a) Lib. I. Cap. IX.

(b) Iliad. 9. p. 599. Edit. Basil.

(c) Iliad. 9. v. 281.

tender concern for, since he had received such extraordinary benefits from him, as having, notwithstanding his illegitimacy, been carefully educated, and that not in any remote place, where he might have been neglected, but under Telamon's own eye, and in his own house. This is so far from establishing an equality between legitimate children and bastards, that it evidently shows the contrary, the particle *περ* after *Νέστωρ* plainly implying that such care of bastards was something more than common in those days. Nor can the poet be blamed for making Agamemnon call him by such a name, since the thing was no secret, but known to all the Grecians, and which, no doubt, appeared every day from Teucer's submissive behaviour to Ajax, his half brother, and the lawful son of Telamon. As a confirmation of what I have said, I shall add the words of Agamemnon in Sophocles, spoken likewise to Teucer; whence it will appear what difference there was between the sons of lawful wives and those of concubines, and in particular concerning Teucer, how great a disgrace it was to him to be the son of a captive and concubine, though his mother was of the race of kings (a):

Σὲ δὴ τὰ δεινὰ ῥήματ' ἀγγέλλασί μοι
 Τῆναι καδ' ἡμῶν ὧδ' ἀνοίμαντες χανεῖν,
 Σὲ τοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλώτιδος λέγω·
 Ἡ περ τραφεῖς ἀν' μητρὸς εὐγενὲς ἀπο
 Υψηλ' ἐκόμπεις, καπ' ἄκρων ὠδοιπόρεις,
 Οτ' ἐδὲν, ὦν, τῷ μηδὲν ἀντίστης ὕπερ,
 Κῆτε στρατηγὸς ἔτε ναυάρχης μολεῖν
 Ἡμᾶς Ἀχαιῶν, ἔτι σε διαμύσω;
 Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄρχων, ὡς σὺ φῆς, Αἴας ἔπλει·
 Ταῦτ' ἐκ ἀκτεῖν μεγάλη πρὸς δέλων κακά;

I am inform'd, that with opprobrious speech
 You, vassal, you born of a slave of war,
 Have dar'd bespatter Agamemnon's fame,
 And yet thy heinous crime is unreveng'd:
 How hadst thou swell'd, if come of nobler birth,
 Who arrogantly defend'st the cause
 Of one that is no more; a lifeless corse;
 Darest to deny our dread authority,
 Whilst Ajax truly must be own'd a chief:
 Gods! do such words become a servile mouth?

H. H.

Some will have only the natural children of kings and persons of quality to have been equal to those who were lawfully begotten. It may be true that such children were above the legitimate ones of private ones; but that they were of the same dignity with the legitimate children of princes, does not appear; nay, the contrary

(*) *Ajace*, v. 1250.

is manifest from the forementioned example of Teucer, both whose parents were princes. The same might be proved by other instances, whereof I shall only mention one; it is that of Ion, who had Apollo for his father, and Creusa, the wife of an Athenian king, for his mother, and yet is introduced by Euripides complaining of his hard fortune in being illegitimate (a);

—Εἶναι φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας
Κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐκ ἐπέσαστον γένος,
Ἰν' εἰσπεσῆμαι δύο νόσω κέκτημένος
Παῖρὸς τ' ἐπακτῆ, καὐτὸς ὦν νοθογενής;
Καὶ τῆτ' ἔχων τ' ἐνείδος, ἀσθενὴς μὲν ὦν,
Μηδὲν κ' εὐδὲν ἐνθάδ' ὦν κεκλήσομαι.

'Tis rumour'd that the famous Athen's sons
Were there produc'd, and there have ever liv'd;
Then where shall wretched I intrude myself,
Who am on two accounts most desperate,
A bastard son, and of a stranger too?
And to complete my most opprobrious fate,
Am most infirm; on these accounts shall I
Be there despis'd, and made a public scorn.

H. H.

It may indeed be objected, that (as Servius observes) natural children sometimes succeeded in their father's kingdoms; but that only happened, as the same author tells us, for want of legitimate issue; nor was it always allowed in such cases. In some places the bastards of private persons likewise inherited the estates of their fathers, having no lawful children or relations, as appears from an Athenian law cited by Demosthenes (b). But where there were relations, bastards had no share, as is plain from a dialogue between Pisthetærus and Hercules in Aristophanes, where Hercules having been persuaded by Neptune that he was heir apparent to Jupiter, is undeceived by Pisthetærus, who tells him, that being illegitimate he had no right of inheritance; and to confirm what he said, repeats Solon's law concerning this affair. The passage is long, but being pertinent to this place, and containing a true account of the Athenian practice, must not be omitted (c);

ΠΕ. Οἱμοὶ τάλας γ' οἷόν σε περισφίξεται;
Δεῦρ' ὡς ἐμ' ἀποχάρεσον, ἵνα τί τοι φράσω
Διαβάλλεται σ' ὁ θεῖος, ὃ πόνηρε σὺν,
Τῶν γὰρ πατέρων ἐδ' ἀκαρεῖ μετῆσί σοι
Κατὰ τοὺς νόμους νόθος γὰρ εἶ, καὶ γνήσιος.

ΗΡ. Εγὼ νόθος; τί λέγεις; ΠΕ. Σὺ μὲν τοι νῆ Δία,
Ὡν γε ξένης γυναικὸς ἢ πῶς ἂν ποτε
Επὶ κληρον εἶναι τὴν Ἀθηναίαν δοκεῖς,

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Οὔσαν

(a) Ione, v. 589.

(b) Orat. in Macartatum.

(c) Avibus, hand longe a fine.

Οὐσαν θυγατέρ', ὄντων ἀδελφῶν γνησίων ;
 HP. Τί δ' ἦν ὁ πατήρ ἐμοὶ δίδω τὰ χρεῖματα
 Τὰ νοθεῖ ἀπαρνέσκων ; ΠΕ. Ο νόμος αὐτὸν ἐκ ἐαῖ,
 Οὗτος ὁ Ποσειδῶν πρῶτος, ὃς ἐπαίρει σε νῦν,
 Ἀντίκειται τῷ τῶν πατρῶων χρημάτων,
 Φάσκων ἀδελφὸς αὐτὸς εἶναι γνήσιος.
 Ερῶ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνός σοι νόμον,
 " Νόθω δὲ καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχι-
 " εἶαν, παίδων ὄντων γνη-
 " σίων· ἔαν δὲ παῖδες
 " Μὴ ᾧσι γνήσιοι, τοῖς
 " Εὐχυστάτω τῷ γένει
 " Μιτῆναι τῶν χρημάτων.

PI. Alas ! how strangely he comes over you ?
 But hark you in your ear ; thus much I'll say,
 Your uncle, though you know it not, would trick you ;
 And truly, if the tenor of the laws
 Were now consulted, you'd not have an ace
 Of that estate your father leaves behind ;
 For you're a bastard, not legitimate.

HER. How's this you say ? Am I a bastard, then ?

PI. Jove of a stranger by a stol'n embrace
 Begot you ; but why do you suspect it,
 Since if but any of his sons were born
 Of lawful birth, Pallás were not an heiress ?

HER. What if he leave all to his bastard son ?

PI. The law won't suffer that ; but Neptune first,
 Who now so much extols you, all will seize,
 Being his lawful brother. But the law
 Which Solon made I'll willingly recite :
 " Bastards shall not be numb'ed in the roll
 " Of kindred, whilst the lawful children live,
 " And for defect of such, the next a-kin
 " Shall then enjoy the goods of the deceas'd.

H. H.

Where though Piffhetærus tells Hercules that the law would not permit him to have νοθεῖα χρεῖματα, yet that must be interpreted of an equal portion of the inheritance, which he could not have whilst his father had relations, who were heirs by law ; for even bastards were allowed some share in their father's estate. Abraham is said to have given portions to the sons of his concubines, reserving the inheritance for his legitimate son Isaac (a) ; and the Athenian lawgiver allowed them 500 drachms, or 5 Attic pounds, which were termed νοθεῖα, a bastard's portion (b) : This was afterwards raised to 1000 drachms, or 10 Attic pounds. In some places the fortune of bastards depended on their fathers' pleasure,

(a) Genes. Cap. XXV. 6.

(b) Aristophanis Scholiaſtes in locum. citat. Suidas, v.

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(a) Sopat
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pleasure, who had liberty to take them into their own family, and make them equal sharers with their legitimate children, the privilege of dividing the estate only reserved to the latter. An example hereof we have in two sons, one of which being begotten in lawful marriage, the other of a slave, the division of their common inheritance belonged to the former, who placed on one side the whole estate, on the other his half brother's mother, so reducing him to a necessity of letting his mother continue in slavery, or depriving himself of his whole portion (a).

Those who had no legitimate sons were obliged by the Athenian laws to leave their estates to their daughters, who were confined to marry their nearest relations, otherwise to forfeit their inheritance, as we find to have been practised likewise by the Jews, many of whose laws seem to have been transcribed by Solon: These virgins, whether sole heiresses, or only co-heiresses, were called by Solon himself *περικληρίτιδες*, by others *πατρῆχοι*, or (which is the most common name of all) *ἐπίκληροι*, and sometimes, as Eustathius reports (b), *μάνδαι*: These and their nearest relations were empowered to claim marriage from one another, which, if either party refused, the other preferred an action, which was termed *ἐπιδικάζεσθαι*, which word was applied to all sorts of lawsuits; whence inheritances, about which they went to law, were termed *κληρονομίαι ἐπὶ δίκαι*; those which they had a quiet possession of, *ἀνεπιδίκαι*. Others report, that whether there was any dispute or not, the nearest relation was obliged to claim his wife with her inheritance in the Archon's court, if he was a citizen; in the Polemarchus's, if only a sojourner, and that this was termed *ἐπιδικάζεσθαι*, and might be done any month in the year, except Schirrophorion, the magistrates being then busy in making up and returning their accounts (c). The forementioned law concerning the marriages of heiresses, gave occasion to one of Apollodorus's comedies, entitled *Επιδικαζόμενος*, or *Επιδικαζόμενος*, as Donatus reads, understanding it of the virgin's suing for an husband. This was translated into Latin by Terence, and called *Phormio*, wherein we have these verses, mentioning the law I have been speaking of:

*Lex est, ut orbæ, qui sint genere proximi,
Iis nubant, & illos ducere eadem hæc lex jubet.*

The law commands that orphans marry those
That nearest are ally'd, and that the men
Consent to join with these.——

Farther, we find it ordered, that when men had given a daughter in marriage, and after that died without sons to heir their estates, their nearest relation had power to claim the inheritance, and to take the woman

(a) Sopater.

(b) Iliad. v. p. 545. Ed. Basil.
qui & alibi consulendus.

(c) Petites in Leges Atticas,

woman from her husband, which Isæus (a) reports to have been a common practice.

Persons who had no lawful issue, were allowed to adopt whom they pleased, whether their own natural sons, or (by consent of their parents) the sons of other men. But such as were not *κύριοι ἑαυτῶν*, *their own masters*, were excepted; such were slaves, women, madmen, infants, that is, all such as were under twenty-one years of age; for these not being capable of making wills, or managing their own estates, were not allowed to adopt heirs to them. Foreigners being excluded from the inheritance of estates at Athens, if any such was adopted, he was made free of the city. The adoption being made, the adopted person had his name enrolled in the tribe and ward of his new father; this was not done at the same time in which the children begotten of themselves were registered, but on the festival called *Θαργήλια*, in the month Thargelion. The Lacedemonians were very cautious and wary in this affair, and, for the prevention of rash and inconsiderate adoptions, had a law that they should be confirmed in the presence of their kings. Adopted children were called *παῖδες θετοί*, or *ἑισποιητοί*, and were invested in all the privileges and rights of, and obliged to perform all the duties belonging to such as were begotten by their fathers. And being thus provided for in another family, they ceased to have any claim of inheritance or kindred in the family which they had left (b), unless they first renounced their adoption, which the laws of Solon allowed them not to do, except they had first begotten children to bear the name of the person who had adopted them; thus providing against the ruin of families, which would have been extinguished by the desertion of those who were adopted to preserve them (c). If the adopted persons died without children, the inheritance could not be alienated from the family into which they were adopted, but returned to the relations of the person who had adopted them. The Athenians are by some thought to have forbidden any man to marry after he had adopted a son, without leave from the magistrate. And there is an instance in Tzetzes's (d) *Chiliads* of one Leogoras, who being ill used by Andocides the Orator, who was his adopted son, desired leave to marry. However, it is certain that some men married after they had adopted sons, and if they begot legitimate children, their estates were equally shared between those begotten and adopted. It may be observed in this place, that it was an ancient custom for legitimate sons to divide their father's estates by lots, all having equal shares, without respect to priority of birth, but allowing a small pittance to such as were unlawfully begotten. Thus Ulysses in Homer tells Eumæus, that the sons of Castor the Cretan, of whom he feigns himself one, divided what he left (e).

(a) Orat. de Pyrrhi hæred.
eration, Isæus de hæred. Aristorchi. Idem de hæred. Philoctemonis.
VI. Hist. XLIX.

(b) Isæus de hæreditate Astyphili.
(c) Harpocration, Isæus de hæred. Aristorchi. Idem de hæred. Philoctemonis.
(d) *Chiliads*.
(e) Odyss. ζ. v. 207.

(c) Harpocration, Isæus de hæred. Aristorchi. Idem de hæred. Philoctemonis.
(d) *Chiliads*.

Such
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Εκ μὲν Κρητῶν γένε' εὐχομαι εὐρεῖάν
 Ἄντρος ἀφνειοῖο παῖς· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
 Υἱεὲς ἐν μεγάροις ἡμὲν τράφεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο
 Γησίοι ἐξ ἀλόχου, ἐμὲ δ' ἀνητὴ τέκε μήτηρ
 Παλλακίς, ἀλλὰ μὲ ἴσον ἰθαγενέσσιν ἐτίμα
 Κάτωρ Ἰλακίδης, τῷ ἐγὼ γένος εὐχομαι εἶναι·
 ὅς ποτ' ἐνὶ Κρήτεσσι θεὸς ὡς τίετο δῆμα
 Ὀλβῷ τε, πλοτῷ τε, καὶ υἱάσι κυθαλίμοισιν,
 Ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸν κῆρυξ ἔσαν θανάτοιο φέρεται
 Εἰς Αἶδαο δόμους, τοὶ δὲ ζῶντες ἰθάσσαντο
 Παῖδες ὑπέρθυμοι, καὶ ἐπὶ κλήρυς ἔοάοντο,
 Αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μάλα παῦρα δόσαν, καὶ οἰκί' ἐνειμῶν.

Crete claims my birth is readily confest,
 My wealthy father vast estates posselt;
 Many his sons, and they legitimate,
 But I his bastard far'd ne'er worse for that;
 Castor Hylacides was his worthy name,
 And for his children by his lawful dame,
 And wealth in Crete, he had obtain'd great fame:
 But when impartial fate dispatch'd his doom,
 And sent him down to his eternal home,
 The lots were by my haughty brothers thrown,
 All they divide, supposing all their own,
 And some small legacy to me bequeath.

H. H.

Such as had neither legitimate nor adopted children, were succeeded by their nearest relations, as appears from the forecited dialogue between Hercules and Pisithærus. This custom was as ancient as the Trojan war, being mentioned in Homer, when he relates how Diomedes slew the two only sons of Phænops (a);

Ενθ' ὁ γε τοῖς ἐνέριζε, φίλον δ' ἐξαίνυτο θυμὸν
 Ἀμφοτέροιν, πατέρι δὲ γούον καὶ κῆδεα λυγρὰ
 Λεῖπ', ἐπεὶ ἔ' ζῶοντες μάχης ἐκνοσήσαντε
 Δέξατο, χηρῶσαι δὲ διὰ κτήσιν δατίοντο.

Then both he flew, then both depriv'd of life,
 And thus increas'd their ancient father's grief,
 Since he not safe receiv'd them from the war;
 Thus childless, his next friends his goods did share.

H. H.

Where indeed Eustathius, with the old Scholiast, will have χηρῶσαι to signify certain magistrates, who had right to the estates of such as died χηρεύοντες τῶν διαδόχων, without lawful heirs; but it may as well be interpreted of relations; for that these succeeding to the estates of persons

(a) Iliad. i. v. 155.

sons without children, were called *χηρῶσαι*, is plain from ancient grammarians (a). Hesiod has used the same word, but in which of these senses is equally ambiguous (b);

Ὅς κε γάμον φεύγων ἢ μέριμνα ἔργα γυναικῶν
Μὴ γῆμαι ἐδέλῃ, ὅλον δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἵκηται,
Χήτει γηροκόμοιο, ὃ δ' εἰ βίοντι ἐπιδεύης
Ζῶει, ἀποφθιμένους δὲ διὰ κτήσιν δατίονται
Χηρῶσαι.—————

Averse to all the troubles of a wife,
Wedlock he loath'd, and led a single life.
But now, when bowing age his limbs had seiz'd,
Justly he wants, whom he before despis'd:
He dies at length, and his remoter friends
Share his possessions.—————

H. H.

It is not worth disputing whether significations is more pertinent in these passages, since it is certain that both are agreeable enough to the practice of antiquity; for as persons having relations were usually succeeded in their estates by them, so when any died without lawful heirs, their possessions belonged to the prince, the commonwealth, or the supreme magistrates, as the laws of every state directed.

The Grecian practice concerning wills was not the same in all places; some states permitted men to dispose of their estates, others wholly deprived them of that privilege. We are told by Plutarch (c), that Solon is much commended for his law concerning wills; for before his time no man was allowed to make any, but all the wealth of deceased persons belonged to their families; but he permitted them to bestow it on whom they pleased, esteeming friendship a stronger tie than kindred, and affection than necessity, and thus put every man's estate in the disposal of the possessor; yet he allowed not all sorts of wills, but required the following conditions in all persons that made them.

1. That they must be citizens of Athens, not slaves or foreigners, for then their estates were confiscated for the public use.

2. That they must be men who have arrived to 20 years of age, for women and men under that age were not permitted to dispose by will of more than one medimn of barley (d).

3. That they must not be adopted; for when adopted persons died without issue, the estates they received by adoption returned to the relations of the man who adopted them.

4. That they should have no male children of their own, for then their estates belonged to these. If they had only daughters, the persons to whom the inheritance was bequeathed, were obliged to

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(a) Hesychius V. *χηρῶσαι*, Pollux. de hared. Aristarchi.

(b) Theogonia.

(c) Solone.

(d) *ἡσάου*

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(a) *ἡσάου*
testem.
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to marry them (a). Yet men were allowed to appoint heirs to succeed their children, in case these happened to die under twenty years of age (b).

5. That they should be in their right minds, because testaments extorted through the phrenzy of a disease, or dotage of old age, were not in reality the wills of the person that made them.

6. That they should not be under imprisonment, or other constraint, their consent being then only forced, nor in justice to be reputed voluntary.

7. That they should not be induced to it by the charms and insinuations of a wife; for (says Plutarch) the wise lawgiver, with good reason, thought that no difference was to be put between deceit and necessity, flattery and compulsion, since both are equally powerful to persuade a man from reason.

Wills were usually signed before several witnesses, who put seals to them for confirmation, then placed in the hands of trustees, called *ἐπιμηληταί*, who were obliged to see them performed. At Athens, some of the magistrates, particularly the *astynomi*, were very often present at the making of wills (c). Sometimes the archons were also present; hence we are told by Harpocration and Suidas, that when any thing was given in the presence of the archons, it was termed *δόσις* (d), for this word, though commonly taken for any sort of gift or present, yet was by the Athenian orators peculiarly applied to legacies, and things disposed of by will. Hence *δέναι* is equivalent to *διαδίδαι*. *Isæus* (e) frequently puts them together, *διαδίδαι καὶ δέναι*; and and to succeed *κατὰ δόσιν καὶ κατὰ διάδοσιν*, by gift and will, is opposed to succession, *κατὰ γένος*, by natural right. Sometimes the testator declared his will before sufficient witnesses, without committing it to writing. Thus Callias, fearing to be cut off by a wicked conspiracy, is said to have made an open declaration of his will before the popular assembly at Athens (f). The same was done in the nuncupative wills at Rome.

There were several copies of wills in Diogenes Laertius, as those of Aristotle, Lycon, and Theophrastus; whence it appears they had a common form, beginning with a wish for life and health; afterwards adding, that, in case it happened otherwise, their will was as followed, in this manner: *Εἶσαι μὲν εὖ, ἰὰν δέ τι συμβῇ, ταῦτα διατίθμην.*

We have seen how children enjoyed the estates of their parents, let us now pass to their virtuous and noble actions, the rewards of which we find frequently inherited by their posterity; these consisted not only in fruitless commendations and empty titles of honour, or expressions of respect, which yet were liberally bestowed upon the whole families of persons eminent for serving their country, but in more substantial acknowledgments thought due to the memory and relations of such

Vol. II.

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men.

(a) *Isæus* Orat. de Pyrrhi hæred. testem.

(c) *Isæus* de hæred. Cleonymi.

(b) *Demosthenes* Orat. II. in Stephanum.

(d) Voce *δόσις*.

(e) In *λέ-*

γυῖς κληρικῶν.

(f) *Plutarchus* Alcibiade.

men. Their children were in many places provided for, and educated suitably to their birth, at the public expence, when left destitute of estates. What regard the Athenians had of those mens children who lost their lives in fighting for their country, has been showed in a former book; how they treated the posterity of others, who had deserved well of their commonwealth, shall now appear from one or two instances: The first is that of Aristides, who dying poor, the Athenian people bestowed upon his son Lyfimachus an hundred Attic pounds of silver, with a plantation of as many acres of ground; and upon the motion of Alcibiades, ordered farther, that four drachms a-day should be paid him; furthermore, Lyfimachus leaving a daughter, named Policrite, the people voted her the same provision of corn with those who obtain victory in the Olympian games; the same Aristides's two daughters had each of them three hundred drachms out of the public treasury for their portions. Nor is it to be wondered (proceeds my author), that the people of Athens should take care of those who resided in their city, since hearing the grand-daughter of Aristogiton was in so low a condition in the isle of Lemnos, that she was like to want a husband, they sent for her to Athens, married her to a person of great quality, and gave with her a farm for her dowry, of which bounty and humanity the city of Athens (saith he), in this our age, has given divers demonstrations, for which she is deservedly celebrated and had in admiration (a).

Mens vices and dishonourable actions were likewise participated by their children; for it was thought no more than reasonable, that those who share in the prosperity and good fortune of their parents, should partake likewise of their losses and miscarriages. Agamemnon in Homer could be prevailed on by no arguments to spare Antimachus's sons, their father having endeavoured to procure Menelaus and Ulysses to be murdered when they were sent on an embassy to Troy (b).

Ἴι μὲν δ' Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος υἱέες ἔσονται
 Ὅς ποτ' ἐνὶ Τρώων ἀγορῇ Μενέλαον ἄνωγεν
 Ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα σὺν ἀντιθέῳ Ὀδυσῇ
 Αὔδι κατακτεῖναι, μηδ' ἔξέμεν ἄψ' ἐς Ἀχαιῆς,
 Νῦν μὲν δὴ τῆς πατρὸς ἀεικία τίσις ἐλάττω.

If from the loins of stout Antimachus
 Ye are descended, I'll bespeak you thus:
 Since, when the Trojans did in council sit,
 He gravely gave advice, he thought it fit
 That my dear brother, as any enemy,
 With sage Ulysses, sacrific'd should be
 To their invet'rate malice, though they were
 Envoys, whose lives the worst of nations spare,

(a) Plutarchus Aristide.

(b) Iliad. λ'. v. 138.

I'll on the sons avenge the father's hate,
These hands shall you dispatch, and justice vindicate.

J. A.

There are many other instances to the same purpose, whence it appears this practice was not owing to the passion and prejudices of particular persons, but thought agreeable to justice and reason. It may be sufficient in this place to mention the famous Macedonian law, whereby it was ordered, that men guilty of conspiring against their king, should not only suffer death, with their children, but all those who were nearly allied to them should share in the same punishment; whence we find in Curtius (*a*), that when Philotas was found guilty of treason against Alexander, of the noblemen and others related to him, some stabbed themselves, others fled into wildernesses and deserts, till the king issued out his pardon for them.

It remains that I add something concerning the returns of gratitude due from children to their parents, which appear from their assiduous attendance on them in the lowest offices; whence one in Aristophanes relates how his daughter washed and anointed his feet:

——Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ
Απονίζη, καὶ τὰ πόδ' ἀλέφη καὶ προκύψασα φιλήσῃ.

First my dear child did wash her father's feet,
Then she anointed 'em, and bending down,
Gave them a sweet endearing kiss.——

They were zealous in vindicating the honour, and revenging the injuries of their parents; whence Telemachus in Homer says, Orestes had gained the applause of all Greece, and recommended his name to succeeding ages, by taking revenge on his father's murderers (*b*);

Καὶ λήν κείνος μὲν ἐτίτατο, καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ
Οἴσασσι κλέος, εὐρὺν, καὶ ἑσσομένοισιν αἰοιδῆν.

He a brave noble soul did then put forth,
A soul of prowess and heroic worth,
When he his father's bold assassins kill'd,
And both his duty and the law fulfill'd.
This act forever shall in records live,
And to his sacred name eternity shall give.

J. A.

Several other instances might be produced, wherein children showed their gratitude to their parents, whereof I shall only mention their care in providing a comfortable subsistence for their old age, to do which was

X x 2

termed

(*a*) Lib. VI. haud procul a fine.

(*b*) Odyss. γ'. v. 208.

termed *γηροδοσκεῖν*, and performing their funeral rites when dead. Medea in Euripides expresses her earnest desire of (a) enjoying this happiness:

Ἡ μὲν ποθ' ἢ δύστηνος εἶχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν, γηροδοσκήσειν τ' ἐμὲ,
Καὶ καθάνασσαν χερσὶν εὖ περιτελεῖν.

Ah! wretched me, ah, my unhappy fate!
What blooming comforts did I once presage
In your young tender years, I thought, alas!
What blest'd support I should receive when old
From you, the prop of my declining age,
How you would give me decent obsequies
When I should leave the world, and be no more.

J. A.

Admetus, introduced by the same poet, tells his father, that he being delivered over to death by him, there would be no man to take care of him whilst alive, or pay him due respect after death (b);

Τοὶ γὰρ φυτεύων παῖδας ἐκ' ἐτ' ἂν φθάνοις,
Οἱ γηροδοσκήσουσι, καὶ θανόντα σε
Περιτελέσουσι, καὶ προδίδοντα νεκρὸν,
Οὐ γάρ σ' ἔγωγε τῇδ' ἐμῇ θάψω χερσὶ,
Τέθνηκα γὰρ δὴ τέπ' ὁ.

You with more offspring never will be blest,
To give refreshment to your aged limbs,
To keep you when disabled, and when dead
To mourn your loss, and give you decent burial;
For I, alas! am doom'd to lose my life
As much as in you lies; I ne'er will see
Your body carried to the grave, or be
A sad attendant at the funeral.

J. A.

They were so concerned about these things, that when they undertook any hazardous enterprise, it was customary to engage some of their friends to maintain and protect their aged parents. Thus when the Thebans living in exile at Athens, conspired to free their native country from the tyrants which the Lacedemonians had imposed on it, they divided themselves into two companies, and agreed that one should endeavour to get into the city, and surprise their enemies, whilst the other, remaining behind in Attica, should expect the issue, and provide for the parents and children of their associates, if they perished in the attempt (c).

Euryalus

(a) Medea, v. 1032.

(b) Alceſtide, v. 662.

(c) Plutarchus Pelopida.

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Euryalus in Virgil, when going to expose his life to danger, passionately entreats Ascanius in an elegant oration to comfort and make provision for his mother (a).

—Sed te super omnia dona
Unum oro : Genetrix Priami de gente vetusta
Est mihi, quam miseram tenuit non Ilia tellus
Mecum excedentem, non mœnia regis Acestæ ;
Hanc ego nunc ignaram hujus quodcunque pericli est,
Inque salutatam linquo ; nox & tua testis
Dextera, quod nequeam lacrymas perferre parentis ;
At tu, oro, solare inopem, & succure relictæ ;
Hanc sine me spem ferre tui ; audentior ibo
In casus omnes. —————

This chiefly from your goodness let me gain,
(For this ungranted, all rewards are vain)
Of Priam's royal race my mother came,
And sure the best that ever bore the name ;
Whom neither Troy nor Sicily cou'd hold
From me departing, but o'erspent and old,
My fate she follow'd ; ignorant of this
Whatever danger, neither parting kiss,
Nor pious blessing taken, her I leave,
And in this only act of all my life deceive ;
By this right hand and conscious night I swear,
My soul so sad a farewell could not bear :
Be you her comfort fill my vacant place
(Permit me to presume so great a grace),
Support her age, forsaken and distressed,
That hope alone will fortify my breast
Against the worst of fortune and of fears.

Dryden.

The provision made by children for their parents was termed τροφή, by the poets θρεπτήρια, or θρέπτρα, and sometimes θρέπτα, as we find in Homer (b). To be negligent in this matter, was accounted one of the greatest impieties, and most worthy of divine vengeance ; whence Hesiod, enumerating the evils of the last and iron age, mentions the disobedience and disrespectful behaviour of children to their parents, as one of the greatest, and which called to Heaven for vengeance (c) :

—Γεράσκοντας ἀτιμήσας τοκῆας,
Μίμψονται δ' ἄρα τῆς χαλεποῖς βάζοντ' ἐπίσσει
Σχέτλιοι, ὑδὲ θιῶν ὅπιν ἐιδότες, ὑδὲ μὲν οἴγε
Γηράντισσι τοκῆυσιν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖιν.

When

(a) Æneid, IX. v. 283.

(b) Iliad. Ὀ. v. 478.

(c) Oper. et Dier. Lib. I. v. 13.

When drooping parents in a painful state
 Have toil'd, oppress'd with miseries and fate,
 Then their young debauchees shall them despise,
 Taunt at their years, and give them base replies,
 Call them the dregs of life, and not allow,
 Nor one poor cross to keep them will bestow.

J. A.

No crime was thought to be followed with more certain and inevitable judgments than this; for the furies and other infernal deities were believed always ready to execute the curses of parents injured by their children. Hence Telemachus in Homer refuses to force his mother Penelope from his house, for fear of being haunted by the furies, and reproached by men (a).

——— Ἀλλὰ δὲ δαίμων

Δώσει, ἐπεὶ μήτηρ συγγεῖας ἀρήσεται Ἐρινύς
 Οἶκον ἀπερχομένη, νέμισις δὲ μοι ἐξ ἀνδράπων
 ἔσται.

The gods this act with vengeance will repay,
 Furies will haunt this house, and I no day
 Shall live at ease, but, scouted and forlorn,
 To all my neighbours a by-word and scorn.

Phœnix was remarkably punished when his father invoked the furies assistance against him (b):

——— Πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς ἀντίκ' οἷοδεῖς,
 Πολλὰ κατηῤατο συγγεῖας δ' ἐπεκέλευε Ἐρινύς,
 Μήποτε γένασιν οἷσιν ἐφίσσασθαι φίλον υἱόν
 Ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαράς,
 Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος, καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια.

My father having me discover'd, pray'd
 To all th' infernal furies for their aid;
 He wish'd I never might beget a boy,
 To dandle on my knee, and give me joy;
 My father's pray'rs are heard, mine are deny'd,
 Both Pluto and his queen are in the curse ally'd.

J. A.

Many other instances occur in authors, as those of Oedipus, Theseus and others produced by Plato (c), where he endeavours to make out that the gods were always prepared to hear the prayers, and revenge the injuries of parents. Nor was the punishment of this crime only left to be executed by the gods, but frequently inflicted

(a) *Odyss.* c' v. 134.(b) *Iliad.* i. v. 454.(c) *De legibus* Lib. XI.

by human appointment. Solon ordered all persons who refused to make due provision for their parents, to be punished with (*ἀτιμία*) *ignominy* (a). The same penalty was incurred by those who beat their parents. Neither was this confined to their immediate parents, but equally understood of their grandfathers, grandmothers, and other progenitors.

When persons admitted to appear for the office of archon were examined concerning their life and behaviour, one of the first questions inquired, was, Whether they had honoured their parents? Herein if they were found faulty, their suit was rejected.

Yet there were some cases wherein that lawgiver excused children from maintaining their parents, as when they had been bred up to no calling or profession, whereby they might be enabled to subsist in the world; for the care and trouble of parents, in educating their children, being the main foundation of those duties they were to expect from them, their default herein was thought to absolve the children from their allegiance. In like manner, such as were prostituted by their parents, were not compelled to maintain them (b). The sons of harlots were also declared to lie under no obligation of relieving their fathers, because they who keep company with harlots are not supposed to design the procreation of children, but their own pleasure, and therefore have no pretence to upbraid them with ingratitude, whose very birth they made a scandal and reproach to them (c).

As the unkindness of parents was made a sufficient excuse for children to deny them relief in their old age, so the disobedience or extravagance of children, whether natural or adopted (d), frequently deprived them of the care and estate of their parents; yet the Athenian lawgiver allowed not fathers to disinherit their children out of passion, or slight prejudices, but required their appearance before certain judges appointed to have cognizance of such matters, where, if the children were found to deserve so severe a sentence, the public crier was ordered to proclaim, that such a person rejected the criminal, whose name was then repeated, from being his son; whence, to disinherit a son is called *ἀποκηρύξαι τὸν υἱόν*, and the person so disinherited *ἀποκέρυκτος* (e). To be disinherited was likewise called *ἐπίπτειν τῆς γένεως*, to be received again, *ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος*. It may be farther observed, that parents were allowed to be reconciled to their children, but after that could never abdicate them again, lest *ἀπείραντοι τῶν παιδῶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, καὶ φόβος αἰδῶς*, the punishments of children should become endless, and their fears perpetual, according to Lucian (f).

When any man, either through dotage or other infirmities, became unfit to manage his estate, his son was allowed to impeach him before the (*φράτορες*) men of his own ward, who had power to invest him with the present possession of his inheritance. There is an allusion to this law

(a) Laertius Solone. (b) Æschines Orat. in Timarch. (c) Plutarchus Solone.
(d) Demosthenes in Spudiam. (e) Hesychius, v. *ἀποκέρυκτος*. (f) Abdicato,
Næus de hæred. Cironis.

law in Aristophanes, who has introduced the son of Strepsiades thus speaking (a):

Οἱ μοι τί δράσω παραφρονῆντος τῆ πατρός;
Πότερον παρανοίας αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγὼν, ἢ ἄλλω;

And there is a remarkable story concerning Sophocles, who being accused by Jophon and his other sons, of neglecting his affairs through dotage, read to the judges his tragedy called *Oedipus Coloneus*, which he had then lately composed; whereupon he was acquitted (b).

CHAP. XVI.

Of their Times of Eating.

THE following account of the Grecian entertainments may not unfitly be divided into five parts, wherein shall be described,

First, The times of eating.

Secondly, The several sorts and occasions of entertainments.

Thirdly, The materials whereof those entertainments consisted.

Fourthly, The ceremonies before entertainments.

Fifthly, The ceremonies at entertainments.

As for the times of eating, they, according to Athenæus (c), were four every day. 1. *Ακράτισμα*, the morning meal, so termed because it was customary at this time to eat pieces of bread dipped in wine unmixed with water, which in Greek is called *ἄκρατον*. This meal is by Homer called *ἄριστον*, which name was either derived ἀπὸ τῆ ἀείρειν, from its being first taken away; or rather ἀπὸ τῆ ἀρίστῃν, because the heroes immediately went to the war from this meal, and there valiantly behaved themselves, as we are informed by the Scholiast on that author (d); who likewise tells us that the time of this meal was about the rising of the sun. Sometimes it was termed *διανησιμὸς*, *jentaculum*, breakfast. 2. *Δείπνον*, so named, as the same Scholiast was of opinion, because after this meal *προνεῖν*, it was usual to return to the war, or other labours, whence *ἀρίστῃ συναννυμῆν*, it sometimes is synonymous to *ἄριστον*, being taken for the morning meal, as Athenæus hath observed from the following verse of Homer, in which the heroes are said to have put on their armour after the *δείπνον*,

(a) Nub. Act. III. Scen. I.
Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Ranas.

(b) Cicero de Senectute, Actor vitæ Sophocles.

(c) Lib. I. Cap. IX.

(d) Iliad, c.

(e) Lib. V.
Vianus, Lib.

Οἷ δ' ἄρα δειπνον ἔλοντ', ἀπὸ δ' αὐτῆς θωρήσσοντο.

3. Δειλινόν, sometimes also termed ἐσπέρισμα, *the afternoon meal*. 4. Δείπνον, *the supper*, τὸ κατ' ἡμέρας λεγόμενον δειπνον, which afterwards, among the latter Grecians, was termed δειπνον, according to the forementioned Scholiast, who will have δόρυπος to be so named from ἰάνυρος, that meal being eaten ὅταν εἰς τὸ ἰάνειν πορευάμεθα, *the last before we go to sleep*. Philemon, as he is cited by Athenæus, thus enumerates the times of eating: 1. Ἀκράτισμα. 2. Ἄρισον. 3. Ἐσπέρισμα. 4. Δείπνον. But the forementioned Scholiast, with whom most other authors agree as to this particular, reports, τρεῖσι τροφαῖς τοὺς παλαιὸς χεῖσθαι, that the ancient Greeks had only three meals a-day, and leaves out the third meal, called δειλινόν. And they who have made δειλινόν, or ἐσπέρισμα, to be a distinct meal from the δόρυπος, seem to have had no better foundation for that distinction than that verse of Homer,

— σὺ δ' ἔρχο δειλιήσας.

where the word δειλιήσας, by a mistaken interpretation, was understood of taking meat; whereas, it was only meant of abiding or remaining in a certain place in the afternoon. And this sense of that passage was in the opinion of Athenæus, so certain, that in another place (*a*) he pronounces those men to be γελοῖος, οἱ φάσκοντες ὅτι τέσσαρας ἐλάμβανον τροφάς: *ridiculous, who say that the ancient Greeks used to eat four meals a-day*.

Others are of opinion, that the primitive Greeks had only two meals a day, viz. ἄρισον and δόρυπος, and that the rest are only different names of these. And Athenæus (*b*) himself affirms, that no man can be produced παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ τρεῖς λαμβάνων τροφάς: *eating thrice a-day in Homer*. Neither is it to be doubted but that in those early ages, the way of living was very frugal and temperate; and it was thought sufficient if they had a moderate breakfast, and after the business and labour of the day was over, refreshed themselves with a plentiful meal; whence Plato wondered that the Sicilians and Italians should eat two plentiful meals every day; and amongst the Grecians it was accounted extravagance to breakfast or dine to the full; neither was it thought convenient by Cicero the Roman (*c*) *bis in die saturum fieri*, twice a-day to eat to the full; and so temperate were the ancient Romans, that *villæ et rusticos cibos ante ipsos focos sumserunt, eosque ipsos capere nisi ad vespèram non licuit* (*d*), they lived upon very mean food, and used not to allow themselves that till the evening; whence Isidorus (*e*), explaining the words *cæna* and *vespertina*, whereby the supper or evening meal is signified, adds, that *in usu non erant prandia*, dinners were not used.

Vol. II.

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CHAP.

(a) Lib. V. Cap. IV.
Sophocles, Lib. I.

(b) Loco citato.
(c) Originibus.

(e) Tusculan. Quæst. V.

(d) Sal-

C H A P. XVII.

Of the several Sorts of Entertainments.

IN the primitive ages, if we may believe Athenæus (a), *πᾶσα συμπόσις συναγωγή τῇ αἰτίᾳ εἰς θεὸν ἀνέφερε*, all meetings at entertainments were occasioned by their devotion to the gods; neither was it usual either to indulge themselves with the free use of wine or dainties, *εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ ἕνεκα τῆτο δρῶνται*, unless they did it on a religious account, as the same author affirms (b); for on festival days, they used to rest from their labours, and to live more plentifully than at other times, believing, in the words of Ovid, that the gods were present at their tables on such occasions:

— *mensæ credere adesse Deos* (c).

And out of this opinion, *τὰς ἑορτὰς σωφρόνως καὶ κοσμίως διῆγον*, they behaved themselves with sobriety and decency at their festival entertainments; neither did they drink to excess; but having moderately refreshed themselves, offered a libation to the gods, and then returned home, as we are informed by Athenæus (d).

Afterwards, when a more free way of living was in use, we find mention of three sorts of entertainments, viz. *ἐλαπίν*, *γάμος*, and *ἔρανος*, which are together enumerated in that verse of Homer,

Εἰλαπίν, ἢ γάμος, ἢ ἐκ ἔρανος τὰ δὲ γ' εἰσίν.

Whence there are commonly said to have been three distinct sorts of entertainments among the ancient Grecians; but these may be reduced to two, *ἐλαπίνη* and *ἔρανος*, under one of which, *γάμος*, the marriage entertainment, may be comprehended. The first of these (*ἐλαπίνη*) is sometimes termed *εὐωχία*, and *ἀσύμβολον δαῖπνον*, and was an entertainment provided at the expence of one man. On the contrary, *ἔρανος* was an entertainment made at the common charge of all present being so named *ἀπὸ τῆς συναγωγῆς καὶ συμφέρειν ἕκαστον*, because every man contributed his proportion, as we learn from Athenæus (e), who likewise reports that this entertainment was sometimes termed *δίασος*; hence the guests were called *συνδιασῶται*, who are more commonly named *ἐκδοῖται*. What each of the guests contributed was termed *συμφορὰ*, *ἐσφορὰ*, *καταβολή*, *συμβολή*, &c. whence the entertainment was named *δαῖπνον συμφορητὸν*, *συμβολιμαῖον*, *ἀπὸ συμβολῆς*, *καταβόλιον*. Sometimes it was called *τὸ ἐκ κοινῆς*, &c. At Argos they called the contribution by particular

(a) Lib. V.
ἐκνέμ.

(b) Lib. II.
(c) Lib. VIII.

(c) Fastor. Lib. V.

(d) Lib. VIII. Cap. XVI. fo

(e) Sub fr
(f) Comm

particular name, *χῶν*. The persons who collected the contributions were called by the same name with the guests, *ἐρανίσαι*.

Hither may be referred *δειπνον συναγωγίμον*, mentioned in the Fragments of Alexis, which is by Menander termed *συναγωγίον*. Both names are derived from *συνάγειν*, which, by a peculiar use, signified *μετ' ἀλλήλων πίνειν*, to drink together. But whether this entertainment was the same with *ἐραν*, Athenæus has professed himself to be uncertain (a).

Here must also be mentioned *δειπνα ἐπιδοσίμα*, or *ἐξ ἐπιδομάτων*, entertainments, wherein some of the guests contributed more than their exact proportion; to do which, is termed *ἐπιδιδόναι*.

To this place also must be reduced τὸ ἀπὸ σπυρίδος, in Latin called *sportula cæna*: ὅταν τις αὐτὸς αὐτῷ σκευάσας δειπνον, καὶ συνδῆς εἰς σπυρίδα, παρὰ τινι δειπνήσων ἦ, when any man having provided his own supper, puts it into a basket, and goes to eat it at another's house, as we learn from Athenæus (b). Different from this was the Roman *sportula*, which was an alms received by clients from their rich patrons, in a basket of that name, whereof we have frequent mention in Juvenal, Martial, and the histories of the Roman emperors. This custom is also mentioned by Hesychius, who tells us, that ἀπὸ σπυρίδος δειπνεῖν signifies τὸ ἀντὶ τῆς δειπνῆς ἀργυρίου ἐν σπυρίδι λαβεῖν, to receive in a basket a piece of silver, or fragments of meat instead of a supper. Which explication of that expression, though rather taken from the writers of the Roman than Grecian affairs, gave occasion to the mistake of Meursius, who, in his learned Commentary upon Lycophron, confounds the Grecian *σπυρίς* with the *sportula* of Rome.

The *ἐρανοί* being provided at less expence than other entertainments, wherein one person sustained the whole charge, were generally most frequented, and are recommended by the wise men of those times, as most apt to promote friendship and good neighbourhood; whence Hesiod has left this advice (c);

Μηδὲ πολυζέινε θαιτὸς δυσπέμφελος εἶται
Εκ κοινῆ πλείεσσιν ἡ χάρις δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

They were also for the most part managed with more order and decency, *φειδωλῶς ἡσθεῖον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ οἱ ἐρανισταὶ ὡς ἂν ἴδιον ἐσθίωντες ἕκαστος*, because the guests, who only eat of their own collation, were usually more sparing than when they were feasted at another man's expence, as we are informed by Eustathius (d); who has also in the same place mentioned several other customs at the Grecian entertainments, which do not much differ from those already described from other authors. And so different was the behaviour at their public feasts from that at private entertainments, that Minerva in Homer, having seen the in-

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temperance

(a) Sub finem, Lib. VIII.

(b) Loco citato.

(c) Oper. & Dier. Lib. II. v. 240.

(d) Commentario in Odyss. 4. p. 30. Edit. Basil.

temperance and unseemly actions of Penelope's courtiers, concludes their entertainment was not ἔρανος, provided at the common charge, but εἰλαπίν, or γάμος, and furnished at the expences of a single person (a);

Εἰλαπίν, ἢ γάμος, ἐπεὶ ἐκ ἔρανος τὰ δὲ γ' εἶν,
Ὡς μοι ὑδρίζοντες ὑπερφιάλως δοκέεισι
Δαίνυσθαι κατὰ δῶμα· νημισσῆσταιτο κεν ἀνὴρ
Ἀσχεῖα πολλὰ ὀρόων, ὅστις πινυτός γε μετέλδοι.

They who were present without contributing towards the entertainment were termed ἀσύμβολοι, in which condition were poets and singers, and others who made diversion for the company; whence that saying of Antiphanes in Athenæus;

Ἀκαπνα γὰρ αἰεὶ αἰοῖδοι θύομεν.

We singers always feast without smoke.

For ἄκαπνα θύειν, to feast or kill without smoke, is a proverbial phrase for such as partake of entertainments without the charge and trouble of providing them; whence in Leonides's epigram to Cæsar, there was this expression:

Καλλιόπης γὰρ ἄκαπνον αἰεὶ θύος.

Calliope always kills without smoke.

Whereby is meant, that the muses, and their favourites, are always entertained at other mens expence; hence ἀσύμβολος is sometimes taken for an useless person, who is maintained by other men, and contributes nothing towards the charge. An example whereof we find in Plutarch (c), where he relates the celebrated fable of Menenius Agrippa in which the rest of the members are said to accuse the belly, ὡς μὲν ἀργὸν ἢ ἀσύμβολον καθεζομένον, that when all they had some use or employment, she alone remained idle, and contributed nothing to the common service.

Lastly, It must not be omitted, that there were in many places public entertainments, at which a whole city, or a tribe, or any other body of fraternity of men were present; these were termed by the general name of συσσίτια, πανδαισίαι, &c. or sometimes from the body of men who were admitted, δημοδοινίαι δεῖπνα δημόσια, and δημοτικά, φεατρικά, φυλετικά, &c. according as those of the same borough (δῆμος) fraternity (φεατρία) or tribe (φυλή) met together. And the provision was sometimes furnished by contribution, sometimes by the liberality of some of the richer sort, and sometimes out of the public revenue. The design of

(a) Odyss. α. v. 226.

(b) Lib. I. Cap. VII.

(c) Coriolanus.

these entertainments, which were in some places appointed by the laws, was to accustom men to parsimony and frugality, and to promote peace and good neighbourhood, they were first instituted in Italy, by king Italus, from whom that country received its name, as we are informed by Aristotle (a). The next to these in order of time were those appointed by king Minos in Crete, after whose example Lycurgus instituted the public entertainments at Sparta, though the name was varied; for, as Plutarch reports, in his life of the Spartan lawgiver, τὰ συσσίτια Κρήτες μὲν ἀνδρεία, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ φειδίτια προσαγορεύουσιν, the Cretans term their Syssitia, or public entertainments, ἀνδρεία, and the Lacedemoojans φειδίτια; yet this difference was not primitive, if we may believe Aristotle, who affirms, that τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον ἱκάλαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φειδίτια, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρεία, καθάπερ οἱ Κρήτες, anciently the Lacedemonians did not use the name of φειδίτια, but that of ἀνδρεία, which was the Cretan word. These entertainments were managed with the utmost frugality, and persons of all ages were admitted, the younger sort being obliged by the lawgiver to repair hither, as to διδασκαλεῖα σοφροσύνης, *schools of temperance and sobriety*, where, by the example and discourse of the elder men, which was generally instructive, they were trained to good manners and useful knowledge. The Athenians had likewise their Syssitia, as particularly that wherein the senate of five hundred, together with such men, who, for the public services or eminent merit of themselves or their ancestors, were thought worthy of this honour, were entertained at the public expence; and many others, both at Athens and in other places, are mentioned by the Greek authors, to enumerate which would require a larger compass than our present design will admit.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Materials whereof the Entertainments consisted.

IN the primitive times, men lived upon such fruits as sprung out of the earth without art or cultivation, and desired no sort of drink besides that which the fountains and rivers afforded; thus Lucretius has thus described the food then used (b):

*Quæ sol atque imbres dederant, quod terra crearet
Sponte sua, satis id placabat pectora donum.*

Ælian, describing the most ancient food of several nations, reports, that at Argos they fed chiefly upon pears, at Athens upon figs, in Arcadia

(a) De Repub. Lib. VII. Cap. X.

(b) Lib. V.

Arcadia upon acorns (a): and so celebrated were the Arcadians for living upon that sort of diet, that they are distinguished in Lycophron (b) by the name of βαλανηφάγοι, *acorn-eaters*. Most other nations in Greece made use also of acorns. Hence it was customary at Athens, when they kept their marriage festivals, for a boy to bring in a bough full of acorns, and a plate covered with bread, proclaiming Εφυγον κακόν, εὔρον ἄμεινον, *I have escaped the worse, and found the better*; which was done in memory of their leaving the use of acorns for that of bread, as hath been elsewhere related. At Rome also, the *corona civica* was composed *fronde querna, quoniam cibus victusque antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit* (c), of oak leaves, because that tree afforded the most ancient food; for the same reason, some of the trees which bear acorns were termed in Greek φάγοι, from φάγειν, *to eat*, and in Latin *esculi*, from *esca*, which signifies food (d); and as Macrobius (e) hath observed, *Meminit vel fabulatur antiquitas glande prius et baccis alitos, fero de fulcis sperasse alimoniam*. Ancient authors have either delivered upon their knowledge, or feigned, that in the first ages men lived upon acorns and berries, and were for a long time unacquainted with the art of ploughing the earth for corn; nevertheless, they believed, that in the golden age, when men enjoyed all sorts of plenty and prosperity, the earth produced corn without cultivation. Thus Hesiod reports, in his description of those happy times (f):

ἰσθλὰ δὲ πάντα
Τοῖσιν ἔην· καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
Αὐτομάτῃ πολλόν τε καὶ ἀφθονον.

But this age being expired, the earth (as they imagined) became unfruitful, and men falling into extreme ignorance and barbarity, lived, in Macrobius's language, *non multum a ferarum asperitate dissimiles* (g), not unlike to brute beasts, till Ceres taught them the art of sowing, and several other useful inventions, the memory whereof was many ages after celebrated on their festival days, as hath been elsewhere observed. The first whom Ceres taught to sow and to till the ground was Triptolemus, by whom that knowledge was communicated to his countrymen the Athenians. Afterwards, she imparted the same art to Eumelus, a citizen of Patræ in Achaia, by whom it was first introduced into that country, as it was also by Arcas into Arcadia (b). Some farther report, that the invention of making and baking bread is owing to Pan. And we must not omit, that barley was used before any other sort of corn, *πρώτην γὰρ τροφήν ταύτην ἀν' ἀνθρώποις διδόνσαι παρὰ θεῶν λόγος ἔχει*; for it is reported that this was the first food which the gods imparted

(a) Var. Hist. Lib. III. Cap. XXXIX.

(b) V. 482. ubi conf. commentarii.

(c) A. Gellius, Lib. V. Cap. VI.

(d) Isidorus orig. Lib. XVII. Cap. VII.

(e) In somnium Scipionis, Lib. II. Cap. X.

(f) Oper. Lib. I. v. 116.

(g) Loco citato.

(h) Vid. Pausanias Atticis, Achaicis, Arcadicis.

imparted to mankind, as Artemidorus (a) hath observed; and that it was *antiquissimum in cibis*, the most ancient sort of victual, *Atheniensium ritu*, Menandro auctore apparet, & gladiatorum cognomine, qui *bordearii vocantur*, appears both from the custom of the Athenians mentioned by Menander, which is elsewhere described, and from the name of those gladiators, who are called *bordearii* from the Latin name of barley, as Pliny (b) hath related. But in more civil ages, to use the same author's words, *Panem ex hordeo antiquis usitatum vita damnavit, quadrupedum tradidit refectibus*, barley-bread came to be the food of beasts only; nevertheless it was still used by the poorer sort, who were not able to furnish their tables with better provision; and in the Roman camp, as Vegetius (c) hath informed us, soldiers who had been guilty of any offence, *hordeum pro frumento cogebantur accipere*, were fed with barley instead of bread-corn. An example whereof we find in the second Punic war, wherein the cohorts which lost their standards, had an allowance of barley assigned by Marcellus (d). And Augustus Cæsar, *Cohortes, si quæ celsissent loco, decimatas hordeo pavit*, commonly punished the cohorts which gave ground to the enemy, by a decimation, and allowing them no provision but barley, as Suetonius reports in the life of that emperor (e).

The first ages of men, as Plato (f) reports, *σαρκῶν ἀπέχοντο, ὡς ἐχθρὸν ὃν ἐθίβειν, ἐδὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν βωμὸς ἀμαρτίᾳ μιαινεῖν*, wholly abstained from flesh, out of an opinion that it was unlawful to eat, or to pollute the altars of the gods with the blood of living creatures. The same is affirmed by Dicæarchus in Porphyry, who hath left us a tract concerning abstinence from animals, and by many others. Swine were used for food first of all animals, they being wholly unserviceable to all other purposes, and having, in the language of Cicero (g), *animam pro sale ne putrescant*, their souls only instead of salt to keep them from putrifying. As on the contrary, for several ages after flesh came to be eaten, it was thought unlawful to kill oxen, because they are very serviceable to mankind, and partners of their labour in cultivating the ground, as hath been elsewhere observed (b). It was also unusual to kill young animals; whence, as Athenæus is of opinion, Priamus is introduced by Homer reproving his sons for feasting upon young lambs; the reason whereof was, either that it favoured of cruelty to deprive those of life which had scarce tasted the joys of it, or that it tended to the destruction of the species; whence, at a time when sheep were scarce at Athens, there was a law enacted to forbid *ἀπέχεσθαι ἀγνὸς γίνεσθαι*, the eating of lambs which had never been shorn, as hath been observed from Philochronus. Neither did the ancients seek for dainties or rarities, but were content with sheep, goats, swine, oxen, when it was become

(a) Lib. I. Cap. LXXI.
 (b) Nat. Hist. Lib. XVIII. Cap. VII.

(c) De re mi-

litari, Lib. I. Cap. XIII.

(d) Plutarchus, Marcello, Livius, Lib. XXVII.

(e) Cap. XXIV.

(f) Lib. VI. de legibus.

(g) Lib. II. de natura deorum.

(h) Archæologia hujus Lib. II. Cap. de Sacrificiis.

become lawful to kill them, what they caught in hunting, what was most easy to be provided, and afforded the most healthful nourishment. Hence all the Grecians in Homer live upon a simple diet; young and old, kings and private men are contented with the same provision. Agamemnon entertains Ajax, after his combat with Hector, with the chine of an ox, as a reward of his valour. Alcinous, king of Phæacia, who affected a more splendid and delicate way of living, feeds upon beef. Menelaus sets before Telemachus a chine of beef at the marriage-feast of his son. And the courtiers of Penelope, though given to all sorts of pleasure, are never entertained either with fish or fowl, or any delicacies. This, with several other things to the same purpose, hath been observed by Athenæus (*a*); who has likewise remarked, that Homer's heroes neither boil their meat, nor dress it with sauces, but only roast it. This was in most places the ancient way of dressing meat; whence Servius (*b*) also reports, that *heroicis temporibus non utebantur carne elixa*, in the heroical ages they did not eat boiled flesh; and observes farther out of Varro, that among the Romans the primitive diet was roast, then boiled, and last of all broths came into use. Nevertheless, as Athenæus hath elsewhere taken notice, even in Homer's time, boiled meat was sometimes provided; which appears both from that entertainment in the *Odysses*, where an ox's foot is thrown at Ulysses, it being well known, that (in that author's words) *πῶδα βόειον ἑδείς ὀπτῶ*, no man ever roasts an ox's foot; and also, from the exprefs words of the 21st *Iliad* (*c*):

Ως δὲ λέωνος ζεῖ ἔνδον ἐπειγόμενος πυρὶ πολλῷ,
Κνίσσῃ μελδόμενος ἀπαλοτροφέος σιέλοιο.

This was the way of living among the ancient Greeks; neither were the Lacedæmonians of later ages less temperate than their ancestors, so long as they observed the laws of Lycurgus. They had their constant diet at the *Συσσίτια*, public entertainments, where in the food was extremely simple, whereof each person had a certain proportion allotted. The chief part of the provision was *μέλαζ ζαμὸς*, the black broth, peculiar to that nation, which was so unpleasant, that a citizen of Sybaris happening once to be entertained at Sparta, cried out, "that he no longer wondered why the Lacedæmonians were the valiantest soldiers in the world, when any man in his right wits would rather choose to die a thousand times than to live upon such vile food (*d*)."
And it is reported that Agesilaus distributed certain sweatmeats, which had been presented to him by the Thasians, amongst the slaves, saying, "that the servants of virtue ought not to indulge themselves with such delicacies, it being unworthy of men of free birth to share those pleasures whereby slaves are allured." For which reason the cooks

(*a*) Lib. I. p. 9.

(*b*) In *Æneid*. I.

(*c*) *Iliad*. φ'. v. 362.

(*d*) Com.

Athenæus, Lib. IV. Cap. VI. p. 138.

of Lacedemon were ὀψοποιοὶ κρέως μόνον, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὸτο ἐπιστάμενος, ἐξηλαύνετο Σπάρτης, ὡς τὰ τῶν νοσούντων καθάρσια, only dressers of flesh, and they who understood any thing farther in the art of cookery were cast out from Sparta, as the filth of men infected with the plague (*a*). Hence Mithæcus, a very eminent cook, designing to follow his profession in that city, was immediately commanded by the magistrates to depart (*b*). This custom was not unlike that of the ancient heroes, who kept no cooks, but sometimes dressed their own provision, as we find done by Achilles in Homer (*c*);

——— τὰ μὲν δ' ἄρα διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς
καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ μίσειλλε, καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελόισιν ἔπειρε.

And sometimes the κήρυκες, heralds, those servants ἀνδρῶντι θεῶντι, of gods and men, as they are called by the poet, who were not only employed in civil and military affairs, but also performed many of the holy rites at sacrifices, served as cooks; whence the ancient cooks are by some authors reported to have been θυτικῆς ἔμπειροι, skilled in the art of divining by sacrifices, and προίσαντο γάμων καὶ θυσιῶν, had the management of marriage feasts and sacrifices (*d*).

But in other cities of Greece, and in later ages, the art of cookery was in better esteem, though even Heraclides, and Glaucus the Locrænsian, who wrote books concerning it, affirm, ἔχ' ἀρεμότητι τοῖς τυχεῖσιν παύειν, that it was unworthy of the meanest person who was free born, as we are informed by Athenæus (*e*). The Sicilian cooks were prized above any others, as the same author (*f*) has proved, by examples out of Cratinus and Antiphanes. Mithæcus before mentioned was of that nation; and the Sicilians were so remarkable for their luxurious way of living, that Σικελικὴ τραπέζα, a Sicilian table, was a proverbial phrase, as we are informed by Suidas, ἐπὶ τῶν πάντων πολυτελεῶν καὶ τρυφῶν, for he furnished very profusely and luxuriously.

Next to the Lacedemonian tables, those of Athens are said to have been furnished most frugally, the Athenian soil being unfruitful, and such as could supply no more provision than was just necessary for the support of its inhabitants. Hence Lynceus the Samian is cited by Athenæus (*g*) for contemning the Athenian entertainments;

Μάγειρ', ὁ θύων ὁ δειπνίζων τ' ἐμὲ,
πόδι' ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κεκλημένος, Περικλῆος.
Οὐδὲτερος ἡμῶν ἡδεται τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
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And the same author goes on in his description of the meanness of the provisions at Athens, which were so exceedingly parsimonious, that Dromæus, an Athenian parasite, being asked whether he suppers at Athens
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Aelianus, Lib. XIV. Cap. VII.

(b) Maximus Tyrius principio dissert. VII.

Iliad. IX. v. 209.

(d) Athenæus, Lib. XIV. Cap. XXIII.

(e) Lib. XIV.

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(f) Loco citato.

(g) Lib. IV. Cap. III.

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(d) Athenæus, Lib. XIV. Cap. XXIII.

(e) Lib. XIV.

Cap. XXIII.

(f) Loco citato.

(g) Lib. IV. Cap. III.

or those at Chalcis were more magnificent? replied, that the (αρεσιμω) first course at Chalcis was preferable to the whole entertainment at Athens. Hence to live Ἀττικῶς like an Athenian, is to live penuriously. An example of which proverb we find cited by Athenæus out of Alexis, who has there also left us a large description of an Athenian entertainment (a).

From the Grecian meat, let us in the next place proceed to their drink. And in the primitive times, as hath been already observed, water was the general drink, which they were supplied with from the nearest fountain. Afterwards hot fountains came into request by the example of Hercules, who being very much fatigued with labour, refreshed himself at a hot fountain, which (as fables tell us) was discovered to him by Minerva or Vulcan; and this sort of water was thought extremely beneficial on the like occasions; whence Plato (b) commends his Atlantic island, which he describes to be the most delightful country in the world, on account of its hot as well as cold fountains; and Homer, by whom we are furnished with examples of all sorts of poetical topics, relates that one of the fountains of the river Scamander was exquisitely cold, and the other hot (c); yet, to use the words of Julius Pollux (d), παρ' Ομήρου ἔχ' οἶόν τ' ὑπερὶν Διερὸν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ πρῶτῳ. it will be difficult to infer from Homer, that hot waters were drank in the heroic ages; but they seem only to be used for bathing, unless prescribed by the physicians, as was usually done to old men, and others who had weak stomachs, as appears from the example of Hippocrates produced by the same author, who by several other instances, yet all later than the age of Homer, has here proved that this sort of drink was used by the ancient Grecians; however, it is certain that, at least in later ages, hot waters were in request amongst the Grecians, and from them came to be used at Rome; whence the Roman authors mention the use of them as a Grecian custom. Thus Plautus (e) speaking of the Grecians,

Ubi quid surripuere, operto capitulo caldum bibunt.

And Horace (f),

Quo Chium pretio cadum

Mercemur? quis aquam temperet ignibus?

Where Acron explains *temperet* by *tepesfaciat*, *nam tepesfactis aquis solabant Græci vinum temperare* For the Greeks (saith he) used to temper their wine with warm water (g).

But there is more frequent mention of cold water than of both in the Grecian and Roman authors; and in order to drink exquisitely cold, it was customary to temper it with ice, which the

(a) Lib. IV. Cap. V. (b) Critia. (c) Iliad. x. v. 147. (d) Lib. I. Cap. VI. Conf. Athenæus, Lib. III. Cap. XXXV. (e) Curculione. (f) Lib. I. Od. XIX. (g) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. II. Cap. II.

had several methods to preserve through all the heat of summer; there is one mentioned by Plutarch (a), who relates that it was usual to wrap it in clothes and straw; to which custom St. Augustin alludes in the following words: *Quis dedit paleæ tam frigidam vim, ut obrutas nives servet; vel tam fervidam, ut poma immatura maturet?* Who has endued the straw with such a degree of cold as to preserve ice; or with so much heat as to bring up ripe fruit to maturity? Chares the Mitylenean, as he is cited by Athenæus (b), reports, that when Alexander the Great besieged Petra a city of India, he filled thirty ditches with ice, which being covered with oaken boughs, remained a long time entire. And in the same place there are described several other arts of making their drink cool. The custom of preserving ice was so common amongst the Romans, that they had shops wherein it was publicly exposed to sale; whence Seneca thus inveighs against the Roman luxury and extravagance (c): *Unguentarios Lacedemonii expulere. & prope cedere finibus suis jusserunt, quia oleum disperderent: quid illi si vidissent nivis reponendæ officinas?* The Lacedemonians banished the sellers of ointment, and commanded them to be gone with the utmost speed out of their country. What would have been done had they seen shops to reposit and preserve ice?

The invention of wine was by the Egyptians ascribed to Osiris, by the Latins to Saturn, and by the Greeks to Bacchus, to whom divine honours were paid on that account. It is reported by Hecataeus the Milesian, that the use of wines was first discovered in Ætolia, by Orestheus the son of Deucalion, whose grandson Oeneus, the father of Ætolaus, from whom that part of Greece received its name, was so called from *οἶναι*, which is the old name of *wines*. Others derive *οἶνος*, the name of wine, from this *Oeneus*, who (as they report) was the first who discovered the art of pressing wine from grapes. Thus Nicander:

Οἶνός δ' ἐν ποίλοισιν ἀποθλίψας διαΐσσει
Οἶνον ἑλκτος.——

And to the same purpose Melanippides the Milesian, in Athenæus (d),

Ἐπάνυμος, ὃ διαποτ', αἶνος Οἶνίας.

Others will have the vine to have been first discovered in Olympia, near the river Alpheus; of which opinion was Theopompus of Chios. And Hellanicus reports, that it was first known at Plinthion, a town of Egypt; hence the Egyptians are thought to derive their immoderate love and use of this liquor, which they thought so necessary to human bodies, that they invented a sort of wine made of barley for the poorer sort, who wanted money to purchase that which was pressed from grapes (e).

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In

(a) Sympos. Lib. VI. (b) Lib. III. Cap. XXXVI. (c) Natur. IV. (d) Initio Lib. II. (e) Conf. Athenæus sub finem Lib. I.

In Greece the matrons and virgins drank wine, as appears from the examples of Nauficae and her companions in Homer (*a*). And because the same freedom was rarely allowed that sex in other countries, the Grecian women were ill thought of on that account (*b*). It was likewise customary to give it to children, unless the management of Achilles was different from that of other infants: for thus Homer has introduced Phoenix speaking to him (*c*):

Πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γένασσι καθίσας,
 Οὐκ ἔ' ἄσαιμι προταμῶν, καὶ οἶνον ἐφισχῶν.
 Πολλάκι μοι κατέδυσας ἐπὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα,
 Οἶνε ἀποβλύζων ἐν νηπιῇ ἀλεγεινῇ.

The wine was generally mixed with water, whence drinking cups were called *κρατῆρες*, παρὰ τὸ κραάσασθαι, from the mixture made in them; which derivation is mentioned both by the grammarians and Athenæus, and there are some allusions to it in Homer; for the custom of drinking wine tempered with water obtained in the time of the Trojan war, and the most primitive ages; hence the following verse (*d*):

Οἱ μὲν ἄρ' οἶνον ἕμισγον ἐνὶ κρατῆρεσι καὶ ὕδαρ.

Some ascribe the first use of it to Melampus (*e*), others to Staphylus the son of Silenus. Philochorus is said to report (*f*), that Amphictyon, king of Athens, learned to mix wine with water from Bacchus himself, on which account he dedicated an altar to that god, under the name of *Οἰδιος*, because from that time men began to return from entertainments *sober*, and *ὀρθοί*, *upright*. The same king enacted a law, that only wine, tempered with water, should be drank at entertainments; which being afterwards disused, was revived by Solon (*g*). There was no certain proportion observed in this mixture; some to one vessel of wine poured in two of water; others to two of wine mixed five of water; and others more, or less, as they pleased (*b*). The Lacedemonians εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἔωσι τὸν οἶνον, ἕως ἂν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἀφῇ ψυχρῷ, καὶ μετὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη χρῶνται, used to boil their wine upon the fire till the fifth part was consumed, and then after four years were expired, began to drink it, as we are informed by Democritus (*i*); and the same custom is also mentioned by Palladius.

Nevertheless most of the Grecians, and particularly the Lacedemonians, sometimes did *ἀκρατίστειρον πίνειν*, *drink wine with little or no water*, which they termed *ἐπισκυθίσαι*, *to act like a Scythian*; for the Scythians were very much addicted to drunkenness, and used wine without water; whence *ἀκρατοποιεῖν* is commonly termed

(*a*) Odyss. VI. (*b*) Conf. Athenæus Lib. X. (*c*) Iliad. IX. v. 484. (*d*) Odyss. 6. (*e*) Athenæus Lib. VI. Cap. II. (*f*) Plinius Lib. VII. Cap. LVI. (*g*) Athenæus Lib. II. Cap. II. (*h*) Idem Lib. X. Cap. VIII. (*i*) Idem Lib. X. Cap. VII. (*k*) Geoponic. Lib. VII. Cap. IV. (*l*) Lib. XI. Tit. XIV.

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(*a*) Chan
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 (*d*) Var.

σκυθιστὴ πικρῇ, or σκυθοπιῇ and ἀκρατοποσία, is called σκυθιστὴ πόσις: which expressions came into vogue at Sparta, from the time that Cleomenes the Spartan, by living and conversing with the Scythians, learned to drink to excess and madness (a). The Thracians also drank their wine unmixed with water, and both they and the Scythians were generally such lovers of it, that γυναῖκες τε καὶ πάντες αὐτοὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱματίων (ἀκρατον) καταχέμενοι, καλὸν καὶ εὐδαίμων ἐπιηδεύειν ἐπιηδεύειν νομίσασαι, the women and all the men thought it a most happy life to fill themselves with unmixed wine, and to pour it upon their garments (b). Hence also by Θρακία πρέποις, the Thracians way of drinking, was meant ἀκρατοποσία, drinking wine not mixed with water (c).

Some used to perfume their wines, and wine so used was termed οἶνος μυρρίνιτης, according to Ælian (d), and sometimes μυρρίνης, for that word, according to Hesychius's explication, signifies πόσιν ἢ ἐπιχεῖτο μύρον, a potion mixed with odours. Different from this were the Murrhina of the Romans, as also the ἐσμυρηνισμένος οἶνος, wine mingled with myrrh, mentioned in St. Mark's gospel, wherewith the malefactors were commonly intoxicated before they suffered. Several other ingredients were mixed with wine, sometimes αλφίτα, meal, whence οἶνος ἀπηλφισμένος, wine thickened with meal, which was very much used by the Persians (e). They had also many sorts of made wines, as οἶνος κριθίνος, *cerevisia*, wine made of barley, and οἶνος ἐψητὸς, palm-wine, sometimes termed ὄξος ἐψητὸν, for ὄξος was a general name for all made wines.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Customs before Entertainments.

THE person by whom the entertainment was provided was commonly named ὁ ἐσιάτωρ, ἐσιῶν, ξενίζων, τῆς συνουσίας ἡγεμὼν, συμποσίᾳ ἄρχων, συμπόσιάρχος, by the tragedians οἰκοδέμων, &c.

The persons entertained by him were termed δαίτυμόνης, δαιτελεῖς, συμπόται, σύνδαιπνοι, &c. also very often κλητοί, σύγκλητοι, ἐπέκλητοι, in which names is expressed the immediate cause of their meeting, which was κλήσις, in Latin *vocatio*, an invitation or calling by the entertainer.

The persons employed to invite the guests were by the Romans termed *Vocatores*, and by the Greeks κλήτορες, or δαιπνοκλήτορες. The same men were also, though not so frequently, called ἐλισταροί, and

(a) Chamæleon Heracleota Lib. de Temulentia apud Athenæum Lib. X. Cap. VII.

(b) Athenæus, Lib. X. sub finem Cap. IX.

(c) Pollux, Lib. VI. Cap. III.

(d) Var. Hist. Lib. XII. Cap. XXXI.

(e) Athenæus, Lib. X. initio Cap. IX.

and *ἐπιτραπέζιον*, from *ἐπί*, which is the name of the table, on which the provision was placed in the kitchen. Thus *ἐπιτραπέζιον*, according to Pampylus in Athenæus (a). are *οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς καλῶντες τραπέζαν*, they who invite to the king's table. Sometimes to invite was termed *καταγράφειν*, to write down, from the custom of inscribing the names of the persons to be invited upon a tablet. The hour was signified at the invitation, and because they then numbered the hours by the motion of the sun, there is frequent mention of *σκιὰ*, the shade of the sun, and *τοιχείον*, the letter of the dial, on these occasions. Thus in the following passage of Aristophanes (b),

——— σοὶ δὲ μελήσει,
Ὅταν ἡ δεκάπεν τοιχείον λιπαρῶς χαρῇ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

Relations often went without invitation, as hath been observed by Athenæus (c), and Eustathius, from that verse of Homer where he describes an entertainment at Agamemnon's tent (d):

Αὐτόματος δὲ εἰ ἤλθε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος.

Valiant Menelaus came to him *αὐτόματος*, that is, *ἄνευ τῆς κληθῆναι*, without being invited, as the Scholiast explains that word. Such as without invitation, *ἐπὶ τῶν κεκλημένων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀγόμενοι*, were brought to the entertainment by some of those who had been invited (e), were termed *σκιαί*, shades, from their following the principal guests, as shades do bodies. The same persons were by the Romans called *umbra*. Thus in Horace (f),

——— quos Mæcenas adduxerat umbras.

And in another place (g),

——— locus est & pluribus umbris.

They who forced themselves into other mens entertainments were in Greek called *μύλαι*, in Latin *musca*, flies, which was a general name of reproach for such as insinuated themselves into any company where they were not welcome. Thus the parasite is described by Antiphanes,

Ὅρας μοχλεύειν, φεισμός· εἰσπηδῶν ἀκρίς·
δειπνῶν ἀκλητος, μῦμα μὴ ἐξελθεῖν, φρέαρ.

In Plautus (h) an entertainment free from unwelcome guests is called *hospitium sine muscis*, an entertainment without flies; and in

(a) Lib. IV. Cap. XXI.

(b) Concionatricibus, p. 744. Conf. ibi. Scholiastes, item

Suidas v. *Δεκάπεν σκία* & Hesychius v. *δεκάπεν τοιχείον*.

(c) Lib. IV. Cap. XXVI.

(d) Iliad. 6. v. 408.

(e) Plutarchus Sympot. Lib. VII. Quæst. 6.

(f) Lib. II.

Sat. viii. v. 22.

(g) Lib. I. Epist. v. 28.

(h) Pænul. A&A. III. Sc. III. v. 96.

(a) Mer
(d) Con
(f) Co
mentario

In another place of the same author (a), an inquisitive and busy man, who pries and insinuates himself into the secrets of others, is termed *Musca*. We are likewise informed by Horus Apollo (b), that in Egypt a fly was the hieroglyphic of an impudent man, because that insect being beaten away, still returns again; on which account it is by Homer made an emblem of courage (c),

Καὶ οἱ μύης θάρσος ἐνὶ σήθυσσιν ἵηκεν.
 Ἡ τὴν ἐργασίην μάλα περ χροὸς ἀνδρομίω,
 Ἰχθυόα δακύνει, λαρόν τ' οἱ αἰμὴ ἀνδραπύ.

The same persons whom they termed *Musca* at entertainments, were also called *Μυκόνιοι*, Myconians, from the poverty of that nation, which put them upon frequenting other mens tables oftener than was consistent with good manners; whence Pericles was reflected upon by Archilochus, ὡς ἄλλητοι ἐπισπαίοντα εἰς τὰ συμπόσια Μυκονίαν δίκην, as one who intruded into other mens entertainments, after the manner of the Myconians (d). But the most common appellation of such men, was that of *παράσιτοι*, parasites; which word, as Lucian hath observed, in its primitive sense, signified only the companion of princes and men of quality; such were Patroclus to Achilles and Memnon to Idomeneus, or those who had their diet at the tables of the gods, of whom mention has been made in another place (e); but afterwards came to be a name of reproach for those who by flattery, and other mean arts, used to insinuate themselves to the tables of other men; in which sense it was first used by Epicharmus, and afterwards by Alexis (f); nevertheless it was common for friends and men of credit to visit one another's houses at the times of entertainment, without expecting a formal invitation, as appears from that saying cited by Eustathius (g),

Ἀλλήτοι κομίζουσιν εἰς φίλους φίλοι.

And that other in Plato (h),

——— εἰς ἕνα καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασιν
 Αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοὶ ———

Which is sometimes thus cited in one hexameter verse,

Αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασιν.

The number of guests was unlimited; some chose to invite three, or four, or five at the most; thus Archestratus in Athenæus (i),

Πρὸς

(a) Mercat. A& II. Sc. III. v. 26.

(b) Hieroglyphicis

(c) Iliad. ε'. v. 570.

(d) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. I. Cap. VII.

(e) Lib. II. Cap. de Sacerdotibus.

(f) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. VI. Cap. VII. Pollux, Lib. VI. Cap. VII.

(g) Com-

mentario in Iliad. ε'.

(h) Symposio.

(i) Lib. I. sub finem, Cap. IV.

Πρὸς δὲ μιᾷ πάντες δεῖπναι ἀδρόδαισι τραπέζῃ
 Ἔσθωσαν δ' ἢ τρεῖς, ἢ τέσσαρες οἱ ξυνάπαντες,
 Ἡ τῶν πέντε γε μὴ πλείους· ἦδη γὰρ ἂν εἴη
 Μισθοφόρων ἀρπαξιστῶν σκηνὴ στρατιωτῶν.

And Athenæus in another place (*a*) reports, that among the ancients μὴ συνδειπνῆν τῶν πέντε γε πλείους, ὅτι δὲ γε ἡμεῖς ψαμμάκοισι ἐσμὲν δῆλον, it was not usual for more than five to sup together, but that in his time the numbers were plainly infinite. Eustathius hath observed out of Jamblichus, that in the συσσίτια, common meals, not above ten were admitted; which, in his opinion, was the ordinary number of guests at entertainments in the primitive times; and hence he thinks it is, that when Agamemnon in Homer (*b*), speaks of distributing the Grecian army at an entertainment, he mentions only δεκάδες, *tens*.

Ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς δεκάδας διακοσμηθεῖμεν Ἀχαιοί,
 Τρώων δ' ἄνδρα ἕκασον ἐλοίμεθα οἰνοχοεῖν,
 Πολλοὶ κεν δεκάδες δεινοῖατο οἰνοχόοιο.

But this must only be understood of the entertainments of private men. Princes often invited greater numbers; Agamemnon in Homer entertains all the Grecian princes together; and Alexander the Macedonian is reported before his expedition against Persia, σκηνὴν κατασκευάσασθαι ἑκατοντάκλινον πρὸς εὐωχίαν, to have furnished a tent with 100 beds for an entertainment (*c*). And the same vanity by degrees crept in amongst private men, insomuch that in Athenæus's time, as hath been before observed, ψαμμάκοισι, infinite numbers were invited. Hence, it came to pass, that, partly to prevent tumult and sedition, and partly to restrain the expensiveness and prodigality of their citizens, some lawgivers thought it necessary to limit the number of guests; in particular, no person at Athens was allowed to entertain above thirty at once. In order to put this statute in execution, certain magistrates, called Γυναικονόμοι, were obliged to go to entertainments, and to expel thence such as exceeded that number; and the cooks who were commonly employed to dress the victuals at entertainments, were obliged to give in their names every time they were hired (*d*).

This must farther be observed concerning the guests, that men and women were never invited together, as we are informed by Cicero (*e*); wherein the Greeks differed from the Romans, amongst whom the women were allowed more freedom: "For which of the " Romans," to use the words of Cornelius Nepos, "was ever ashamed to bring his wife to an entertainment? And what mistress
 " of

(*a*) Lib. XV. Cap. III.

(*b*) Iliad. ε'. v. 126. Conf. Eustathius, p. 144. Edit. Basil.

(*c*) Diodorus Siculus, p. 530.

(*d*) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. VI. Cap. XI.

(*e*) Orat.

III. in Verrem.

" of a family can be shown, who does not inhabit the chief and most frequented part of the house? Whereas, in Greece, she never appears at any entertainments, besides those to which none but relations are invited, and constantly lives in the innermost part of the house, which is called *γυναικωνίτις*, the *womens apartment*, into which no man, except near relations, had admision (a)."

Before they went to an entertainment, they washed and anointed themselves; ἀπρεπὲς γὰρ ἦν ἡκεῖν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον σὺν ἰδρώτι πολλῷ καὶ κομποτῷ, for it was thought very indecent to go thither defiled with sweat and dust, as Athenæus (b) hath observed from Aristotle. They who came off a journey, were washed and clothed with apparel suitable to the occasion, in the house of the entertainer; before they were admitted to the feast. Thus we find in Homer, where he describes the reception of Telemachus and Pisistratus by Menelaus (c);

Ες ῥ' αἰσαμένους πάντες εὐχέσθης λῶσαντο
 Τὲς δ' ἐπεὶ ἐν δαίμασι λῶσαν, καὶ χρίσαν ἑλαία,
 Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαίνας ἕλας βάλλον ἠδὲ χιτῶνάς,
 Ες ῥὰ θρόνους ἕζοντο παρ' Ἀτρεΐδην Μενέλαον.

The same persons also washed their hands before they sat down to meat, as appears from the verses which follow in the same author (d);

Χέρους δ' ἀμφίπολον προχῶν ἐπέχει φέροντα
 Καλῇ χερσέῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρείοιο λείητος,
 Νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξέστη ἐκάνυσσε τραπέζαν·
 Σίτον δ' αἰδοῖα ταμὴν παρέθηκε φέροντα.

And, to mention the times of washing altogether, it was also customary to wash between every course, and after supper: thus Homer introduces his heroes *δειπνῶντας ὀμιλῶντας, εἶτα ἀπονιψαμένους ποιεῖ πάλιν δειπνῶντας*, *supping, conversing, then washing, and after that again supping*. And Aristophanes (e) speaks of bringing ὕδωρ κατὰ χεῖρας μετὰ τραπέζας, *water to wash the hands after the courses*. By them who spoke accurately, to wash the hands before supper was termed *νίψασθαι*, to wash after supper, *ἀπονίψασθαι*. Hither are to be referred the words, *ἀπομάζασθαι, ὑπομάζασθαι, ἀποψῆσαι*, and the like, which signify *to wipe the hands*. The towel was termed *ἐμαγεῖον, χιρρόμακτρον*, &c. instead whereof the ancient Greeks used *ἀπομαγδαλία*, which were τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀετῷ μαλακὸν καὶ ταινῶδες, *the soft and fine part of the bread*, which afterwards they cast τοῖς κυσὶ *to the dogs*, ὅθεν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι *κυνάδα τὴν ἀπομαγδαλίαν καλεῖσιν*, whence *ἀπομαγδαλία* is by the Lacedemonians called *κυνάς*; and, as the same author there adds, this custom is mentioned by Homer in the following verses,

Vol. II.

3 A

Ως

(a) Cornelius Nepos præfat. in vitas Imperatorum.

(b) Lib. IV. Cap. XXVII.

(c) Odyss. γ. v. 48.

(d) Odyss. δ.

(e) Vespis.

Ὡς δ' ὅταν ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα κύνας δαίτηθεν ἰόντες
 Σαίνωσ', αἶε γὰρ τε φέρε μελίσματα θυμῷ.

It is farther to be observed, that in the washing after supper, they used some sort of *σμήγμα*, ἀπορύνειας χάριν, *stuff to scour the hands* (a); for which use nitre and hyssop are mentioned in the holy Scriptures. Lastly, After washing, the hands were perfumed with odours, which custom is expressed in the following verses of Antiphanes or Epigenes in Athenæus (b);

Καὶ τότε περιπατήσεις καὶ ποῖσθαι κατὰ τρόπον
 Τὰς χεῖρας, εὐώδη λαδῶν τὴν γῆν δ' ἅμα.

It may not be improper in this place to add something farther, by way of digression, concerning the custom of washing and anointing, which in Greece and other hot countries was so frequent. To wash, is, in the words of Eustathius, ἀποδευτικὸν μὲν ῥυπῆ, ἀναψυχῆς δὲ τινος αἴτιον, *a means both to cleanse the body from filth, and refresh it*; therefore, whenever they ceased from sorrow and mourning, it was usual to bathe and anoint themselves; whence Eurynome in Homer advises Penelope to leave off lamenting (c),

Χρῶτ' ἀπονιψαμένη, καὶ ἐπιχρίσασα παρμάς,

washing her body, and anointing her face. And, as we are informed by Artemidorus (d), the ancient Greeks commonly bathed ἢ πόλεμον κατασφραμένον, ἢ μεγάλην πανσάμενον πόνον, *after the finishing of a war, or any other great fatigue.* Thus in Homer, Telemachus and Pisistratus are bathed and anointed at Menelaus's palace, after a long journey; Diomedes and Ulysses, after their return from discovering the manner of their enemies encampment,

———λοισσαμένω καὶ ἀλειψαμένω λίπ' ἐλαίῳ
 Δίπνω ἐφιζάνετην.———

having bathed and anointed, sat down to supper. In the heroical ages, men and women, without distinction, bathed themselves in rivers; this we find done by Nausicaæ, the daughter of Alcinous, king of Phæacia (e), and Europa in Moschus (f).

———Φαιδρεύνοιο χροῖα προχοῇσιν Ἀναύρου,

cleanseth her body in the mouth of Aunaurus. Helena also and her fellows wash in the river Eurotas, according to Theocritus (g).

Ἀμμι

(a) Athenæus, Lib. X. Cap. ult.

(b) Loco citato.

(c) Odyss. ε'. v. 170.

(d) Lib. I. Cap. LXVI.

(e) Odyss. VI.

(f) Idyll. ε'. v. 31.

(g) Idyll. δ.

v. 31.

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(a)

Λμεις γὰρ πᾶσαι συνομάλικες, ἥς δρόμῳ αὐτὰς
Χρυσάμιναις ἀνδρείῃ παρ' Εὐρώταο λουτροῖς,
Τετρακίς ἐχέοντα κόραι, θῆλυς νολαίαι.

Though the expressions in these verses are manifestly accommodated to the institutions of Lycurgus, whereby the virgins were obliged to bathe, and accustom themselves to such exercises as in that age were only practised by the men; whence the poet observes, that it was done ἀνδρείῃ, after the manner of men; which would have been a very improper expression in the heroical times, when it was customary for both sexes to use this diversion alike. But if the sea was within a convenient distance, they commonly bathed in it, rather than in the rivers, the salt water being thought, to use the words of Athenæus (a), μάλιστα ταῖς νύκτοις πρόσφορος, conducive to strengthen the nerves, by drying up superfluous humours. Thus, to forbear the mention of other instances, Diomedes and Ulysses in Homer, after very great fatigue,

———ιδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπνίζοντο θαλάσση
Εσθάντις.———

went into the sea, to cleanse themselves from sweat; and they who lived at a greater distance from the sea, sometimes removed thither for their health's sake. An example whereof we find in Minutius Felix, by one of the persons, in whose dialogue it is resolved, *Ostiam petere, amantissimam civitatem, quod esset corpori meo siccandis humoribus de marinis lavacris blanda et expedita curatio*, to go to the most pleasant city, Ostia, in order to enjoy the benefit of bathing in the sea, which is an easy and expeditious method of drying up the superfluous humours of the body. Hot baths were also very ancient. *Ἡράκλεια λουτρὰ*, the hot baths showed by Vulcan, or, as others say, by Minerva to Hercules, at a time when he had underwent a very great fatigue, are celebrated by the poets. Pindar (b) speaks of *θερμὰ Νυμφῶν λουτρὰ*, the hot baths of the nymphs. Homer commends one of the fountains of Scamander for its hot water, in the twenty-second Iliad. In the same Iliad, Andromache provides a hot bath for Hector, against his return from the battle. Nestor, in the eleventh Iliad, orders Hecamede to make ready *θερμὰ λουτρὰ*, an hot bath; and to mention but one instance more, the Phæacians are said in Homer's Odyssey to place their chief delight in

Εἵματα τ' ἐξημοῖσά, λουτρὰ τε θερμὰ, καὶ ἑναι,

Changes of apparel, hot baths, and beds; yet hot baths do not seem to have been then so much used as in later ages; and those words of Artemidorus (c), that *πάλαι εἰκὸς εἶναι ποιεῖν τὰ βαλανεῖα*, baths seem

3 A 2

to

(a) Lib. I. Cap. XIX.

(b) Olymp. XII.

(c) Lib. I. Cap. LXVI.

to have been thought hurtful by the ancients, are probably meant of hot baths only; and then the following words, which have been already cited, that baths were anciently never used but after some very great fatigue, must be understood in the same sense; however that be, it is plain from that author, that ancient Greeks βαλανῖα ἐκ ὕδατος had no balneos like those of later times, but ἐν τοῖς ἀσάμινδοις ἐλέοντο, washed in certain vessels called ἀσάμινδοι; which word, as explained by Phavorinus (a), signifies πύελον, or λεχάνην, a large basin or vessel to wash in, being derived παρὰ τὸ τὴν ἄσπην μινύθειν, from taking away the filth of the body; whence ἀσάμινδος is mentioned by Pollux amongst the vessels which belong to balneos; and the ancient Romans had a vessel in their own houses, wherein they washed, called *lavatrina*, or *latrina*, which was afterwards termed *balneum*; and when two baths came to be used, one hot, and another cold, in the plural *balnea* (b). Public balneos were unknown till later times: Athenæus tells us, that, in his age, προσφάτως τὰ βαλανῖα παρῆκται, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδὲν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως ἰσώντων αὐτὰ, they were but lately come into use, and that formerly no such places were allowed to be within the city (c). The balneos commonly contained the following rooms:

1. Αποδυτήριον, wherein ἀπιδύοντο τὰ ἱμάτια, they put off their clothes.
2. Ὑπόκαυστον, or πυρῖατῆριον, *sudatorium*, a room most commonly round, and provided with πῦρ ἀκαπνον, fire, so contrived that it should not smoke, for the benefit of those who desired to sweat; it was also termed *Laconicum*, from the frequent use of this way of sweating in Laconia.
3. Βαπτιστήριον, a hot bath.
4. Λατρὸν, a cold bath.
5. Αλειπτήριον, the room wherein they were anointed.

After bathing, they always anointed, either ἐμφράτοντες τὰς σαματικὰς πόρους, to close the pores of the body, which was especially necessary after the use of hot baths, or πρὸς τὸ μὴ ξηρανθέντος τῆ ὕδατος ἀποσκληρυνμένα γίνεσθαι τὰ σώματα, lest the skin should become rough after the water was dried off it (d). If we may believe Pliny (e), they had no better ointment in the time of the Trojan war, than oil perfumed with odoriferous herbs, especially roses; whence ῥοδοῖον ἔλαιον, oil mixed with roses, is mentioned in Homer's twenty-third Iliad (f), where Venus anoints Hector's body:

— ῥοδοῖον δὲ χεῖν ἔλαιον
 Ἀμβροσίω.

To

(a) V. ἀσάμινδος, Conf. idem. v. βαλανῖον.

Iliad. α',

(c) Lib. I. sub finem, Cap. XIV.

(e) Nat. Hist. Lib. III. Cap. I.

(b) Varro de L. L. Nonius Mar-

(d) Conf. Eustathius in

(f) 186.

To the same ointments he elsewhere gives the epithets of ἀμβροσίον ἰδανόν, and τεθυωμένον (a), speaking of Juno,

Ἀμβροσίη μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροὸς ἡμερόντος
 Λύματα πάντα καθήρεν ἀλειψατο δὲ λίπ' ἐλαίῳ
 Ἀμβροσίῳ, ἰδανῶ, τὸ γὰρ οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν.

But Athenæus is of opinion, that Homer οἶδε τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν μύρων, ἔλαια δ' αὐτὰ καλεῖ μετ' ἐπιθήτε, was acquainted with the use of more precious ointments, but calls them oil, with the addition of an epithet, to distinguish them from common oil (b). The same observation is made by the commentators upon that poet, when they explain those words εὐώδεις ἔλαιον, *perfumed oil*; and it is well known that the Jews called all sorts of ointments by the name of oil; the reason seems to have been, that oil was the first ointment; however, the ancient heroes never used μύρα, *costly ointments*. Athenæus himself acknowledges, that Homer never introduces ἀλειφομένους τὰς Ἡρώας, any of his heroes anointed with any ointment beside oil, except Paris, a soft and effeminate person. In more delicate ages, when very much of the primitive plainness was laid aside, it was still by many thought indecent for men to anoint themselves with precious ointments. Chrysippus would have the name of μύρον derived ἀπὸ τῆ μετὰ πολλῆ μωροῦ καὶ πόνοι ματαιαί γίνεσθαι, from the vain and unprofitable labour of compounding it. And Socrates was of opinion, that the smell, as well as the garments of men and women, ought to be different; that for women it was decent enough to smell of perfumed ointments, but that men should rather smell of oil, which was used in the schools of exercise. Solon prohibited men from selling ointments; and the laws of Sparta entirely forbade any person to sell them, as we are informed at large by Athenæus (c); nevertheless women, and some effeminate men, were so curious in their choice of ointments, that they could tell very critically, ποῖόν τι ἐκάστῳ τῶν μελῶν ἔστιν ἐπιτιθέσθαι, what sort suited best with each member of the body. An example whereof we find in the following verses of Antiphanes, which are cited by Athenæus;

Ἐκ χρυσοκολλήτε δὲ κάλπιδος μύρα
 Αἰγυπτίῳ μὲν τὰς πόδας καὶ τὰ σκέλη,
 Φοινικίῳ δὲ τὰς γνάθους καὶ τὰ τιτθία,
 Σισυμβρίῳ δὲ τὸν ἔτερον βραχίονα,
 Ἀμαρακίῳ δὲ τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ τὴν κόμην,
 Ερπυλλίῳ δὲ τὸ γόνυ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

Lastly, It must not be omitted, that the feet being most exposed to dust and filth, were oftner washed and anointed than other parts of the body;

(a) Iliad. ζ. v. 170.

(b) Lib. XV. Cap. XI.

(c) Lib. XV. Cap. X.

body; on which account they are by some thought to be called *λειτουργοὶ πόδες*, in Homer. Women were generally employed to wash and anoint the feet, both in the heroical and later ages; it was customary for them to kiss the feet of those to whom they thought a more than common respect was due; thus the woman in the Gospel kisses the feet of our blessed Saviour while she anointed them. The same ceremony was performed towards Philocean by his daughter, as himself relates in Aristophanes (a);

— καὶ πρῶτα μὲν θυγάτηρ με
 Απονίζη· καὶ τῷ πόδι ἀλείφει· καὶ προσκύνουσα φιλήσῃ.

Let us from this digression return to the entertainment; and the first ceremony after the guests arrived at the house of entertainment, was the salutation performed by the master of the house, or one appointed in his place; to do this was termed by the general name of *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, though this word κυρίως ἐστὶ τὸ περιπλέκεισθαι τινα, in its strict sense, signifies to embrace one with arms around, being derived ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγῆς ἀπῆσθαι εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἕτερον, from forcibly drawing another to one's self, as we are informed by the old Scholiast upon Aristophanes (b); but the most common salutation was by the conjunction of their right hands, the right hand being accounted a pledge of fidelity and friendship; whence Pythagoras advised, μὴ παντὶ ἐμβαλλεῖν τὴν δεξιάν, that the right hand should not be given to every man, meaning that all persons were not fit to be made our friends. This ceremony was very ancient, and is mentioned in Homer (c):

Οἱ δ' ὥς ἔν ξένους ἴδον, αἰθροὶ ἦλθον ἅπαντες,
 Χερσὶν τ' ἡσπάζοντο καὶ ἰδριάζεσθαι ἄνωγον.

Hence *δεξιῶσθαι* is sometimes joined with *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, and is almost synonymous to it. Thus in Aristophanes (d);

— αὐτὸν ἡσπάζοντο καὶ
 Ἐδεξιῶντο ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.

Sometimes it is used figuratively for any sort of entertainment or reception. Thus we find *δεξιῶσθαι δαιτί*, *δεξιῶσθαι τραπέζῃ*, *δεξιῶσθαι δώροις*, *δεξιῶσθαι χρηστοῖς λόγοις*, *ἔργοις*, &c.

Sometimes they kissed the lips, hands, knees, or feet, in salutations, as the person deserved more or less respect. There was a particular sort of kiss, which is called by Suidas *χύτρον*, by Pollux *χύτρα*, the pot, ὅπῃ τὰ παῖδια φιλοῖν τῶν ὄντων λαμβανόμενα, when they took the person, like a pot, by both his ears, which was chiefly practised by or towards children. We find it mentioned by Eunicus (e);

Δαδῶσα

(a) Vespsia, p. 473.

(b) In Plutum, p. 77.

(c) Odyss. γ'. v. 35.

(d) Pluta.

(e) In Antia, apud Julium Pollucem.

Δαΰσα τῶν ὠτῶν φιλεῖται τὴν χύτραν.

And by Tibullus (a) ;

———— natusq. parenti
Oscula comprensus auribus eripiet.

As also by Theocritus, from whom it appears to have been sometimes used by men and women (b) ;

Οὐκ ἔραμ' Αλκίππας, ὅτι με πρὶν ἐκ ἐφίλασε
Τῶν ὠτῶν καθιλοῖσ', ὅτε οἱ τὴν φάσσαν ἔδωκε.

The guests being admitted, did not immediately sit down at the table, which was accounted ill breeding, but spent some time in viewing and commending the room and furniture. Thus the son in Aristophanes (c) instructs his father to do ;

Ἐπειτ' ἐπαίνισόν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων,
Ορεφὴν δάσσαι, κρεκάδι αὐλῆς δαύμασον.

Which observation, with others of the same nature, is taken notice of by Athenæus (d),

CHAP. XX.

Of the Ceremonies at Entertainments.

THE ancient Grecians sat at meat. There are three sorts of seats mentioned by Homer.

1. Δίφρος, which contained two persons, as the name seems to import, and was commonly placed for those of the meanest quality.
2. Θρόνος, on which they sat upright, having under their feet a footstool, termed Θρῆνος.
3. Κλισμὸς, on which they sat leaning a little backwards, as the word signifies. Of these a more full and exact account may be seen in Athenæus (e).

Neither was it the custom in Greece only, but in most other countries, to sit at entertainments ; it was practised by the primitive Romans,

as

(a) Lib. II.

(b) Idyll. 6. v. 132.

(c) Vespis.

(d) Lib. IV. Cap. XXVII.

(e) Lib. V. Cap. IV.

as we are informed by Isidorus (a) and Servius (b). And Philo hath observed, that Joseph ordered his brethren *κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας καθίσθαι, μήπω τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ταῖς συμποτικαῖς συνουσίαις κατακλίσαι χρωμένων*, to sit according to their ages, the custom of lying at entertainments not having then obtained (c). But afterwards *ἐπεὶ τρυφῇ ἤρξαντο, κατήρυνσαν ἀπὸ τῶν δίφρων ἐπὶ τὰς κλινὰς ὡς ἀναιμένως πίνυν*, when men began to be soft and effeminate, they exchanged their seats for beds, in order to drink with more ease; yet then *οἱ ἥρωες οἱ καθήμενοι οἰνοπότηζον*, the heroes who drank sitting were still thought praise-worthy; and some who accustomed themselves to a primitive and severe way of living, retained the ancient posture. This was done by the Cynic philosophers, as we find in Plautus (d);

——— *potius in subsellio*
Cynice accipiemur, quam in lectis.

In Macedonia, no man was allowed to sit at meals till he had killed a boar without the help of nets, as we are informed by Hegesander in Athenæus (e). And Alexander the Great sometimes kept to the ancient way; and once *τῆρακοσίς ἡγεμόνας ἐσιῶν, ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ δίφρων ἀργυρῶν καὶ κλιντῆρων, ἀλουργοῖς περιεβῶσας ἱματίοις*, entertaining 400 commanders, he placed them upon silver seats, covered with purple cloth, as we learn from Duris in the same author. And in the most luxurious and effeminate ages, children were sometimes not permitted to lie down, but had seats at the end of their fathers beds. It was the custom for the children of princes, and the rest of the nobility of that age, to sit at their meals in the sight of their relations, in the time of Tacitus (f). Whence Suetonius describing the behaviour of Augustus towards his grandchildren, says, that *neque cœnavit una, nisi in imo lecto adfiderent*, they always sat at the end of the bed when they supped with him (g). And the same author reports, that the Emperor Claudius always supped with his children, and some of the noble boys and maids, who, according to ancient custom, sat at the bottom of the bed (h). The same place was commonly assigned to men of meaner condition, when they were entertained with others of better quality. Whence in Plutarch (i), the rest of the guests lie down, only Æsop is placed upon a seat next to Solon. And Donatus (k) reports, that Terence being ordered to repeat some part of his comedies to Cæcilius, went to him at the time of supper, and being in mean apparel, was placed upon a seat near the bed; but after he had recited a few verses, was invited to lie down to supper.

The manner of lying at meat was thus: The table was placed in the middle, round which stood the beds, covered with cloth or tapestry,

(a) Lib. XX. Cap. II.

(b) In Æneid. VIII.

(c) Libro de Joseph: p. 555.

Edit. Francf.

(d) Stich. Act. V. Sc. IV. v. 22.

(e) Lib. I. Cap. XIV.

(f) Annal. Lib. XIII.

(g) Augusti, Cap. LXIV.

(h) Claudii Cap. XXXII.

(i) Symposio Sapientum.

(k) Terentii Vita.

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(a) Ora
(d) Syr
7. 498.

tapestry, according to the quality of the master of the house, upon these they lay, inclining the superior part of their bodies upon their left arms, the lower part being stretched out at length, or a little bent; their heads were raised up, and their backs sometimes supported with pillows. If several persons lay upon the same bed, then the first lay on the uppermost part, with his legs stretched out behind the second person's back; the second's head lay below the navel or bosom of the former, his feet being placed behind the third's back; and in like manner the third, fourth, fifth, and the rest; for though it was accounted mean and fordid at Rome to place more than three or four upon one bed, yet as we are informed by Cicero (*a*), *Græci quini stipati in lectulis, sæpe plures fuere*, the Greeks used to crowd five, and many times a greater number into the same bed. Persons beloved commonly lay in the bosoms of those who loved them; thus the beloved disciple in the Gospel lies in the bosom of our blessed Saviour at the celebration of the passover (*b*). There is another example of the like practice in Juvenal (*c*);

Cæna sedet, gremio jacuit nova nupta mariti.

At the beginning of the entertainment, it was customary to lie flat upon their bellies, that so their right hand might with more ease reach to the table; but afterwards, when their appetites began to decrease, they reclined upon their sides; in which sense we are to understand the words of Plutarch (*d*), *ἕκαστον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐπὶ σόμα προνέμειν, ἀποδύποντα πρὸς τὴν τραπέζαν, ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ στήθεσιν ἐπὶ βάθος ἐκ πλάτους τὴν κατάκλισιν*, or, as it should be read, *κατάκλισιν*, that at the beginning every one put his mouth forward, looking towards the table; but afterwards changes the posture of his inclination from depth to breadth. And Horace alludes to the same custom in the following verses (*e*):

*Nec satis est cara pisces avertere mensa,
Ignarum quibus est jus aptius, & quibus assis,
Languidus in cubitum sese conviva reponet.*

It was customary from the heroic ages downwards, for the guests to be ranked according to their quality. It is evident that in Homer, as Eustathius (*f*) hath observed, *ἐν συμπόσις ἄνθρωποι κἀθίζονται οἱ ἀριστοὶ*, the chief persons had the uppermost seats at entertainments. And afterwards at public entertainments there was *ἰνομακλήτωρ*, *nomenclator*, a person appointed to call every guest by name to his proper place. But to determine in what order they sat, and which were accounted the chief places, is more difficult. It seems probable that the heroes sat in long ranks, and that the chief persons were placed at the head of each rank on both sides of the table, which is the meaning of the word

Vol. II.

3 B

ἄνθρωποι,

(*a*) Orat. in Pisonem.

(*b*) Joan. Evang. XIII. 23.

(*c*) Sat. II. v. 120.

(*d*) Sympos. Lib. V. Quæst. VI.

(*e*) Lib. II. Sat. IV. v. 37.

(*f*) In Iliad. VI.

ἄκροι, uppermost, in the fore-mentioned passage of Eustathius. Thus, in the ninth Iliad (a), where Achilles entertains Agamemnon's ambassadors, he places himself uppermost in one rank, and Ulysses, as the principal ambassador, in the other ;

— ἔταρ κρέα νεῖμεν Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίος ἵξεν Ὀδυσσεύς Δείοιο,
 Τοίχῃ τ' ἑτέρωιο. —

Neptune, though coming last to an entertainment of the gods, yet

Εἴξεται ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι. —

fat in the middle, that place being reserved, as a right belonging to him. Jupiter was at the head of one rank, next to him on the same side fat Minerva, his daughter, who, on a certain time, gave place to Thetis, probably as being a stranger (b).

Ἡ δ' ἄρα πῶρ Διὶ πατρὶ καθεύετο, εἴξε δ' Ἀθήνη.

Juno led the opposite rank, and being wife and sister to Jupiter, neither gave place to Thetis nor any other (c). The most honourable places in beds at entertainments were not the same in all nations. In Persia the middle place was the chief, and always assigned to the king, or the chief guest ; in Greece the first or nearest to the table ; and amongst the Heracleotæ, and the Greeks who lived about the Euxine sea, the first place of the middle bed was the most honourable. On the contrary, at Rome the last, or uppermost place of the middle, was preferred before any other (d). But they who affected a more free and easy way of living, were not solicitous about places. An example hereof we have in Timon (e), who having invited men of all qualities, citizens, strangers, friends, and relations, to a splendid entertainment, desired every man to lie down in that place which pleased him best ; nevertheless men of proud tempers, even on such occasions, like the Jews on that account reproved by our blessed Saviour, affected to have the chief places ; so it happened at Timon's entertainment, where many of the guests having taken their places, one in very fine apparel, and attended with a numerous retinue, came to the door of the room, viewed all the company, then presently retired ; and being followed by several of those who were present, and desired to return, replied, *there was no fit place left for him*. Some disposed their guests in such an order as they thought most apt to promote good fellowship, placing men of the same years, of the same profession,

or

(a) V. 217.

Quæst. I.

libri Quæst. II.

(b) Iliad. ε. v. 100.

(d) Conf. Plutarchus, Lib. cit. Quæst. III.

(c) Conf. Plutarchus Sympof. Lib. I.

(e) Idem ejusdem

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or temper, next one another; or tempering the variety of humours by placing men of angry dispositions nearest the meek and gentle, those of silent tempers nearest the talkative; but, in things of this nature, there was no certain rule, every man followed his own fancy; and it is propounded as a problem in Plutarch (*a*), whether was best, to assign every man his place, or leave the guests to take the places which happened to them? I shall only add under this head, that it is said to have been a very ancient custom at Lacedemon for the eldest person to go before the rest to the beds at the common hall, unless the king gave the precedence to another, by calling him first. Thus Eustathius (*b*).

Let us, in the next place, proceed to the table. Now the table was accounted *ιερόν χρεῖμα, δι' ἧς ὁ θεὸς τιμᾶται φίλιός τε καὶ ξένιος*, a very sacred thing, by means of which honour was paid to the god of friendship and hospitality (*c*). This god was Jupiter, who, from the protection of guests and friends, received the titles of *ξένιος* and *φίλιος*. Hercules also had some of this affair; whence he is called *τραπέζιος* and *ἀπο-τραπέζιος*; neither were the rest of the gods thought to be wholly unconcerned. It was customary to place the statues of the gods upon the table; whence Arnobius (*d*) derides the Gentiles, *quod sacras faciunt mensas salinorum appositu et simulacris deorum*, for consecrating their tables, by placing on them salts, and images of their gods. They also, as will farther appear afterwards, offered libations to the gods upon their tables; whence Cleodemus in Plutarch calls it *φιλίων θεῶν βωμόν καὶ ξενίων*, the altar of the gods of friendship and hospitality. And according to the saying of Thales, "As the destruction of the earth would occasion disorder and confusion in all parts of the universe, so the table being taken away, the whole house would presently be dissolved, the holy fire, and hearth, and entertainment, which are the chief endearments of life, or rather life itself, would all be destroyed." Thus Plutarch (*e*). Hence we may learn why so much veneration was paid to the tables, that to dishonour them by any dishonest or indecent behaviour, was thought a very great crime. Hence that saying of Juvenal (*f*):

Hic verbis nullus pudor, aut reverentia mensæ.

And complaints against such as perfidiously violated the regard due to the hospitable tables are very frequent in the poets. Thus Cassandra in Lycophron (*g*) complains of Paris, who stole away Helena, the wife of Menelaus, by whom he had been courteously entertained:

Ετλης θεῶν ἀλοιτὸς ἐβῆναι δίκην.
Λάξας τράπεζαν, καίνακνύσας δέμιν.

3 B 2

In

(*a*) Libro citato.
Ep. LVII.

(*b*) Eustathius in Iliad. c'. p. 186.

(*c*) Synesius,

(*d*) Lib. II. contra gentes.

(*e*) Convivio septem sapientum.

(*f*) Sat. II. v. 110.

(*g*) Ver. 136.

In the heroical ages, the tables were made of wood, polished after the best manner of those times, and the feet were sometimes painted with variety of colours. Hence the following epithets of tables in Homer, ξισή, εὐζοος, κυανόπεζα, &c. The form was round, if we may believe Myrleanus in Athenæus (a), who reports, that the ancient Greeks made their tables, and several other things, spherical, in imitation of the world, which they believed to be of that figure. But Eustathius, who is rather to be followed, observes, from several passages in Homer, μήπω κυκλόεσσις εἶναι τὰς τραπέζας, ἀλλὰ τεταυμέναις εἰς μήκωσιν, *that the tables were not then round, but extended in length*; which figure is more agreeable to what hath been before observed concerning the manner of their sitting in long ranks. The tables in those days were not covered with linen, but only carefully cleansed with wet sponges. Of this custom there are several examples in Homer, as that in the first book of his *Odyssæy* (b):

Οἱ δ' αὖτε σπόγγοισι πολυτρήτοισι τραπέζας
Νίζον καὶ προτιθέντο, ἰδὲ κρέα πολλὰ δατεύοντο.

The same thing is done in the twentieth book of the same poem (c), to forbear the mention of other instances. And later authors speak of the like practice. Thus Arian (d), ἄρον τὰς τραπέζας, σπόγγοισιν, *take away the tables, cleanse them with sponges*. And Martial,

Hæc tibi sorte datur tergendis spongia mensis.

In later ages, the tables of men of inferior quality were commonly supported by three feet, and made of plain and ordinary wood; but those which belonged to men of better condition were composed of more costly materials. The most curious sorts of wood were sought, and many times fetched from foreign countries for this use. They were also adorned with plates of silver, or other metals, and supported by one or more feet, curiously wrought, and called after the name of some of the ancient heroes, Atlantes, Telamones, &c. The most common support of these tables was an ivory foot, cast in the form of a lion, a leopard, or some other animal. Some have thought that in Homer every guest had a distinct table by himself; whence Athenæus (e) reports, τὸ μονοφαγεῖν ἐν χρήσει τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἶναι, *that the ancients used to eat by themselves*; but as that is not sufficiently proved by the instances which are produced for that end, so, in the following ages, it was certainly accounted more unsociable and inhuman to eat in that manner, as we are informed by the same author (f), which was nevertheless practised by

(a) Lib. XI Cap. XII.
Cap. XXVI.

(b) Ver. 112.
(c) Lib. I. Cap. VIII.

(c) Ver. 150.

(d) Lib. VII.
(f) Lib. I. Cap. VIII. & X.

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by some of the barbarous nations, and in particular, as Tacitus reports, by the Germans.

Τράπεζα in Greek, and *mensa* in Latin, are ambiguous words, and signify not only the tables, but also τὰ σιτία τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τιθέμενα, the meat placed upon them, to use the words of Julius Pollux (a). Hence by πρῶται, δεύτεραι, τρίται τράπεζαι, and in Latin by *prima*, *secunda*, *tertia mensa*, are understood the first, second, and third courses of meat; which ambiguity of signification is by some thought to have been occasioned by the custom then in use, of bringing in and taking away the tables and the meat upon them together; which opinion is confirmed by the following passage of Alexis in Athenæus (b).

Ὡς δὲ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνδρώπας δύο
Φέροντας εἶσω, ποικιλῶν παροψιδῶν
Κόσμος βρύσσαν. —————

There were therefore three distinct parts of the supper, which was their chief meal.

1. Δείπνα προίμιον, *antecœnium*, *cœnæ præfatio*, sometimes termed πρό-
πωμα, which, as the names import, was rather a preparation to, than any part of the supper, and consisted of herbs of the sharpest taste, in particular at Athens, of coleworts, eggs, oysters, οἶνόμελι, a mixture of honey, and as it is probable, of the sharpest wines, and other things which were thought to create an appetite.

2. Δείπνον, *cœna*, the supper, which was sometimes called κεφαλὴ δείπνου, in Latin, *caput cœnæ*; in this sense the following passage of Martial is by some understood :

————— *mullus tibi quatuor emptus*
Librarum cœnæ pompa, caputque fuit.

This course was always more plentifully furnished out than the former; whence was that saying of Dromeas the parasite, who being asked whether the suppers at Chalcis or those at Athens were more splendid? replied, "that the preface of the supper at Chalcis was to be preferred before the whole entertainment at Athens;" meaning, by the preface of the supper, the several sorts of shell-fish, and other provision, which was consumed before the supper, as we are informed by Athenæus (c).

3. Δευτέρα τράπεζα, the second course, which consisted of sweetmeats of all kinds, which they called τραγήματα, τραγηματισμὸν, ματῖνας, τραγά-
λια, ἐπιδόρεψιμα, ἐπιδορεπίσματα, ἐπιφορήματα, ἐπίδειπνα, μεταδόρεψια, &c. Also by the Dorians, who called entertainments αἶκλα, and συναίκλεια, they were termed ἐπαίκλεια (d). This course was furnished with the
utmost

(a) Lib. VI. Cap. XII.

(b) Lib. IX. principio, Cap. II.

(c) Lib. IV. Cap. IV.

(d) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. IV. Cap. VIII.

utmost splendour, especially in ages addicted to luxury; whence it was sometimes, by way of eminence, called *τράπεζα*, the *course*, as we are informed by Athenæus (a), who has left descriptions of several of these courses. But in this sort of provision the Grecians were very much excelled by the Persians, who used to say, τὰς Ἑλλήνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύσθαι ὅτι σφισιν ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέται ἐδὲν λόγῳ ἄκιον, εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιο ἰσθίοντες ἔ παύονται, *that the Grecians leave off eating while they are hungry, because nothing of any value is ever set before them after supper; and yet if any thing is produced, they still eat on* (b).

Sometimes the three forementioned provisions were called *πρώτη, δευτέρα, τρίτη τράπεζα*, the *first, second, third course*, the *προοίμιον δείπνου* being reckoned a part of the supper, and making the first course; and where there was a great variety of dishes, that every one of the guests might might be able to choose what pleased him best, τὸ ἔδος ἦν ἐσιτάτορι κατακλιθέντι παραδίδουθαι γραμματίδιόν τι περιέχον ἀναγραφήν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, ἐφ' ᾗ εἶδεναι ὅ, τι μέλλοι ὄψον φέρειν ὁ μάγειρος; *a paper was delivered to the master of the feast, containing a catalogue of all the dishes which the cook had provided, and this was communicated by him to the guests as occasion required.* But it must not be imagined that the Grecian suppers always consisted of such a variety of dishes or courses; whatever be the custom at the tables of princes, and others of the first quality, the rest were content with meaner provision for their ordinary diet, only upon the festivals of the gods, or upon other special occasions, they allowed themselves more freedom (c); and the heroical ages rarely had more than one course.

The ancients had so great a sense of the Divine Providence, that they thought it unlawful to eat till they had first offered a part of their provision, as a sort of first-fruits, to the gods; which custom was so religiously observed in the heroical ages, that Achilles, though disturbed by Agamemnon's ambassadors at midnight, would not eat till an oblation was offered.

Θεοῖσι δὲ θύσαι ἀνάγει.

Πάτροκλον δὲ ἐταῖρον, ὃ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλει θυηλάας.

And Ulysses in another place of Homer, reports, that in Polyphemus's den, himself and his fellow-soldiers were not unmindful of this duty.

Ἐνθάδε πῦρ καίοντες ἐθύσαμεν, ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ

Τυρῶν αἰνύμενοι φάγομεν. —

In the entertainments of Plato and Xenophon, we find oblations made; and, to forbear the mention of more examples, the neglect of this duty was accounted a very great impiety, which none but Epicurus,

(a) Lib. XIV. Cap. XI. (b) Herodotus, Lib. I. Cap. CXXXIII. Athenæus, Lib. IV. Cap. X. (c) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. XV. initio, Cap. X.

Epicurus, and others who worshipped no gods at all, would be guilty of; these, with several other observations on the same subject, we find in Athenæus (*a*). The first of these oblations was always made to Vesta, the chief of the household gods; afterwards they worshipped some of the other gods; and, last of all, offered a libation to Vesta, as we are informed by Homer (*b*):

— ἔ γὰρ ἄτερ σε
Εἰλαπίναι θνητοῖσιν, ἵν' ἔ πρώτη πυμάτῃτε
Εσίη ἀρχόμενος σπένδει μελιηδέα οἶνον.

The reason why this goddess had this honour paid her, was, either because she, being protectress of the house, was, in Cicero's language (*c*), *rerum custos intimarum*, "keeper of things most concealed from common view;" or, according to Phurnutius, because she being the same with the earth in the esteem of the people, was the common principle out of which all bodies are produced, and into which they are again resolved; or, lastly, According to the account of Aristocritus in the Scholiast of Aristophanes (*d*), this privilege was conferred by Jupiter, for the service done by Vesta in his war against the giants; hence came the proverb used by Plato (*e*) and others, ἀφ' Εσίας ἀρχεσθαι, *to begin with Vesta*; whereby was intimated, that our domestic concerns ought to be our first and chief care.

During the entertainment, all the guests were apparelled in white, or some other cheerful colour; and, to use Cicero's words (*f*), *Quis unquam cœnavit atratus?* "What person ever was found to sup in black?" That colour was left to times of mourning. It was also customary to deck themselves with flowers, or garlands composed of flowers, which were provided by the master of the feast, and brought in before the second course, or, as some are of opinion, at the beginning of the entertainment (*g*). They not only adorned their heads, necks and breasts, but often bestrewed the beds whereon they lay, and all parts of the room; but the head was chiefly regarded, as appears from the following verses of Ovid (*h*), wherein he celebrates this custom:

Ebrius innexis philyra conviva capillis
Saltat, & imprudens uritur arte meri.
Ebrius ad durum formosæ limen amicæ
Cantat, habent undæ molliæ fersa comæ.
Nulla coronata peraguntur seria fronte,
Nec liquidæ juncto flore bibuntur aquæ.
Donec eras mistus nullis, Acheloe, racemis,
Gratia sumendæ non erat ulla rosæ.

Bacchus

(*a*) Lib. IV. Cap. XXVII. (*b*) Hymno in Vestam & Mercurium. (*c*) Lib. II. De Natura Deorum. (*d*) Vespis, p. 490. (*e*) Euthyphrone. (*f*) In Vatinius. (*g*) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. XXV. Cap. X. (*h*) Fastorum, Lib. V.

*Bacchus amat flores, Baccho placuisse coronam
Ex Ariadneo fidere nosse potes.*

Garlands are by some thought to have been an invention of Prometheus, who first prescribed the use of them, that men should, by that emblem of his bonds, commemorate the punishment which he had suffered for his kindness to them. To this opinion the following verses of Æschylus, which are cited by Athenæus (a), seem to allude :

Τῷ δὲ ξένῳ γε στέφανον, ἀρχαῖον στέφος
Δεσμῶν ἄριστος ἐκ Προμηθέως λόγος.

In another place (b) the same author relates out of Draco the Corcyrean, that Janus invented garlands, ships, boats, and the art of coining money ; and thence it was customary in several cities of Greece, and also of Italy and Sicily, for the coin to bear on one side the image of two faced Janus, and on the reverse a boat, a ship, or a garland. Pliny will have the first garlands to have been used by Bacchus, and composed of ivy (c). And in later ages they commonly made use of ivy and amethystus, as preservatives against drunkenness, whence the latter of them has its name from the privative particle ἀ and μέθη (d). Festus affirms, *Antiquissimum genus fuisse coronarum laneum*, " that the most ancient garlands were made of wool ;" with one of this sort the enchantress in Theocritus (e) adorns her cup :

Στέφανον τὰν κελύσαν φοινικίαν οἶος ἀάτω

Whether garlands were commonly used at the time of the Trojan war, is not certain. Athenæus hath observed that they are used by none of Homer's heroes, yet that the poet himself has several allusions to them, some of which are the following :

Νῆσον ἦν πέρι πόντος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωτο.

And,

———πάντη γὰρ στέφανος πολέμοιο δεδήκει.

Whence he concludes that garlands were unknown in the heroical ages, but came into use before Homer's time (f).

The flowers and greens whereof garlands were composed, were various. In the primitive times, they made no entertainments but upon the festivals of the gods, and then the garlands, hymns, and songs, were such as the gods were thought to delight in, as we

(a) Lib. XV. Cap. V.

(b) Ejusdem libri, Cap. XIII.

(c) Lib. XVI. Cap. I.

(d) Plutarchus Sympof. Lib. III. Quæst. I.
Lib. I. Cap. XV.

(e) Idyll. II. v. 2.

(f) Athenæus,

learn from Athenæus (a). And in later ages, upon the public festival of any god, they seem to have used the particular herb or flower which was sacred to him; but at other times all sorts were made use of, as the season would allow, or they were thought most conducive to pleasure, refreshment (b), or health. Some were very curious in the choice of their garlands, thinking them to have a very great influence upon mens bodies; whence Mnestheus and Callimachus, two Greek physicians, wrote books concerning garlands, as we are informed by Pliny (c). I shall add nothing farther upon this head, only that the rose being dedicated by Cupid to Harpocrates the god of silence, to engage him to conceal the lewd actions of Venus, was an emblem of silence, whence to present or hold it up to any person in discourse, served instead of an admonition, that it was time for him to hold his peace; and in entertaining rooms it was customary to place a rose above the table, to signify that what was there spoken should be kept private. This practice is described in the following epigram:

*Est rosæ flos Veneris, cujus quò facta laterent,
Harpocrati, Matris dona, dicavit Amor.
Inde rosam mensis hospes suspendit amicis;
Conviva ut sub ea dicta, tacenda sciat.*

From the garlands let us proceed to ointments and perfumes. The ancient Greeks, as Athenæus hath observed, (d), anointed their heads with some common and ordinary sort of ointment, thinking, by that means, to keep themselves cool and temperate, and to prevent fevers, and other mischievous consequences of the too plentiful use of wine; but afterwards, as it is usual for men to improve the things which are used out of mere necessity, by the addition of others which serve for pleasure and luxury, they came to use precious ointments and perfumes. These, as also the distribution of garlands, and second courses at entertainments, with all the arts of luxury and effeminacy, were first introduced into Greece by the Ionians, who, by conversing with the Asiatics, were taught to lay aside the primitive plainness of their manners sooner than any of the Greeks; whence *Ionicus risus* and *Ionicus motus* became proverbial expressions for profuse laughter and unseemly motions (e). The chief part to which ointments were applied, was the head; but other parts of the body had sometimes their share both of ointments and garlands, and particularly *ἐνθαπνέτο τὰ στήθη, καὶ ἰμώεν, ὅτε αὐτόθι ἡ καρδιά*, the breast was adorned with garlands and anointed, as being the seat of the heart, which they thought was refreshed by these applications as well as the brain (f). And the room wherein the entertainment was made, was sometimes perfumed by burning myrrh or

Vol. II.

3 C

frankincense,

(a) Lib. V. Cap. IV. (b) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. III. Cap. XXI. Lib. XV. Cap. V.
(c) Lib. XXI. Cap. III. (d) Lib. XV. Cap. XIII. ex Myronidæ libro de coronis
& unguentis. (e) Valerius Maximus, Lib. II. initio Cap. VI. (f) Conf.
Athenæus, Lib. XV. Cap. V.

frankincense, or with other odours. These customs are briefly described in the following verses of Archestratus in Athenæus (a);

Αἰὲς δὲ τεφάνοισι κἀρα παρὰ δαιτὶ πυκάζε
 Παντοδαποῖς οἷς ἂν γαίης πέδον ὄλοισιν ἀνθεῖ·
 Καὶ σακτοῖσι μύροις ἀγαθοῖς χαίτην θεράπτει·
 Καὶ σμυρνάν, λίβανόν τε πυρὸς μαλακὴν ἐπὶ τέφραν
 Βάλλει πανημέριος, Συρίης εὐωδία καρπὸν.

The officers and attendants at entertainments were these which follow :

In the first place, *συμποσίαρχος*, sometimes called *συμποσία ἐπιμελητής*, *τραπέζοκóμος*, *τραπέζοποιός*, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, *ἀρχιρέχλινος*, and also *ἐλάτρος*, &c. was chief manager of the entertainment. This office was sometimes performed by the person at whose charge the entertainment was provided, sometimes by another named by him; sometimes, especially in entertainments provided at the common expence, he was elected by lots, or by the suffrages of the guests.

Next, and sometimes the same with the former, was the *Βασιλεὺς*, otherwise termed *τρατηγός*, *ταξιάρχος*, &c. and in Latin *rex*, *modimperator*, &c. the king, whose business it was to determine the laws of good fellowship, and to observe whether every man drank his proportion, whence he was also called *ὀφθαλμὸς*, *oculus*, the eye; he was commonly appointed by lots; to which custom there are several allusions in Horace :

————— *quem Venus arbitrum*
Dicet bibendi (b) ?

And again (c) :

Et domus exilis Plutonia ; quo simul meatis,
Nec regna vina sortiere talis,
Nec tenerum Lycidam mirabere.

The guests were obliged to be in all things conformable to the commands of the *Βασιλεὺς*; whence Cicero upbraids a certain person, that *qui nunquam populi Romani legibus paruisset, iis legibus quæ in poculis ponebantur, obtemperabat*; he who never had submitted to the laws of the Roman people, should yield obedience to the laws of drinking (d). And Arrian (e) reports, that the king being created by lots, commands in this manner : Do you drink, do you fill the glass, do you go, do you come. The chief magistrates were not exempted from yielding obedience, if the lots gave another the pre-eminence; whence Agesilaus, king of Lacedemon, being present at an entertainment, was not declared *rex* till the

lots

(a) Lib. III. Cap. XXII.

(b) Lib. II. Od. VII. v. 25

(c) Orat. in Verrem.

(d) In Epictetum.

(e) Apophthegmat.

lots had favoured him, as we are informed by Plutarch (a), who reports in the same place, that being asked by the cup-bearer how much wine each guest should drink, he made this reply: "If there is plenty of wine, let every man have what he calls for; if not, let every man have an equal share."

Δαίτηρ, *diribitor*, was so termed ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίσεσθαι, from dividing and distributing to every guest his portion; whence entertainments were called δαῖτες. In the primitive times, the master of the feast carved for all his guests. Thus in Homer (b), when Agamemnon's ambassadors were entertained at Achilles's table:

— ἀτὰρ κρέα νείμεν Ἀχιλλεύς

Which verse is repeated in the last Iliad (c). More examples would be needless, it being the practice of those ages for men of the highest quality to descend to very mean employments. And in later times, the same office was executed by some of the chief men at Sparta, as appears from the example of Lyfander, who was deputed to it by Agesilaus (d). This custom of distributing to every guest his portion, was by some derived from the ages wherein the Greeks left off their ancient way of living upon acorns, and learned the use of corn, which being at the first very scarce, gave occasion to continual quarrels; whence ἀτασθαλία, which originally signified τὰς ἄτας ἐν ταῖς θαλίαις, the disorders committed at feasts, came to be a general name for all sorts of injurious and wicked behaviour. To prevent these disorders, it was agreed that a person should be named to distribute to every man his portion; whence, as some are of opinion, the phrase δαῖς ἴση, equal entertainment, so frequently occurs in Homer (e). Such to whom a particular respect was due, were helped to the best parts, and very often to a larger share than the rest of the guests. Thus Eumeus in Homer's Odyssey, gives the νῶτος, *chine*, which they esteemed the chief part, to Ulysses, the same is given by Agamemnon to Ajax, as a reward for his service in the war (f). Sarpedon, one of the Lycian kings, in the same poet is honoured,

Εδρη τε, κρέασίν τε, ἰδὲ πλείοις διπλάσσειν (e).

with the first seat, the best share of meat, and full cups. In another place Diomedes, κρέασι καὶ πλείοις διπλάσσει δέξεται, is entertained with the best share of the meat and full cups. It appears from Herodotus, that the kings of Sparta had διπλάσια πάντα, a double portion of every dish. And in the sacred writings, the mess of Benjamin, the beloved brother

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(a) Conf. Plutarchus Sympof. Lib. I. Cap. X.

(b) Iliad. ἱ. v. 217.

(c) Ver. 626.

(d) Athenæus, Lib. I. Cap. X.

(e) Iliad. ἱ.

(f) Iliad. μ'. ver. 311.

of Joseph, was twice as large as any of the other messes (a). They who received this honour, ἰδωρῆντο ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μαιρας οἷς ἐβόλοντο, ὡς Οδυσσεὺς νότῃ ἀποπροταμῶν, ἢ αὐτὰ παρέδιντο, τῷ Δημοδόκῳ (b), had the privilege of gratifying whomsoever they pleased with a part of the portion, as was done by Ulysses, who carved a part of the chine, which was set before him, to Demodocus. Afterwards when Greece learned the arts of luxury, the primitive way of dividing to every man his portion was laid aside, ὡς ἀκοινώνητος καὶ ἀνελεύθερος, as covetous and illiberal, and the guests were allowed to carve for themselves in the manner which pleased them best; nevertheless the ancient custom was retained a long time at the entertainments after sacrifices, and by some who preferred the primitive temperance and frugality before the modern profuse way of living; and it is observed, that whilst every man had his portion allotted, the entertainments were managed with great decency, and fewer disorders were committed, as we are informed by Plutarch, where he discourses on this question, "Whether the ancient Greeks, who allotted every man his portion, or the modern, who set their provision in common before all the guests, were more to be commended (c)?"

From the distribution of meat, let us proceed to the persons employed to distribute drink; these were commonly termed οἰνοχοοί, and about the Hellespont ἐπιγυῖται (d). In the heroical entertainments the κήρυκες, heralds, commonly performed this office. Thus in Homer (e),

Κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν δάμ' ἐπ' ὄχετο οἰνοχοεύειν.

In Athenæus (f) Mercury, the herald of the gods, is said to be introduced by Alcæus and Sappho, filling the goblets at the celestial entertainments; and to mention no more examples, it is very well known, and hath been elsewhere observed, that the κήρυκες were deputed πόσας ὑπηρετικὰς ἐπιτελεῖν πράξεις, to all sorts of ministrations. It was customary for boys or young men to fill the cups. Thus we find in Homer (g);

Κῆροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπετέψαντο ποτοῖο.

And to use the words of Eustathius (h), φασὶν οἱ παλαιοὶ παρέδιναν εἶναι ἔργον τὸ οἰνοχοεῖν, "ancient authors affirm, that the wine used to be filled out by virgins;" which is agreeable to the manners of those times, wherein the guests were attended by virgins, without any suspicion of lust or immodesty; whence the daughter of Cocalus, king of Sicily, is said to have washed Minos, king of Crete; and the same is done by other virgins and women in several parts of Homer, as hath been observed by Athenæus (i); and

(a) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. I. Cap. XI. Eustathius comment. in Homerum, p. 557. Edit. Basil. (b) Athenæus loco cit. (c) Sympos. Lib. II. Quæst. ult.

(d) Athenæus, Lib. X. Cap. VII. (e) Odyss. α. v. 142. (f) Loco citato.

(g) Odyss. α'. v. 149. (h) Iliad. γ'. p. 333. (i) Lib. I. Cap. VIII.

so common it was in the primitive times for young persons of both sexes to be employed in the forementioned, and all other ministrations, that, as Hesychius (a) and Eustathius (b) inform us, δῦλοι, *servants*, came to be termed by the names of παῖδες καὶ παιδίσκαι, *boys and girls*, διὰ τὸ τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας ὑπεριτικόν, because persons of that age were commonly employed to serve; neither was this done only by children of mean fortune or birth, but ὀνοχόων παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἱ εὐγενέστατοι παῖδες, ὡς ὁ τῆς Μενελάου υἱός, but in the primitive times, those of the highest quality filled out wine, as we find done by Menelaus's son, in the following verse of Homer:

Ὀνοχόει δ' υἱὸς Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο (c).

The same custom was in later and more refined ages still retained at the entertainments in the temples, where many of the ancient ways of behaviour were kept up a long time after they had been laid aside in other places; especially, at the public sacrifices of the Æolians, it was observed, that οἱ εὐγενέστατοι παιδῶν, *the boys of the chiefest quality should perform this office*; which was also the practice at Rome, where they used πάντα τοὺς Αἰολεῖς μιμεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς τόνους τῆς φωνῆς, *in all things to imitate the Æolians, even to the very tone of their voice*, as we learn from Athenæus (d); whence, it may be, that author came to be of opinion, that the custom of employing young persons of liberal birth and education to fill the wine, was derived from the sacrifices of the gods, at which δῦλος ἑὸς εἶναι διακονήσαν, *no slave was permitted to minister* (e); but it is rather to be ascribed to the plainness and simplicity of the ancient Greeks, and other nations; whence it came that the sons and daughters of kings, and others of the first quality, were employed in keeping flocks, and almost all other services, as hath been elsewhere observed. Another reason why young persons served at entertainments rather than those in years, was, because by their beauty and sprightliness they were thought more apt to exhilarate the guests, whose eyes were to be entertained as well as their other senses; on this account the most comely persons were deputed to this ministration even in the primitive times. Amongst the gods,

——— πότνια Ἥβη

Νέκταρ ὀνοχόει———

fair Hebe, the goddess of youth, and daughter of Juno, filled about nectar (f). And Ganymedes, the most beautiful of mortal race, was translated by the gods into heaven, to serve at Jupiter's table.

——— ἀντιδιδόναι

(a) V. παῖδες. (b) Loco citato. (c) Athenæus, Lib. X. Cap. VII. (d) Loco citato. (e) Lib. V. Cap. IV. (f) Iliad. γ. v. 2.

——— ἀντίθεος Γανυμήδης,
 Ὃς δὴ κάλλιστος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·
 Τὸν καὶ ἀνέριψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνοχοεύειν,
 Κάλλιδ' εἵνεκα οἷο, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετέεια (a).

Whence we may learn, that in the most remote times, which were thought the age of the gods, as those which followed were the age of heroes, this practice was observed. And hence by the names of places which are said to be in use among the gods, are to be understood the first and most ancient names, as we learn from the Scholiast upon Homer, in whom there are several examples to this purpose; but I shall mention only that which follows (b), where the poet tells us, that a certain place in Troas was by the gods, that is, most anciently, called Myrina's Tomb; but by men, that is, in later times, Batiea.

Τὴν ἤτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν·
 Ἀθανάτοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρδημοιο Μυρίνης.

That at the time of the Trojan war, it was customary for young persons of beautiful countenances, and well dressed, to serve at entertainments, is plain from the answer of Eumæus to Ulysses, who then appearing in the habit and form of an old beggar, intended to serve the young gentlemen who made their addressees to Penelope (c):

Οὐ τοι τοῖοι δ' εἰσὶν ὑποδρηστῆρες ἐκείνων,
 Ἀλλὰ νέοι χλαίνας εὖ ἐμένονι ἡδὲ χιτῶνας,
 Αἶεϊ δὲ λιπαροὶ κεφαλὰς καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
 Οἳ σφιν ὑποδράωσιν.

And in modern ages, when the arts of luxury had more esteem, it was usual to give vast prices for beautiful youths; which custom is found fault with in the following passage of Juvenal, where he speaks to an indigent client who is entertained at his patron's table (d):

——— tu Gætulum Ganymedem
 Respice, cum sities; nescit tot millibus emtus
 Pauperibus servire puer; sed forma, sed ætas
 Digna supercilio; quando ad te pervenit ille?
 Quando vocatus adest, calidæ gelidæque minister?
 Quippe indignatur veteri pqrere clienti.

But the customs which concern this part of the entertainment, are most elegantly and fully described by Philo the Jew (e), who tells us,

(a) Iliad. ὁ. v. 232. (b) Iliad. ε'. v. 813. (c) Odyss. ὁ. v. 32. (d) Satir. V. ver. 60. (e) Libro de vita contemplativa.

us, that it was usual to procure most beautiful slaves to attend at entertainments, not so much for any service they were to do, as to gratify the eyes of the beholders; of these the younger boys (*οἰνοχοῦσι*) fill the wine, those of riper age (*ὕδαφορεῖσι*) serve up the water, being washed, trimmed, and painted, with their hair curled in various forms, with several other remarkable observations relating to this custom.

The cups and drinking vessels come next to be considered; and in Homer every one of the guests seems to have a distinct cup, out of which he drank when he pleased; hence the following words of Agamemnon to Idomeneus (*a*),

—ὄν δὲ πλεῖον δέπας αἰὲς
Εἴηχ' ὥσπερ ἐμοί, πίνειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγει.

On which account the heroical cups were very capacious, as Athenæus hath proved by several examples, and particularly that of Nestor's cup, which was so weighty, that a young man had scarce strength to carry it (*b*); nevertheless the same author there observes, that "though men of great estates and quality in his time used large cups, yet that was not anciently the practice of Greece, but lately learned from the barbarous nations, who being ignorant of arts and humanity, indulge themselves in the immoderate use of drink, and all sorts of dainties; whereas, it does not appear, says he, from the testimony of any of those who lived before our times, that a cup of a very large size was ever made in any part of Greece, except those which belonged to the heroes." However, the cups which they used after supper were larger than those they drank in at supper; this appears from the following passage of Virgil (*c*):

*Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ,
Crateras magnos statuunt, & vina coronant.*

In the houses of wealthy men there was commonly a large *κυλικεῖον*, cupboard, furnished with cups of all sorts and sizes, rather for ostentation than use. The cups used by the ancient Greeks were very plain, and agreeable to the rest of their furniture, being usually composed of wood or earth. Afterwards, when they began to imitate the pride and vanity of the Asiatics, their cups were made of silver, gold, and other costly materials, curiously wrought, inlaid with precious stones, and otherwise adorned; but the primitive cups seem to have been composed of the horns of animals, which persons of quality tipt with gold or silver; these are mentioned by Pindar, Æschylus, Xenophon, and several other authors; they were also used by some in later ages, and particularly by Philip the Macedonian; hence, as some are of opinion, Bacchus had the surname of Taurus, as worshipped by the Cyziceni-
in

(*a*) Iliad. ʒ. v. 262.

(*b*) Lib. XI. Cap. II.

(*c*) Æneid. I. v. 727.

in the shape of a bull, and painted with horns in several other countries; and some think the words *κρατήρες*, cups, and *κραναι*, to mix wine with water, are derived from *κράτα*, horns; these, and many other observations concerning this argument, may be found in Athenæus (a) and Eustathius (b).

The cups were compassed about with garlands, and filled up to the brim. Both these customs are mentioned in the following passage of Virgil (c);

*Tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
Induit.* —————

And the latter in this verse of Homer, which occurs in the first Iliad (d), and is repeated in other places :

Κῦροι δὲ κρατήρας ἐπισέφαντο ποτοῖο.

For *ἐπισέφαντο*, according to the old Scholiast, signifies *ἐπλήρωσαν ἄχρι τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ*, *οἱ ἐπὶ τέλος*, they filled up to the brim; and *σεφειν*, commonly *πλήρωσιν* *τινα σημαίνει*, signifies a sort of fullness; whence they always did *σεφειν κρατήρας*, when libations were offered to the gods, *ὅτι οὐδὲν κολοῦσι προσφέρειν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλὰ τέλεια καὶ ὅλα, τὸ δὲ πλήρες τέλειόν ἐστι*, because we offer nothing imperfect to the gods, but only things whole and entire, and that which is full is entire, saith Athenæus (e) from Aristotle; and as we are informed by the same author (f), the cups, *ἐπισέφονται*, are crowned with drink, that is, they are filled above the brim, so as the drink riseth in the manner of a crown, for good luck's sake.

In the heroical times, as hath been observed concerning the unequal portions of meat, *οἱ κύροι διακονέμενοι, τοῖς μὲν ἐντιμιωτάτοις αἰεὶ πλήρες παρέχον τὸ ποτήριον, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου δίδεμμεν*, the young men who ministered, always presented full cups to men of great quality, and distributed wine to the rest by equal proportions, as we are informed by Athenæus (g). Thus Agamemnon entertains Idomeneus king of Crete (h);

*Εἴπτε γὰρ τ' ἄλλοι καρηχομῶντες Ἀχαιοὶ
Δαιτῶν πίνουσιν, σὸν δὲ πλεῖον δέπας αἰεὶ
Εἴηχ' ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ, πίνειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνάγῃ.*

Hector in another place reproacheth Diomedes, when he fled from him, with the enjoyment of this honour (i):

Τυδείδης,

(a) Lib. XI. Cap. VII.

(b) Comment. in Iliad. γ'. p. 883. Iliad. γ'. p. 319. Iliad.

δ'. p. 591. Edit. Basil.

(c) Æneid. III. v. 525.

(d) V. 470.

(e) Lib. XV.

Cap. V.

(f) Lib. I. Cap. XI.

(g) Lib. V. Cap. IV.

(h) Iliad. δ'. v. 264.

(i) Iliad. δ'. v. 161.

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(a) Iliad.
(d) Nen

Τυδείδῃ, περὶ μὲν σὶ τίον Δαναοὶ ταχύπαλοι
 Ἔδῃ τε, κρείσσιν τε, ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπείσοι,
 Νῦν δὲ σ' ἀτιμῆσαι. —

This respect is also said to be paid by the Lycians to Sarpedon and Glaucus, kings of Lycia, in the same words (a). Another respect was paid to the most honourable guests, by drinking first to them; for it was customary for the master of the feast to drink to his guests in order, according to their quality, as we learn from Plutarch (b). The manner of doing this, was, by drinking part of the cup, and sending the remainder to the person whom they named, which they termed προπίνειν: but this was only the modern way, for anciently they drank μεσὸν τὸν κύβον, *the whole cup*, and not a part of it, as was usual in Athenæus's time; to do which, as that author thinks, ought rather to be termed προεκπιεῖν, than by the old name προπίνειν (c). The form of salutation was various; sometimes they who drank to another used to say, χαῖρε, as in that example χαῖρε Ἀχιλλεῦ, *I send you this honey mingled with milk*; as we learn from the Scholiast upon Pindar (d). Sometimes the person who sent the cup saluted his friend in this form, προπίνω σοι καλῶς: the other replied, λαμβάνω ἀπὸ σε ἡδυνῶς: and this being a testimony of friendship to drink in this manner to another, was sometimes termed προπίνειν φιλοτησίαν. Thus Ælian explains φιλοτησία to be δεξίωσις διὰ τῆς φιλίας, a salutation on the account of friendship; and φιλοτησίαν προπίνειν to be ἡνίκα τις ἐν ἀρίστῳ ἀπὸ τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ φιάλης πίων μέρος, τὸ λοιπὸν παράσχῃ φίλῳ, καὶ τῆς φιάλης παρασχόμενος, *when any person at dinner drinks part of a cup, and gives the rest to his friend*. The person who received the cup was said ἀντιπροπίνειν, or ἀντιπροπίνειν ὅμοια: it being required by the rules of good fellowship to drink off whatever remained in the cup, or if the cup was drank off, to take another of the same bigness. An example whereof we find in Athenæus (e), where Alexander having begun a very large vessel to Proteas a Macedonian, he drank it off, and presented his service to Alexander in another of the same dimensions.

This propination was carried about towards the right hand, where the superior quality of some of the guests did not oblige them to alter that method; hence it was termed δεξίωσις, whence δειδύκεσθαι in Homer is interpreted προπίνων δεξιέσθαι. Thus in the first Iliad, at an assembly of the gods,

— χρυσέοις δεπείσοι
 Δειδέχαιτ' ἀλλήλους —

That is, according to Athenæus, ἰδεῖντο προπίνοντες ἑαυτοῖς ταῖς δεξιαῖς. The same explication is given by him upon that verse of the ninth Iliad, where Ulysses drinks to Achilles:

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3 D

Πλησάμενος

(a) Iliad. μ'.

(b) Sympot. Lib. I. Quæst. II.

(c) Lib. V. Cap. IV.

(d) Nemeonic.

(e) Lib. X. Cap. IX.

Πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δίδεκτ' Ἀχιλλῆα.

That is, saith he, ἰδεῖντο, ὃ ἐστὶ προέπινεν αὐτῷ, τῇ δεξιᾷ διδὼς τὸ ποτήριον, *he drank to Achilles, delivering the cup with his right hand.* The same is observed by Eustathius (a), who is beholden to Athenæus for almost all the observations which he has made on this argument. But there is express mention of drinking toward the right hand in the following passage of Homer (b), where Vulcan fills wine to the gods :

— θεοῖς ἐνδεξιᾷ πᾶσιν
Ωινοχόει. —

That is, he filled, as the old Scholiast explains it, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν μερῶν, *beginning from the right hand.* Another example of this custom is produced from Critia's epigram upon Anacreon :

Παῖς διαπομπεύσῃ προπόσεις εἰ δεξιὸν ἄρμον.

And a third, to mention no more, is cited by Athenæus (c) out of the Ἀγροικοὶ of Anaxandrides. The doing this, therefore, was commonly termed ἐνδεξία πίνειν (d) ; but it was sometimes called ἐν κύκλῳ πίνειν, and the action ἐγκυκλοποσία, because the cup was conveyed round about the table, beginning from the uppermost seat. To which custom we find the following allusion in Plautus (e) :

— age, puere,
A summo septenis cyathis committe hos ludos.

Yet the method of drinking was not the same in all places. The Chians and Thasians drank out of large cups to the right, the Athenians out of small cups, to the right ; the Thessalian drinks large cups to whom he pleaseth, without observing any certain method. At Lacedæmon every man has a distinct cup, which a servant fills up as soon as any person has drank, as we are informed by Athenæus (f).

It was also customary to drink to persons absent. First the gods were remembered, then their friends, and at every name one or more cups of wine, unmixed with water, was drank off. This is termed by Cicero, *Græco more bibere* (g), to drink after the Greek manner ; which some interpret of drinking *grandibus poculis & meracis potionibus*, draughts of unmixed wine out of large cups, as Asconius Pedianus (h) observes : whereas it was the *Græcus mos*, ut *Græci dicunt*, συμπεῖν κυαδιζομένους *cum merum cyathis libant, salutes primo Deos, deinde amicos nominatim*, Grecian method to drink wine

(a) Iliad. μ'. p. 557.
Pollux, Lib. II. Cap. IV.
(g) Orat. III. in Verrem.

(b) Iliad. α. v. 597.

(e) Persa, Act. V. Sc. I.

(h) Comment. in locum Ciceronis.

(c) Lib. XI. Cap. III.

(d) Conf.

(f) Lib. VI. Cap. III.

(e) Idyll.
(d) Grief.

wine out of small cups, saluting first the gods, and then their friends by name; *nam toties merum bibebant quoties deos & caros suos nominant*, for it was their custom to drink unmixed wine as often as they named the gods or their friends: they did also ἐπιχεῖν τῇ γῇ, pour forth some of the wine upon the earth as often as they mentioned any person's name, as hath been observed by the Scholiast upon the following verses of Theocritus (a):

Ἦδη δὲ προϊόντος, ἴδοξ' ἐπιχεῖσθαι ἄκρατος
Ωτινος ἤδη' ἕκαστος, ἴδαι μόνον ὦτινος ἐπὶ γῆν.

Which being the manner of offering libations, as hath been elsewhere observed, it seems to have been a form of adoration when any of the gods were named, and of prayer for their friends, when they mentioned them; amongst their friends they most commonly named their mistresses. Examples of this custom are very common. Thus, in Tibullus:

*Sed bene Messalam sua quisque ad pocula dicat,
Nomen & absentis singula verba sonent.*

And in Horace (b);

———dicat Opuntiae
Frater Megillae, quo beatus
Vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.

Sometimes the number of cups equalled that of the letters in their mistresses name. Thus we find in Martial (c);

Naevia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur.

There were also several other ways of numbering the cups to be drank off at once; thus three were taken off, because the graces were of that number, and nine, according to the number of the muses; the former of these customs is mentioned by Petronius, who relates, that a certain person *excusare cepit moram, quod amica se non dimisisset, tribus nisi positionibus e lege exsiccatis*, made this excuse for his delay, that his mistress would not dismiss him till he had drank three cups, as the law requires; both of them are contained in the following riddle of Ausonius (d):

*Ter bibe, vel toties ternos: sic mystica lex est,
Vel tria potanti, vel ter tria multiplicanti,
Imparibus novies terminis contexere cubum.*

3 D 2

And

(a) Idyll. XIV. v. 18.

(b) Lib. I. Od. XXVII.

(c) Lib. I. Epigram. LXXII.

(d) Graphe ternarii numeri, v. 1.

And more clearly in this passage of Horace (a) ;

*Da Lunæ propere novæ,
Da noctis mediæ, da, puer, auguris
Murenæ. Tribus, aut novem
Miscentur cyathis poculo commodis.
Qui musas amat impares,
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates. Tres prohibet supra
Rixarum metuens tangere gratia,
Nudis juncta sororibus.*

The Greeks thus expressed this custom, *Η τρεῖς, ἢ τρεῖς τρία*, either three, or three times three. There was another saying, which forbade the drinking of four cups, that being no lawful number, *Η τετρα πέντε, ἢ μὴ τετράγωνα*. Yet they did not always observe the number three, as appears from the following epigram, which commands to fill ten cups to Diodice's health, as well as nine to Euphrante's (b) ;

*Εγχει Δειροδίκης κύαδες δέκα, τῆς δὲ ποσειδῆς
Ευφράντης ἕνα μοι ἦτο δίδε κύαδον.*

Sometimes they contended who should drink most. Alexander the Macedonian is reported to have drank a cup containing two congii, which contained more than our pottle, though less than our gallon, to Proteas, who commending the king's ability, pledged him ; then called for another cup of the same dimensions, and drank it off to him. The king, as the laws of good fellowship required, pledged Proteas in the same cup, but being immediately overcome, fell back upon his pillow, letting the cup fall out of his hands, and by that means was brought into the disease whereof he shortly after died, as we are informed by Athenæus (c). There is also mention in ancient authors of prizes awarded to the conquerors ; which custom was ingeniously inverted by Anacharsis the Scythian philosopher, who being entertained by Periander, one of the seven sages, and king of Corinth, demanded the prize for being first drunk, that, as he said, being the end which all aim at in drinking, as racers press forward toward the goal. It is reported by Timæus, that Dionysius the Sicilian, at an entertainment, promised a crown of gold to the person who should first drink a cup of congius, and that Xenocrates the philosopher obtained the prize. And at the funeral of Calanus, the Indian philosopher, there were not only exercises and musical contentions, but also drinking matches, wherein the prize which Alexander promised to the first conqueror, was a talent ; that to the second, thirty *μναῖ* ; that to the third, ten *μναῖ*. One Promachus obtained the first prize, having drank four congii of unmixed wine ;

(a) Lib. III. Od. XIX.

(b) Antholog. Lib. VII.

(c) Lib. X. Cap. IX.

wine; thirty of the combatants died on the place, and in a short time after six more expired in their tents, as Athenæus (a) and Ælian (b) have informed us in the very same words. When any person drank off a large cup ἀμυσί, that is, ἀπνευσί, ἀνευ τῆ ἀναπαύσεως, without intermission, or taking his breath, the company used to applaud him in this form, Ζήτειας, long may you live (c). At Athens there were three public officers who attended at entertainments, καὶ ἐφείρων ἐκ κατ' ἑσθὺ πίνουσι οἱ συνόντες, and observed whether every person drank his portion; they were called from their business οἰνόπται, and sometimes by a metaphorical name ὀφθαλμοί, eyes, as hath been elsewhere observed (d). They who refused to drink were in most places obliged to depart by that celebrated law of good fellowship, ἢ πιδί, ἢ ἄπιδί, drink, or be gone. To which Cicero has this allusion (e). "To me (saith he) it seems but "reasonable in the affairs of life to observe the same law which the "Greeks keep at their entertainments." *Either let them drink, say they, or depart.* "Very right, for one should either partake of the "pleasure of drinking and being merry, or leave the company."

Hence it appears how much the Greeks were addicted to drinking: neither were the Romans more free from that vice; Seneca himself thought it allowable to drink, even to drunkenness, to ease the mind of any great and tormenting cares. We are told by Plutarch and others, that Cato of Utica sometimes spent whole nights in drinking. And concerning the elder Cato, as also Corvinus the Stoical philosopher, to mention no more examples, we have the following testimony of Horace (f):

*Descende, Corvino jubente,
Promere languidiora vina.
Non ille, quanquam Socraticis madet
Sermonebus, te negliget horridus.
Narratur & prisci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.*

Yet others found fault with the immoderate use of wine. Some law-givers enacted laws against it, and others prohibited all computations where more wine was used than what was necessary for health. Some of the Grecian sages allowed no more than three cups, one for health, a second for cheerfulness, and a third for sleep. Thus, in the following verses of Eubulus, which are cited by Athenæus (g):

*Τρεῖς γὰρ μόνες κρατῆρας ἡκραννύω
Τοῖς εὖ φρονέουσιν τὸν μὲν ὑγείας ἔνα,
Οὐ πρῶτον ἐκπίνουσι τὸν δὲ δεύτερον*

Eubulus,

(a) Lib. X. Cap. X. (b) Var. Hist. Lib. II. Cap. XLI. (c) Suidas voc. ἀμυσί πῖν, & v. Ζήτειας. (d) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. IX. Cap. VI. & VII. (e) Tusculanæ Quest. Lib. V. (f) Lib. III. Od. XXI. (g) Initio Lib. II.

Ερωτες, ἡδονῆς τε. τὸν τρίτον δ' ὕπνῳ
 Οὐκ ἐισπύοντες οἱ σοφοὶ κεκλημένοι
 Οἴκαδι βαδίζουσ'. ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ἐκείνῳ
 Ἡμέτερος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὕβριως, &c.

Panyasis allowed no more than the second cup, the first to the Graces, Hours, and Bacchus, the second to Venus and Bacchus; they who proceeded to the third cup, according to that author, dedicated it to Lust and Strife. Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, prohibited τὰς ἐκ ἀναγκῆς πόσεις, αἱ σφάλλουσιν μὲν σώματα, σφάλλουσιν δὲ γνώμας, καὶ ἐφ' ἧκεν ὅπου διψῶν ἕκαστος πίνειν, unnecessary drinking, which debilitates both the body and mind, and ordered that no man should drink for any other purpose than to satisfy his thirst, as we learn from Xenophon (a). And to lay on the Spartans a necessity of keeping themselves within the bounds of sobriety, the same lawgiver enacted farther, that all men should return from entertainments without a torch to show them the way; whence the propinations and methods of drinking which other nations observed, were unheard of at Sparta; hence the following passage of Critias (b), wherein he commends the temperate way of living in that city.

Καὶ τό δ' ἔθος Σπάρτῃ, μελέτημά τε κείμενόν ἐστι
 Πίνειν τὴν αὐτὴν οἰνοφόρον κύλικα·
 Μὴδ' ἀποδωρεῖσθαι προπόσεις ὀνομασίᾳ λεγόμεναι,
 Μὴδ' ἐπὶ δεξιτέρῳ χεῖρῳ κυκλῶν θιάσῳ,
 Καὶ προπόσεις ὀρέγειν ἐπιδείξια, καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι
 Ἐξονομακλήδην ὃ προπιεῖν ἐδέλετο.

At Athens, an Archon convicted of being drunk, was put to death by the laws of Solon (c), as hath been elsewhere remarked; and others addicted to computations, and lovers of company, were punished by the senate of Areopagus for consuming the time in idleness and profuseness, which they ought rather to have employed in making themselves useful to the commonwealth, as we are told by Phanodemus and Philochorus in Athenæus. Lastly, To mention only one example more, the island of Mitylene abounding with wine, in order to restrain the inhabitants from the immoderate use of it, Pittacus, their lawgiver, one of the seven sages, νόμος ἔθηκε, τῷ μεθύοντι, εἰαν ἀμάρτη, διπλὴν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν, enacted, that whoever committed a crime being drunk, should suffer double punishment (d).

There are some particular and solemn cups mentioned in ancient authors, which are next to be described; such were,

Ἀγαθῆ Δαίμονος κρατὴρ, the cup of good genius, by whom was understood Bacchus, the inventor of wine, in memory of which benefit a cup full of unmixed wine was carried round the table, which all the guests tasted, at the same time raising an ejaculation to the god, that

(a) Libro de Repub. Lacedæm.

(d) Laertius Pittaco.

(b) In elegiis.

(c) Laertius Solone.

that he would preserve them from committing any indecency through the immoderate use of that liquor; hence *ὀλιγοποῦντες*, persons who drink very little, are in Hesychius termed *ἀγαθοδαίμονες*. Whether this cup was brought in before the table on which they supped was taken away, or afterwards, is not agreed; that it was sometimes brought in before the taking away of the table, seems probable from what is related of Dionysius the Sicilian, who being entertained in the temple of Æsculapius in Syracuse, at a table of gold, as soon as he had tasted the cup of good genius, commanded the table to be carried off.

Κρατὴρ Διὸς Σωτῆρος, the cup of Jupiter the Saviour, which was mixed with water, and dedicated to Jupiter, president of the air, which is the most humid element, in memory of the invention of tempering wine with water.

Κρατὴρ Ὑγιῆας, the cup of health, is by some added, which, as also that of Jupiter, is termed *μετανιπτρίς*, or *μετάνιπτρον*, as being drank after the washing of their hands, the entertainment being ended; and the same names are, for the same reason, by some given to the cup of good genius (a).

Κρατὴρ Εὐμῆς, the cup of Mercury, to whom a libation was offered before they went to bed, when they gave over drinking, as will be related afterwards (b).

Others report the order of the solemn cups in a different manner. Suidas has numbered them thus (c): *Τρεῖς κρατῆρας ἔσαν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ, α. Εὐμῆ, β. χαρισία, γ. Διὶ Σωτῆρι*, three cups were brought in at supper, the first dedicated to Mercury, the second to Charisius, which is a surname given to Jupiter, from *χάρις*, favour and grace, he being the god by whose influence men obtain the favour and affection of one another; wherein, it is probable, respect was had to the invention of tempering wine with water, as hath been before observed; the third to Jupiter the Saviour.

Others mention one cup of wine mixed with water, dedicated to Olympian Jupiter, a second to the Heroes, a third and last to Jupiter the Saviour, so called on this occasion, to intimate, that the third cup might safely be taken, without any disorder of mind or body; this cup was called *τέλειος*, either because it was the last, which is one sense of that word, or from the perfection of the number three, which having a beginning, middle, and end, was reputed the first complete number, whence it was commonly applied to divine things, and particularly to human souls, which, according to the Platonic philosophy, consisted of this number; neither must it be omitted, that the first and last cups were sacred to Jupiter, who is the supreme deity, the beginning and the end of all things; the middle cup to the heroes, who were thought to be of a middle nature between gods and men. These customs are alluded to by Pindar in fourteen verses together, and more largely described

(a) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. II. Cap. II. Lib. XI. Cap. XI. Lib. XV. Cap. V. & XIV. Pollux, Suidas, &c. (b) Vid. Pollux. (c) Vide κρατῆρ.

described by the Greek Scholiast upon that passage (a). This may be farther observed, that most authors, however variously describing them in other respects, do agree in fixing the sacred cups to the number three; hence that saying in the Mystic of Antiphanes, cited by Athenæus (b);

Μίχρη γὰρ τριῶν φασὶ τιμῶν εὐεῖς Οὐρεῖς.

The entertainment being ended, before they went to other diversions used at such times, a libation of wine with a prayer was offered, and an hymn sung to the gods. Thus we are told by Xenophon, that when, at the entertainment by him described (c), "the tables were taken away, and they had offered a libation, and sung an hymn to the gods, a certain man of Syracuse brought in a skilful minstrel," &c. Virgil describes the libation in such a manner, as it should seem to have been poured out of the cup of good genius, which is another argument that this cup was not filled till the tables were taken away, which indeed seems to have been the time of drinking all the three solemn cups. The poet's words contain a very particular account of this whole ceremony (d):

*Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ,
Crateras magnos statuunt, & vina coronant.
Fit strepitus tectis, vocemque per ampla volutant
Atria: dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
Incensi, & noctem flammis funalia vincunt.
Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus, & omnes
A Belo soliti. Tum facta silentia tectis:
"Jupiter (hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur)
"Hunc lætum Tyriisque diem, Trojaque profectis
"Esse velis, nostrosque hujus meminisse minores:
"Adsit lætitiæ Bacchus dator, & bona Juno.
"Et vos, O Tyrii, cætum celebrate faventes."
Dixit: & in mensa laticum libavit honorem:
Priamque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore.
Tum Bitiæ dedit increpitans: ille impiger hausit,
Post alii proceres. —————*

This ceremony being ended, the company was entertained with other diversions, with discourses upon various arguments, with reading authors suitable to the tempers and inclinations of those who were present, which was also very often done in time of supper, with music of all sorts, with juglers, as we find in the description of Socrates's entertainment by Plato and Xenophon, with mimics, buffoons, or whatever beside could be thought of for the exciting of mirth and cheerfulness.

From

(a) Isthmionic. principio, Od. VI.
p. 874. edit. Francfort.

(b) Lib. X. Cap. XI.
(d) Sub finem Æncid. I.

(c) Convivio,

(a) C
pro M

From the most ancient times, music and dancing were the diversions at entertainments. Thus Homer (a),

Μολπή τ' ὄρχησός τε, τὰ γὰρ τ' ἀναδήματα δαιτὸς

Phemius and Demodocus, two celebrated singers, are introduced at entertainments by the same poet. And, at an entertainment of the gods, Apollo is introduced playing upon the harp, whilst the muses sing alternately (b). Dancing was also in use among the gods; hence, Apollo has the title of ὄρχηστος, the dancer, in Pindar; the same god, in Homer's hymn, plays upon his harp, and at the same time dances:

Καλὰ κ' ἐν ψῆ βιδάς.

And to mention only one instance more, Jupiter himself is said to dance in the following verse, which some ascribe to Eumelus, others to Arcetion the Corinthian:

Μέσσοισιν δ' ὄρχεῖτο πάτηρ ἀνδράντι, Θῶντι

Hence Athenæus concludes, that in those ages they accounted ὄρχησιν ἠδονὴν καὶ σοφόν, dancing a thing becoming persons of honour and wisdom (c). At Rome the custom was quite otherwise; for there, to use the words of Cicero (d), *Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit; neque in solitudine, neque in convivio honesto. Intempestivi convivii, amœni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema, salvatio.* No man dances unless he is either drunk or mad, either in private, or at a modest and decent entertainment; dancing is the very last effect of luxury and wantonness. And Cornelius Nepos (e) having related that Epaminondas well understood the art of dancing, of playing upon the harp and flute, with other liberal sciences, adds, "Though in the opinion of the Romans these were trivial things, and not worthy to be mentioned; yet in Greece they were thought very commendable." The same observation is also made by that author, in his Preface to the Lives of the Illustrious Commanders. And these arts had so great credit among the Grecians, that to use some of Cicero's words (f), "They thought the arts of singing and playing upon musical instruments a most considerable part of learning; whence it is told of Epaminondas, who in my judgment was the chief of all the Greeks, that he played very well upon the flute. And some time before, Themistocles, upon refusing the harp at an entertainment, passed for one unlearned and ill-bred. Hence Greece came to flourish with skilful musicians, all persons learned the art of music, and they who were ignorant of it, were thought unaccomplished with learning." Nevertheless, wanton and effeminate dances were thought to be indecent in men of wisdom and character; whence Hippoclidès the Athenian, having been designed

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3 E

by

(a) Odyss. α. v. 152. (b) Iliad α. v. 603. (c) Lib. I. Cap. XIX. (d) Quint. pro Muræna. (e) Epaminonda. (f) Tusc. Quæst. Lib. I.

by Clifthenes, king of Argos, for his daughter's husband, and preferred before all the young noblemen of Greece, was rejected for his light and unbecoming dances and gestures, as we are informed by Herodotus (a). The Ionians delighted in wanton dances and songs more than the rest of the Greeks, their manners being more corrupted than those of any other nation in Greece: Their way of singing was very different from the ancient, and their harmony more loose and wanton, as we are told by Theophrastus (b); and wanton gestures were proverbially termed *Ionici motus*, Ionian motions. Thus Horace, reproving the manners of his own age (c):

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos

Matura virgo —————

In the primitive ages, the entertainments were seldom made but on the festivals of the gods, as hath elsewhere been observed; and the songs were commonly hymns in praise of the gods, the singing of which was accounted a part of divine worship: soft and wanton songs were then unknown; hence Athenæus was of opinion that music was not brought into use at entertainments for the sake of any mean and vulgar pleasure, but to compose the passions of the soul, and to better mens manners (d). And from the descriptions of entertainments which we find in Homer, it appears that the songs used about the time of the Trojan war, consisted chiefly of hymns, wherein the actions of the gods and heroes were celebrated; but in later ages it was so uncommon to sing sacred hymns at entertainments, that Aristotle was accused by Demophilus for singing a pæan every day at his meals, as an act of very great impiety (e).

The most remarkable songs at entertainments were those termed *σκόλια*, with the accent upon the first syllable, whereby it is distinguished from the adjective *σκολιὰ*, which is accented upon the last syllable, as we are informed by Eustathius (f): whence in the present editions of Athenæus, which often call these songs *σκολιὰ*, they who will acquiesce in the judgment of that critic, must read *σκόλια*. These *scolia* consisted for the most part of short verses, whence *σκόλια* is interpreted *μέλος τι ὀλιγόστιχον*, a certain sonnet consisting of short verses, and derived from *σκολιόν*, *crooked*, *difficult*, and *obscure*, which will be *ῥᾶδιον, κατ' ἀντίφρασιν*, *easy*, *by the figure antiphrasis*, as we are told by the Scholiast on Aristophanes (g). Others observe, that *scolia* cannot be derived from *σκολιός*, signifying *difficult* or *obscure*; because these songs were commonly light and cheerful; but there being three sorts of songs at entertainments, of which the first was sung by the whole company joining in a choir, the second by all the company in their turns, the third by some few who were best skilled in music: This last was

termed

(a) Lib. I. Cap. XXVIII. (b) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. XIV. Cap. V. (c) Lib. III. Od. VI. (d) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. XIV. Cap. V. (e) Athenæus, Lib. XV. initio, Cap. XVI. (f) In Odyss. 4. p. 276. (g) In Ranas, p. 273. Item in Vespas, p. 519.

termed *σκόλια*, from the adjective *σκολιόν*, signifying *crooked*, as being sung out of course, and not by every man in his own place, like the two former (a). The custom was thus: After the company had all sung in a chorus, or one after another, a musical instrument, most commonly a harp or lute, was carried round to every person, that such as understood music might entertain the company. They who would not, or could not play upon the instrument, were presented with a branch of laurel or myrtle, to which, held in their hands, they sung: This was termed *πρὸς δάφνην*, or *πρὸς μυρρίνην ᾄδειν*, to sing towards the laurel or the myrtle; this account is given by Hesychius, in the following words: *Μυρρίνης κλάδος ἢ δάφνης παρὰ πότον μυρρίνης ἢ σύνηδες δίδοναι τοῖς κατακειμένοις ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς ᾄσαι ἀντὶ τῆς βαρύνεσθαι*. Which passage ought rather to be read thus: *Μυρρίνης κλάδος, μυρρίνης κλάδον ἢ δάφνης παρὰ πότον ἢ σύνηδες δίδοναι*, &c. This branch was also termed *αἶσακος*, or *ᾄσακος*, *παρὰ τὸ ᾄσαι τὸν διέξαινον*, because the person who received it was obliged to sing, as we are informed by Plutarch (b), who more agreeably to the former account, and perhaps to the truth, observes, that the *σκόλια* were not sung by all who could not play upon the musical instrument, which is Hesychius's notion of these songs, but only by those who were masters of music, whence he derives the name from *σκολιός*, difficult to sing one of these songs, being what could not be done by any but good proficient in the art of music. He farther adds, that some were of opinion that the branch of myrtle was not delivered to the company in a direct order, but carried from bed to bed, so as when the first person in the uppermost bed had done singing, he delivered it to the first in the second bed, from whom it was transmitted to the first of the third bed: that the seconds in each bed delivered it to one another in the same manner, and so forward, till it had passed through the whole company; and that on this account the songs were termed *σκόλια*, from *σκολιός*, as it signifies *crooked*, by reason of the several windings in carrying about the branch of myrtle. These *scolia* were chiefly used by the Athenians, neither were they unknown in other parts of Greece, where we find several celebrated writers of *scolia* to have lived, such were Anacreon of Teos, Alcæus of Lesbos, Praxilla of Sicyon, and others (c). Their arguments were of various kinds; some of them, to use the words of Eustathius (d), were *σκωπτικά*, τὰ δὲ ἐρωτικά, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ σπευδαῖα, ludicrous and satirical, others amorous, and many of them serious; those upon serious arguments sometimes contained *παραίνεσιν τινὰ καὶ γνώμην χρησίμην εἰς τὸν βίον*, a practical exhortation or sentence, as we learn from Athenæus (e); sometimes they consisted of the praises and illustrious actions of great men; this latter sort commonly bore the persons names

3 E 2

whom

(a) Artemon Cassandreu, Lib. II. de usu carminum convivalium apud Athenæum, Lib. XV. Cap. XIV. Dicæarchus, Lib. de musicis certaminibus apud Aristophanis Scholiasten in Vespas, p. 519.

(b) Sympos. Lib. I. Quæst. II.

(c) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. XV. Cap. XIV

(d) In Odyss. ἄ. p. 277.

(e) Loco citato.

whom they celebrated; thus *Ἀρμόδιου μέλος*, the songs of Harmodius, according to Hesychius, was τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀρμόδιου ποιηθὲν σκόλιον ὑπὸ Καλλιστράτου, the *scolium* composed by Callistratus upon Harmodius, the famed patriot, who delivered Athens from the tyranny of Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, whom he killed; the first verse of this *scolium* is preserved in Aristophanes (a):

Ἄδω δὲ πρῶτος Ἀρμόδιον, δίζω δὲ σύ,
Οὐδείς παπποῦ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετ' Ἀθηναῖος.

Ἀδμήτης λόγος was a *scolium* upon Admetus king of Theffaly; it is mentioned by the same author:

Ἀδμήτης λόγον δ' ταῖς μαθὼν, τοὺς ἀγαθὺς φίλοι,
Τὶς τὰ τι λέξεις σκόλιον.

There are many examples of the ancient *scolia* preserved in the Greek authors, of which I shall only set down that one which was composed by Aristotle upon Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus, which, though Demophilus, suborned by one Eurymedon, affirmed to be a sacred pæan, in order to prove the philosopher, who daily used this song, guilty of impiety, as hath been before related, yet it is from the very phrase and diction plainly demonstrated to be nothing more than an ordinary *scolium*, by Democritus in Athenæus (b):

Ἀρετὰ πολὺ μοχθεῖ
Γένει βροτείῳ,
Θήραμα κάλλιστον βίῳ;
Σᾶς περὶ, παρδένε, μορφᾶς
Καὶ θανεῖν ζηλωτὸς Ἑλλάδι πάτμος,
Καὶ πόνους τλῆναι μαλερῶς τοῖον
Ἐπὶ φρένα βάλλεις
Καρπὸν τ' ἀθάνατον,
Χρυσὸν κρείσσω ἢ γυνῶν,
Μαλακαυγέτοιο θ' ὕπνου
Ζεῦ θ' ἐνέκεν ὁ Διὸς Ἡρακλῆς,
Ἀνδρας τε πῦροι πολλὰ ἀνέτλασαν,
Ἔργοις σὺν ἀγχεύοντες δύναμιν.
Σοῖς δὲ πύθοις Ἀχιλλεύς,
Αἴας τ' Αἰῶος δόμους ἦλθον,
Σᾶς θ' ἐνέκα φίλιν μορφᾶς
Καὶ Ἀταρνέως ἐν Ἰσοφῷ
Ἡλὶς χήρωσεν αὐγὰς,
Τοιγὰρ αἰδοῖμος ἔργοις
Ἀθάνατόν τε μιν αὐξήσκει Μῦσαι,
Μνημοσύνης θυγατέρις,
Διὸς ξενίᾳ σέβας αὐξήσκει,
Φιλίας τε γέρας βεβαίως.

From

(a) Vespis.

(b) Lib. XV. p. 695.

From the songs, let us pass to the sports and pastimes which followed entertainments; this was the ancient method, as we learn from Homer's description of an entertainment made by Alcinous, king of Phæacia, wherein the entertainment being taken away, and the music ended, the guests are invited to wrestle, leap, run races, and to other bodily exercises (a):

Κέλνυτε Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες,
 Ἦδη μὲν δαίτῳς κακορήμαδα θυμὸν εἴσης,
 Φόρμιγγός δ' ἢ δαίτῳ συνήγορός ἐστι θαλείη.
 Νῦν δ' ἐξέλθωμεν, καὶ αἶθλων πειρηθώμεν
 Πάντας, &c.

Whence Eustathius observes, ὅτι ἐκ ἔθους τοῖς ἥρωσι ἀναπαύεσθαι μετὰ βρῶσιν κατὰ τῆς ὑστερον ἐπὶ σιτίων πέφει (b), that the heroes did not rest after meals, for the better concoction of their meat, as became customary in later ages; on which pretence the later Greeks, laying aside the violent exercises which were anciently used, diverted themselves with such sports and recreations as required less toil and labour. The several sorts of sports and games which were practised by the Greeks, have been accurately described by the learned Meursius, and from him again by Bulengerus; they are too numerous to be recounted in this place; however, the κότταβος, which was more peculiar to entertainments, and is on that account described by Pollux, and takes up several pages in Athenæus, must not be omitted. This pastime was first invented in Sicily, whence it was communicated to most other parts of Greece, especially to Athens, where it obtained very great repute. The form was thus: A piece of wood being erected, another was placed upon the top of it, with two dishes hanging down from each extremity, in the manner of scales; beneath each dish was placed a vessel full of water, wherein stood a statue, composed for the most part of brass, and called μῶνῃς. They who did κοτταβίζειν play at the cottabus, stood at some distance, holding a cup of water or wine, which they endeavoured to throw into one of the dishes, that the dishes by that weight might be knocked against the head of the statue under it. The person who threw in such a manner as to spill least of his water, and to knock the dish with the greatest force upon the statue, was conqueror, and thought to reign in his mistress's affections, which was the thing to be learned by this pastime. The sound made by the projection, was by an *onomatopœia*, termed λάταξ, the wine projected λατάγη, and sometimes λάταξ. The action, as also the cup out of which the wine was projected, was called ἀγκύλη, because πῇ δεξιᾷ χεὶρὶ ἡγκύλην, κυκλῶντες αὐτὴν ὡς ἐν πρηπῶδιστα, σμυνομένοι ὡς ἐφ' ἐν τῶν καλῶν, they turned round their right hand with a sort of dexterity or art, upon which they very much valued themselves. Hence we find mention of κότταβοι ἀγκυλητοὶ in Æschylus. The vessels were named

(a) Odyss. 4. v. 97.

(b) Page 295.

named *κότταβοι*, or *κοτταβίδες*; the prizes *κοτταβία*, *κοτταβεία*, and also *κοτταβία*, which were sweetmeats, kisses, or what else the company agreed upon. The play itself, to distinguish it from others of the same name, was termed *κότταβος κατακτός*. And so much addicted they were to this pastime, that they had not only vessels made for it with the utmost art and care, but round houses built in such a manner, that the cottabus being placed exactly in the middle, the gamesters might stand at equal distances on all sides.

There was another sort of cottabus, wherein a vessel was placed full of water, with empty vials swimming upon it; into this they projected wine out of cups, and he that had the fortune to drown the greatest number of the vials, obtained the prize.

There was also another sort of cottabus, wherein they projected dice.

Lastly, Another sort of cottabus is mentioned, which was a contention who should sit up awake the longest; the prize was commonly a cake made of honey and sesame, or wheat, as we learn from Pollux and the Greek Scholiast (a) upon Aristophanes, and thence termed *σησαμῦς*, or *πυραμῦς*; the latter seems to have been most common, whence it is mentioned alone by Artemidorus, *ἥν δὲ ὁ πυραμῦς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐπινίκιος*; the *πυραμῦς* was anciently the prize (b), whence that word became a general name for any other prize; thus it is used by Aristophanes (c):

Τὲ γὰρ τεχνάζειν ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμῦς.

And in another place (d):

Ἡ δ' ἀναιδέα παρέλθης, ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμῦς.

And these are the most usual forms of this pastime (e).

It was also held necessary to entertain the guests with suitable discourses, as well as with sports and pastimes. In the opinion of the ancient Greeks, to use the words of Athenæus (f), "It was more requisite and becoming to gratify the company by agreeable conversation, than with variety of dishes." And in the heroical ages it was customary to consult about affairs of the greatest moment at entertainments, as hath been observed by Plutarch (g); hence Nestor in Homer (h) persuades Agamemnon to invite the Grecian commanders to an entertainment, in order to deliberate concerning the management of the war:

Δαῖνυ δαῖτα γέρονσι, εἵκει τοι, ἔστοι αἰεκέσ.

* * * *

Πολλὰ

(a) Equitibus.

(b) Lib. I. Cap. LXXIV.

(c) Thefmophor. p. 770.

(d) Equitibus, p. 303.

(e) Conf. Athenæus, Lib. X, XI. & præcipue XV. haud procul ab initio. Pollux, Lib. VI. Cap. XIX. Aristophanis Schol. in Pacem. Eustathius in Iliad 6. Johannes Tzetzes Chiliad. VI. hist. LXXXV. & Lexicographi Græci.

(f) Lib. X. Cap. V.

(g) Sympos. Lib. VII. Cap. IX.

(h) Iliad. IX. v. 70.

Πολλῶν δ' ἀγρομένων, τῷ πέσειν ὅς κεν ἀρίστην
Βελὴν βυλεύσῃ.

It was believed, that at such times mens invention was more quick and fruitful, according to the saying in Aristophanes (a):

Οἶνε γὰρ εὐροῖς ἂν τι πρακτικώτερον:

Where the Greek Scholiast discourseth very largely on this argument. It was also the custom in Persia to consult at entertainments, as we find done at that of Agamemnon, as we learn from Athenæus (b); and to use the words of Ammianus Marcellinus (c), the Persians used to deliberate *inter epulas de apparatu bellico et seriis rebus apud eosdem*, *Graviorum more veterum*, concerning warlike preparations, and other serious affairs, at banquets, after the manner of the ancient Greeks; nay, if Strabo may be believed (d), they used to consult about affairs of the highest importance over their wine, and what was there determined was held more firm and inviolable than their sober resolutions. But Herodotus's account is more particular, that those things which they resolved on (νήφοντες) *when they were sober*, were canvassed over again when they had drank freely; and the things which they determined (μεθύσκοιμενοι) *in their drink*, were examined again in their sober hours (e). Not unlike this is what Tacitus (f) reports of the Germans, that their consultations about the reconciliation of enemies, the contracting affinities, appointment of princes, and all other affairs, whether military or civil, were, for the most part, held at entertainments. The way of the Syssitia in Crete was thus, according to Diodorus (g): Supper being ended, they first deliberated upon civil affairs; then the discourse is turned to war, at which time they repeat the praises of illustrious persons, *προτρεπόμενοι τὰς νέας εἰ ἀνδραγαθίαν*, *thereby to excite the young men to courage and bravery*. The Lacedæmonian youth frequented the Syssitia, *ὡς διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης*, *as the schools of temperance and prudence*, where they heard discourses of public affairs, and conversed with the most liberal and best accomplished masters, as we are informed by Plutarch (h). The same author has elsewhere observed (i), that the Cretan ἀνδρεῖα, and the Spartan φειδίτια, that is, their public places of entertainment, *βουλευτηρίων ἀπορρήτων καὶ συνεδρίων ἀριστοκρατικῶν τάξιν ἔχον*, *were instead of councils, where the chief men of the commonwealth met to consult about the most secret affairs*; and he adds, *ὥσπερ οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ ἐνθάδε πρυτανεῖον καὶ δημοδίδειον*, *that the Prytæneum and Thesmothesium, or public halls in this city, that is, in Chæronea, which was Plutarch's native town, seem to have been put to the same use*. The same custom seems to have obtained in several other cities, and particularly at Athens, where the supreme council

supped.

(a) Equitibus, p. 293.

(b) Lib. V. Cap. IV.

(c) Lib. XVIII. Cap. V.

(d) Geograph. Lib. XV. p. 734. Conf. Plutarchus Sympof. Lib. VII. Quæst. IX. Eustathius in Iliad. 7. p. 631, &c.

(e) Lib. I. Cap. CXXXIII.

(f) De moribus Germanorum.

(g) Rerum Creticarum, Lib. IV.

(h) Lycurgus.

(i) Sympof. Lib. VII. Quæst. IX.

supped every day together in the Prytaneum, as hath been elsewhere related; and, to use the words of Eustathius (a), "The chief magistrates at Rhodes were obliged by an express law, every day to entertain the principal men of that city at a public table, in order to deliberate what should be done the day following." Hence, as Plutarch was of opinion (b), Bacchus had the surname of Εὐβουλῆς, *prudent counsellor*; and the night was called εὐφρόνη, as being the time of wise and prudent counsels: And, as the same author observes, "not unlike these is that assembly of most wise and excellent persons in Plato, where things of the greatest concern are discussed." As they who were concerned in public business used to discourse of public affairs, so the conversation of philosophers was commonly upon some argument of philosophy; grammarians disputed upon critical subjects, and others conversed in their several ways, insomuch that every art and science was cultivated and improved on these occasions; whence Eustathius had good reason for his remark, "that the Greeks did not drink to excess at their public entertainments, but only to keep up the conversation about serious affairs." Examples of the discourse at entertainments may be found in Plato and Xenophon, also (had they been yet extant) in Aristotle, Speusippus, Epicurus, Hieronymus, Dio the academic, who wrote *λόγους παρὰ πότον γινόμενους*, *Books of Table Discourses*, as we are informed by Plutarch (c), who imitates the fore-mentioned authors in his treatise upon the same argument.

Nevertheless, it was also customary by turns to unbend their minds, and divert them from serious affairs, by discourses upon ludicrous arguments; whence συμπίσιον, the Greek name of an entertainment, is defined by Plutarch (d), *καινώτεια σπουδῆς καὶ παιδιᾶς, λόγων καὶ πράξεων*, a mixture of seriousness and mirth, of discourses and actions. At the fore-mentioned Syssitia of the Laedemonians, where the most grave and important subjects were treated on, they also *παίζειν ἴδιον, καὶ σκώπτειν ἔνευ ἑρμοδοχίας, καὶ σκωπτομένοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν*, used to sport and to jest, though without any of that scurrility and reflection which is apt to give offence (e). And from the Table Discourses of Plutarch and others, it appears to have been the ancient custom to contrive their discourses in such a manner as would both entertain and instruct the company; nevertheless, in the time of Plutarch, they rarely discoursed upon any serious argument at public entertainments; whence a discourse being begun at Nicostratus's house concerning a subject which was to be discussed in the popular assembly at Athens, some of the company, who had never heard of the ancient Greek custom, affirmed that it was an imitation of the Persians (f). And this question is propounded in the same author (g), whether it were allowable to discourse philosophy over their cups? Some delighted to tell stories, and to repeat ancient fables on these

(a) In Iliad. i. p. 631.

(b) Loco citato.

(c) Sympof. principio.

(d) Sym-

pos. Lib. VII. Quest. VI.

(e) Conf. Plutarchus Lycurgo, et Sympof. Lib. II.

Quest. I.

(f) Plutarchus Sympof. Lib. VII. Quest. IX.

(g) Sympof.

principio.

these occasions; others chose to read some diverting discourse, ῥῆσιν εἰπεῖν, or to hear a poem repeated, which was very common amongst men of letters; but no diversion was more usual than that of propounding and answering difficult questions. Such of these as were wholly designed for amusement, were termed αἰνίγματα, but those which farther contained something serious and instructive, were called γρίφοι, which word, as we are informed by Pollux (a), in its primary acceptation, signifies a fishing net; hence, to use the words of Clearchus (b), "the Griphi contained philosophical disquisitions, wherein the ancients used to give a specimen of their learning, insomuch that this pastime μῆνυμα γίνεσθαι τῆς ἑκάστη πρὸς παιδείαν οἰκείωτος, became a proof of every person's proficiency in learning." The person who solved the question propounded was honoured with a reward; he who was not so fortunate underwent a certain punishment; the rewards were στεφανος καὶ εὐφημία, a garland, and the applause of the company, as we learn from the same author; the punishment was, to drink, without taking breath, a cup of wine mixed with salt, as Athenæus (c) has proved out of the Ganymedes of Antiphanes; the reward, according to Pollux (d), was a dish of meat; the penalty a salt cup. Others report, that a cup of wine was the prize which was adjudged to the person who solved the riddle; or in case no man could solve it, to the person by whom it was propounded (e). The account of Hesychius differs somewhat from all which have been hitherto mentioned; he tells us that γρίφος is συμποτικὴ ζήτησις αἰνιγματώδης, καὶ πρόσμιμον τὸ μὴ λύσαντι τὸν γρίφον, ἐκπιεῖν τὸ συγχείμενον, ἢ τοι ἄκρατον, ἢ ὕδαρ, "an enigmatical question at computations, which, whoever fails of solving, is obliged to drink that which is set before him, whether it be unmixed wine or water;" and there is no doubt but the rewards and penalties were varied, according to the disposition of the company. The common name of these, and all other questions used on the like occasions, was κυλίκεια ζητήματα. Theodectes the Sophist termed them μνημόνια ζητήματα, because he had got a set of them by heart, which was usually done by such as frequented public entertainments (f). That the custom of propounding riddles was very ancient, and derived from the eastern nations into Greece, appears from the story of Samson in the book of Judges, who propounded a riddle to the Philistines at his nuptial feast. Neither were these questions confined to entertainments, but in the primitive times were proposed on other occasions, by those who desired to make proof of one another's wisdom and learning. Hence there is mention of the Queen of Sheba's (g) question to King Solomon, of those which

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3 F

passed

(a) Lib. VI. Cap. XIX. (b) Libro primo de paræmiis apud Athenæum, Lib. X. Cap. ult. (c) Loco citato. (d) Onomast. Lib. VI. Cap. XIX. (e) Etymologici Auctor, & Phavorinus v. γρίφος. Eustathius Iliad. X. p. 735. (f) Conf. Pollux. (g) Conf. Reg. Lib. III. Cap. X. Josephus adv. Apionem, Lib. I. Herodotus. Scriptor Convivii septem sapientum inter opera Plutarchi. Auctor vitæ Æsopi, &c.

passed between Hiram and Solomon, and several others, which are too long to be recounted in this place.

Sometimes the entertainer made presents to all his guests. Lyfimachus of Babylon having entertained Himerus, the tyrant of the Babylonians and Seleucians, with 300 other guests, gave every man a silver cup of 4 pounds weight (*a*). When Alexander made his marriage feast at Susa in Persia, he paid the debts of all his soldiers out of his own exchequer, and presented every one of his guests, who were not fewer than nine thousand, with golden cups (*b*). From these instances, it appears that cups were commonly presented on these occasions. This was done, because it was customary for the company before they parted to pour forth wine, as a libation to Mercury, who was accounted the president of the night, and believed to send sleep and pleasing dreams, whence he is called by Homer (*c*) *νυκτὸς ὀπωπῆτης* and *ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων*. To the same god they also sacrificed the tongues of the animals which had been killed for the entertainment. The reason of which rite was by some thought to be, that Mercury being the president of eloquence, was chiefly delighted with that member; others rather think that by this sacrifice he was invoked as a witness of the discourse which had passed. Some are of opinion, that by burning the tongues at the conclusion of the meeting, was intimated, that whatever had been there discoursed, should be kept secret. Several other conjectures concerning the original of this custom, which are too long to enumerate, have been made by learned men (*d*). It was chiefly observed by the Athenians, Ionians, and Megarensians. And some will have it to have been begun by one of the kings of Megara, who having the tongue of a lion, which had wasted his country, brought to him by Pelops, sacrificed it at the end of an entertainment. It was certainly very ancient; whence Apollonius makes it to be observed by the Argonauts (*e*):

Οὐδ' ἐπιδὴν μετίπειτα κερασσάμενοι δηλοῖσας
 Ἡ δέμιν ἐσὶ, τέως ἐπὶ γλώσσησι χέοντο
 Αἰδομέναις, ὕπνε δὲ διὰ κνέφας ἐμῶντο.

And it is practised by the heroes in Homer:

Γλώσσας δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον, ἀντιάμενοι δ' ἐπέλειπον.

As the ancient Greeks offered libations chiefly to Mercury, so the Greeks of later times made theirs to Jupiter, surnamed *τέλειος*, *perfect* (*f*); yet several other gods often shared in these offerings; particularly at entertainments which followed any solemn sacrifice, it was customary to remember the god to whom they had before sacrificed; hence at a sacrifice offered to Neptune in Homer (*g*), Minerva, who was present under the assumed form of Mentor, advised

(*a*) Athenæus, Lib. XI. Cap. III. (*b*) Plutarchus Alexandro, p. 703. (*c*) Hymno in Mercurium. (*d*) Apollonii Scholiastes in Argon. i. v. 516. Eustathius in Odyss. γ'. p. 131. (*e*) Argon. Lib. I. v. 516. (*f*) Athenæus, Lib. I. principio Cap. XIV. (*g*) Odyss. γ'. 1

viseth the company to sacrifice the tongues, and to pour forth libations of wine to Neptune, and the rest of the gods, before they departed.

Αλλ' ἄγε, τάμεντε μὲν γλώσσας, κερύσασθε δὲ οἶνον,
Οφρα Ποσειδάωνι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι
Σπείσαντες, κοίτοιτο μεδώμεθα· τοῖο γὰρ ὦρη.

It was held unlawful to stay too long at entertainments which followed sacrifices, as Athenæus hath observed from the following words of Minerva in the same poet (*a*):

Ἦδη γὰρ φάτο· οἴχεθ' ὑπὸ ζοφὸν, ἐδὲ ἔοικε
Δηθὰ θεῶν ἐν δαίτῃ διασσίμεν, ἀλλὰ νύκθαι.

The same author reports, that till his time the company was obliged at some sacrificial entertainments to depart before sun-set (*b*); but at the common entertainments, where more liberty was allowed, the company very often staid till the morning approached; this we find done by Socrates and his friends in Plato's entertainment, and before that, in the heroical times, by Penelope's suitors, and by the Phœnicians in Homer, as also by Dido and Æneas in Virgil. It was also customary to contend who should keep awake longest, and the prize assigned to the victor was most commonly a sort of cakes called *πυραμῆς* (*c*), which word came hence to be a general name for the prize of any victory, as hath been already observed,

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Manner of Entertaining Strangers.

THE keeping of public inns, for the reception of strangers, was assigned by Plato (*d*) to foreigners, or the meanest sort of citizens, as an illiberal and mean employment. The ancient Greeks had no public inns, which were an invention of later ages. In the primitive times men lived at home, neither caring to cultivate friendship with foreigners, nor to improve themselves and their estates by commerce with them. Neither was it safe to travel without a strong guard, the sea and land being both exceedingly infested with robbers, who not only spoiled all whom they caught of their valuable goods, but treated their persons with the utmost cruelty, as appears from the stories of Procrustes, Sines, Sciron, Periphetes, and many others: To live upon the plunder of others was then by many thought a very honourable way of subsisting.

F f 2

and

(*a*) Loco citato.

(*b*) Athenæus, Lib. V. Cap. IV.

(*c*) Artemidorus, Lib. I.

Cap. LXXIV. Aristophanes Scholiastes ad Equites.

(*d*) De Leg. Lib. XI.

and they placed a sort of glory in overcoming and spoiling their neighbours, believing the rules of humanity and justice to be observed by none but such as were destitute of power (*a*). Hence it seems to have come, that amongst the ancient Greeks strangers and enemies were both signified by the same name ξένος, all strangers being then accounted enemies. And the Persians, who for several ages waged continual wars with Greece, are particularly signified by that word (*b*). The Lacedæmonians are said to have termed the barbarous nations, whom the Greeks took for their common enemies, by the name ξένου (*c*). And amongst the primitive Latins, the name *hostis*, which was afterwards appropriated to enemies, signified strangers (*d*).

The sea was freed from pirates by Minos king of Crete, who, with a strong fleet, for a long time maintained the dominion of all the seas thereabouts. The land robbers were destroyed by Hercules, Theseus, and other primitive heroes; from which times Xenophon (*e*) reports, that till his own age, ξένος ὕδατος ἐν ἀδικίῃ, no man was injurious to strangers. And in the earliest ages, all who were not entirely void of humanity, are said to have entertained all strangers with respect; it was then the custom to supply them with victuals and other necessaries before they inquired their names, or asked them any other questions. Thus Telemachus and his company are treated by Menelaus, who thus bespeaks them upon their arrival at Sparta (*f*):

Σίτῃ δ' ἄπτεσθον, καὶ χαίρετον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Δείπνῃ πασσαμένῳ, εἰρησόμεθ' οἵτινες ἐσθὺν
Ἀνδρῶν. —————

In the same manner Telemachus is entertained by Nestor (*g*), Ulysses by Eumæus (*h*), and Minerva, under the form of Mentor, by Telemachus (*i*). Menelaus entertained Paris the Trojan ten days before he inquired who he was, or whence he came; and it is said to have been ἀρχαῖον ἔθος an ancient custom to forbear such inquiries till the tenth day, if the stranger seemed willing to stay till that time, as we learn from Eustathius's comment on the passage of Homer, where the king of Lycia is introduced demanding of Bellerophon his recommendatory letter from Prætus, upon the tenth day after he had come to his house (*k*).

Εὐμήχερ

(*a*) Plutarchus Theseo, Thucydides Historiæ principio.

(*b*) Hesychius voce

ξένου.

(*c*) Herodotus Calliope, Cap. X. Pollux, Lib. I. Cap. X.

(*d*) Var-

ro principio, Lib. IV. de L. L. Cicero de Offic. Lib. I. Cap. II. Ambrosius Offic. Lib. I. Cap. XXIX.

(*e*) Conf. Commentarius noster in Lycophron. Cassandra,

v. 464.

(*f*) Ἀπομνημ. Lib. II.

(*g*) Odyss. γ'. v. 69.

(*h*) Odyss.

ξ'. v. 45.

(*i*) Odyss. ε'. v. 170.

(*k*) Iliad. VI. v. 174. p. 491.

Edit. Basil.

Ἐνῆμαρ ξείνοισι, καὶ ἐνία βῆς ἱερευσιν·
 Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ ἐφάνε ροδοδακτυλῷ ἡδύς,
 Καὶ τότε μιν ἐρέεινε καὶ ἦτε σῆμα ἰδῆσθαι,
 Ὅτι· ῥα οἱ γαμβροὶο παρὰ Προίτοιο φέροιτο.

In later ages, Cretan hospitality was very much celebrated. In the *συσσίτια*, public halls of Crete, there were constantly two apartments; one was termed *κοιμητήριον*, wherein strangers were lodged, the other was *ἀνδρεῖον*, being the place of eating, where all the Cretans supped together; in the uppermost part of this room there was a constant table set apart for strangers, called *τράπεζα*, *ξενία*, *ξενική*, or *Δίος ξενία*: Others will have two tables appointed for this use (a). And in the distribution of victuals, the strangers were always served before the king, or any of the Cretan nation; and some of them were permitted to bear very considerable offices in the state (b).

The rest of the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, were generally courteous to strangers, except the Lacedemonians, who are ill spoken of for want of hospitality; hence they are described by Tzetzes (c) as most opposite to the Athenians in their behaviour to strangers.

Τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νόμος ἦν εἰσδέχεσθαι τὰς ξένας
 Ὄθεν καὶ ἀνομαζόντο φιλόξενοι τοῖς πᾶσιν·
 Τοῖς Λάκκοι δὲ νόμος, τὰς ξένας ἀπελαύνειν.

For the same reason they are called by Aristophanes (d) *διεργανόξενοι*, and by others *ξηηλάται*, from their imposing upon strangers, and driving them away; which is the more to be wondered at, because Lycurgus chiefly followed the laws and manners of Crete in the regulations which he made at Sparta. Nevertheless, it is very certain that very good care was taken of strangers at Sparta. It was one part of the royal office to make provision for them, as we learn from Herodotus; and M. Antoninus (e) affirms, that strangers had a convenient place assigned in the shade, whereas the Lacedemonians themselves lay down without distinction of places. But the opinion of their rough and uncivil usage of strangers, seems to have prevailed chiefly on these accounts:

First, Because foreigners, when they lived upon the Spartan diet, which was extremely coarse, thought themselves ill entertained; hence a citizen of Sybaris, happening to be treated after the Spartan fashion, professed that he no longer wondered how it came to pass that the Spartans despised dangers more than other nations, since they were allowed no pleasure for which they could desire to live (f).

Secondly,

(a) Athenæus, Lib. IV. Cap. IX.
 VII. Hist. CXXX.
 Lib. IV. Cap. VI.

(d) Pace.

(b) Heraclides de Repub.
 (e) Lib. XI. ad seipsum.

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Secondly, Because strangers had admittance into Sparta only on *ᾠρισμένοιαι ἡμέραι*. certain days (a). This was a provision against the promiscuous and frequent concourse of other nations, which they avoided as much as possibly they could, either as Archidamus in Libanius (b) reports, to prevent foreigners from observing the faults and miscarriages of Sparta, which Pericles in Thucydides (c) seems also to reproach them with, or rather fearing that the manners of their citizens would be corrupted by a too free and unlimited conversation with other nations; which account of this appointment is assigned by Xenophon (d), Plutarch (e), and others; for the same reason an edict was once put forth at Rome, whereby strangers, *usu orbis prohibiti*, were forbidden the use of that city (f). And the Lacedemonians were not allowed to travel into foreign countries, lest they should introduce foreign customs and vices at Sparta (g). That these and the like orders were not enacted without sufficient cause, appears from Lysander and Agesilaus, the former of which returning home from Athens, and the latter from Asia, contributed very much to the general corruption of manners, which in a short time after destroyed the ancient Lacedemonian discipline and way of living.

To return to the Grecian hospitality. In order to excite the people to treat strangers with kindness and respect, the ancient poets and lawgivers possessed them with an opinion, that all strangers were under the peculiar care of certain gods, who revenged all the injuries done to them; in the number of these gods were reckoned Minerva, Apollo, Venus, Castor and Pollux, and chiefly Jupiter, who had hence the surname of *Ξένιος*, *hospitable*; which was also sometimes given to other gods, who were believed to protect strangers; hence Ulysses endeavours to mitigate Polyphemus with this reason, that Jupiter was the patron and avenger of strangers (h).

ΑΛΛ' αἰδοῖο, φερίτε, θεῖς· ἰκέται δέ τοι εἰμὲν
 Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμῆτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε
 Ξείνοισι, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

And Eumæus is moved by the same reason to entertain the same hero, as himself professeth (i):

Ξεῖν', ὃ μοι θεμὶς ἐστ', ἐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,
 Ξεῖνον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες
 Ξεῖνοί τε, πτωχοί τε.

For

(a) Aristophanis Scholiaſtes in Pace, Suidas. (b) Declam. XXIV. (c) Lib. II. in Orat. funebri. (d) De Repub. Lacedæm. (e) Lycurgo, inſtitutis Laconicis. (f) Cicero de Offic. Lib. III. Cap. IX. (g) Plutarchus locis citat. et Apophthegmat. Nicolaus de moribus gentium apud Stobæum, Valerius Maximus, Lib. II. Cap. VI. Harpocration voce *κάθετος*, &c. (h) Homer. Odyſſ. IX. v. 269. (i) Odyſſ. ζ. v. 55.

For the same end the gods were feigned to travel in the habit of strangers. Thus Jupiter speaks of himself in Ovid (a) :

Et Deus humana lustro sub imagine terras.

In another passage of that author the same god, accompanied by Mercury, is said to have been denied reception by 1000 houses, which for that offence he turned, with the adjoining country, into a lake (b). Lycaon was said to be transformed into a wolf for his injurious treatment of Jupiter. And to mention only one example more, when Antinous in Homer (c) treats Ulysses, who there appears like a stranger, injuriously, he is put in mind that the gods used to visit the cities of men in the habit and form of strangers.

Ἀντίνοῦ δ' ἔμην καλ' ἔβαλες δύσηνον ἀλήτην,
 Οὐλόμην, εἰ δὴ πᾶς τις ἐπικράνιος θεὸς ἐστὶ·
 Καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,
 Παντοῖοι τελέδοντες, ἐπιστροφῶσι πολλῆας,
 Ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες.

The rites of entertaining strangers being the same with those of receiving guests at entertainments, which have been described in one of the preceding chapters, need not be farther explained in this place; only this must be observed, that salt was commonly set before strangers, before they tasted the victuals provided for them; whereby was intimated, that as salt does consist of aqueous and terrene particles mixed and united together, or as it is a concrete of several aqueous parts, so the stranger and the person by whom he was entertained, should, from the time of their tasting salt together, maintain a constant union of love and friendship. Others tell us, that salt being apt to preserve flesh from corruption, signified, that the friendship which was then begun, should be firm and lasting. And some, to mention no more different opinions concerning this matter, think, that a regard was had to the purifying quality of salt, which was commonly used in lustrations, and that it intimated that friendship ought to be free from all design and artifice, jealousy and suspicion (d). It may be, the ground of this custom was only this, that salt was constantly used at all entertainments both of the gods and men, whence a particular sanctity was believed to be lodged in it; it is hence called θεῖος ἅλς, *divine salt*, by Homer; and ἱεροὶ ἅλς, *holy salt*, by others; and *salinorum appositu*, by the placing of salt on the tables. a sort of holiness was thought to be derived to them (e). Indeed all things which any way conduced to promote love and concord, especially in those early times, when men lived by spoil and rapine, were held to be sacred; hence the table was thought

(a) Metam. Lib. I. v. 213.

(b) Metam. VIII. v. 626.

(c) Odyss. ε'. v. 489.

(d) Conf. Eustathius in Iliad. α. p. 100. Lycophronis Scholiastes in v. 135, 137.

(e) Arnobius contra Gentes, Lib. II.

thought to be endowed with an inherent holiness as well as the salt. Τὸ ὁμοτράπεζον, to have eaten at the same table, was esteemed an inviolable obligation to friendship; and ἄλλα καὶ τράπεζαν παραβαίνειν, to transgress the salt and the table, that is, to break the laws of hospitality, and to injure one by whom any person had been entertained, was accounted one of the blackest crimes; hence that exaggerating interrogation of Demosthenes (a), Πῶς ἄλλως; πῶς τράπεζαι; ταῦτα γὰρ τραγῳδαί παριών. "Where is the salt? Where the hospital tables? For in de-
"spight of these he has been the author of these troubles." And the crime of Paris in stealing Helena is aggravated by Cassandra (b) upon this consideration, that he had contemned the salt, and overturned the hospital table:

——— εἰδὲ τὸν ξένους
Σύνδορπον Αἰγαίανος ἀγνίτην πάγον,
Ετλης θεῶν αἰλοῖτος ἐκδῆναι δίκην,
Λάξας τράπεζαν, κατνακυπῶσας δέμιν.

And τὸ ὁμόστυγον, to converse under the same roof, was thought to be some sort of engagement to love and courtesy, as we learn from the comment of Eustathius on that passage of Homer, where Ajax endeavours to pacify Achilles by this motive, that they were in the same house, and under the same roof (c):

——— σὺ δ' ἴλαον ἔνθεο θυμὸν,
Αἰδέσσαι δὲ μέλαθρον, ὑπωρόφιοι δὲ τοι ἐσμέν.

The alliance which was contracted by hospitality was termed προξενία; it was held very sacred, and πῶς τῷ συγγενικῷ δεσμῷ κρείττων τοῖς παλαιῶς ἦν, was rather more inviolably observed by the ancients than the ties of kindred and consanguinity. Teucer in Homer endeavoured to deprive Priamus of his kingdom, though he was the son of Hesiōnē, the sister of Priamus; whereas Glaucus and Diomedes laid down their arms in the heat of battle, out of a pious regard to the hospital alliance, which had been entered into by their progenitors Oneus and Bellerophon, as Eustathius (d) observes. Hence it appears farther that the alliances of hospitality were derived by parents to their children; neither were they contracted only by private and single men, but by these with whole families and cities. Hence Megillus in Plato (e) affirmed himself to be προξενος, allied by hospitality to the city of Athens. Nicias the Athenian is by Plutarch called προξενος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, allied by hospitality to the Lacedemonians. Cimon the son of Miltiades, by means of the same alliance, became instrumental towards establishing a peace between the cities of Athens and Sparta (f).
And

(a) Orat. de falsa Legat.
p. 691. Edit. Basil.
Edit. Francofurt.

(b) Lycophron, v. 134.

(d) In Iliad. VI. p. 496.
(f) Corn. Nepos, Cimone.

(c) Iliad. IX. v. 635.
(e) Lib. I. de Legib. p. 780.

And, to mention only one instance more, Halyattes king of Lydia, made a covenant with the Myrians, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοις εἶναι· whereby they were obliged to take one another for guests and allies (a).

Hence it was customary for men thus allied, to give one another σύμβολα, *certain tokens*, the producing whereof was a recognition of the covenant of hospitality. Hence Jason in Euripides (b) promiseth Medea, when she departed from him, to send the symbols of hospitality, which should procure for her a kind reception in foreign countries :

Ξείνοις τε πέμπειν, σύμβολ', οἱ δ' ἀνάσσει σ' εὖ.

These were mutual presents and gifts, called ξένια or δῶρα ξενικά, which πεμήλια τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀπένεικτο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν πατρῴας φιλίας τοῖς ἐπιγόνοις· were deposited by the ancient Greeks amongst their treasures, to keep up the memory of their friendships to succeeding generations, as we are informed by the comment of Eustathius on that passage of Homer (c), where Diomedes recounts to Glaucus, the gifts which their ancestors, Oeneus and Bellerophon, had presented to one another.

Ἡ ῥα νῦ μοι ξείνος πατρῴϊ' ἔσσι παλαιός·
Οἶνεὺς γάρ ποτε δῖος ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην
Ξείνισσ' ἐν μεγάροισιν εἰκάσιν ἡματ' ἐρύξας.
Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι πόρον ξεινήια καλὰ,
Οἶνεὺς μὲν ζωστῆρα δίδε φοῖνικι φαεινὸν,
Βελλεροφόντης δὲ χρύσειον δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Καὶ μιν ἐγὼν κατέλειπον ἰὼν ἐν δώμασ' ἐμοῖσι.

The latter Greeks used to break ἀστράγαλος, a *dye in two parts*, one of which the guest carried away, the other remained with the entertainer (d). The same custom was used at Rome, where each part of the dye was termed *tessera hospitalis*. This plainly appears from the following passage of Plautus (e).

- AG. *Siquidem Antidimarchi quæris adoptatitium,*
Ego sum ipse, quem tu quæris. POE. *Hem! quid ego audio?*
AG. *Antidamæ gnatum me esse.* POE. *Si ita est, tesseram*
Conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam, attuli.
AG. *Agedum huc ostende: est par probe: nam habeo domum.*
POE. *O mi hospes, salve multum: nam mihi tuus pater,*
Pater tuus ergo hospes, Antidamas fuit:
Hæc mihi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit.

Upon these *tesserae*, their names, or some other character of distinction, as also the image of Jupiter Hospitalis, were commonly engraven.

Vol. I.

3. G

Hence

(a) Herodotus Clio. (b) Medea, ver. 613. (c) Iliad. VI. (d) Euripides Scholiast. in Medæ ver. 613. ex Helladio, et Eubuli Xantho. (e) Pænul. Act. V. Sc. II. ver. 85.

Hence the following verse of the fore-mentioned Comedian (a), where, in the same thing, viz. the *tessera* with Jupiter engraved upon it, seems to be expressed by two separate names, which is a mode of speech very common in the poets.

Deum hospitalem ac tesseram mecum fero.

When they renounced their hospital alliance, it was customary to break in pieces the hospital *tessera*. Hence *tesseram frangere* signifies to violate the laws of hospitality. Thus it is used by the same author (b):

*Abi, quære ubi tuo iusjurando satis sit subsidii:
Hic apud nos jam, Alcesimarche, confregisti tesseram.*

They who entertained private strangers, were termed *ἰδιοπρόξενος*. They who received ambassadors, and other foreigners, who came on any public account, were called *πρόξενος*. But the same name is often taken for men, who entertained their own private friends of other nations. If the person, who received the foreigners, who came under a public character, did it voluntarily, he was called *ἑθελοπρόξενος*; in which sense Pithias is called by Thucydides (c) *ἑθελοπρόξενος Ἀθηναίων*, the voluntary entertainer of the Athenians. But more commonly the *πρόξενος* were appointed to that office, either by the suffrages of the people, which was the usual way of choosing them in popular governments; or by designation of the king, which was the method in monarchical countries. Thus at Sparta the kings appointed *τὸς ἂν ἐθέλοι τῶν ἀστῶν*, whomsoever of the citizens they pleased to be *proxeni*, as we learn from Herodotus (d). Neither did the office of *proxeni* consist only in providing lodging and entertainment for the fore mentioned strangers; but it was also their duty to conduct them to the king, or the popular assembly, to provide for them convenient places in the theatre, and to serve and assist them on all other occasions. Hence *καλὲ τινος*, ἢ *κακὲ αἰτίος*, whoever was the procurer of any good or evil to another person, was termed *πρόξενος*. The author of another man's ruin and misery was called *πρόξενος ἀπωλείας*, or *πρόξενος φθορᾶς*: The author of his safety and felicity, *πρόξενος σωτηρίας*, or *πρόξενος ὑγιείας* (e).

The office of *proxeni* was by the more modern Greeks called *παροχή*, which word is used in that sense, in one of St. Basil's epistles. *Παροχαὶ* are by Hesychius interpreted *χαρίσματα*, *δωρήματα*, presents, or gifts: And public entertainments are called by Cicero in one of his epistles to Atticus (f) *parochia publica*; unless

instead

(a) Ibid. Sc. I. ver. 22. (b) Cistellaria. (c) Lib. III. Cap. LXX. ubi conf. Græcus Scholiast. (d) Lib. VI. conf. Eustathius in Iliad γ' p. 307. Pollux, Lib. V. Cap. IV. Suidas. (e) Eustathius in Iliad γ. p. 369. (f) Lib. XIII. Epist. II.

instead of these words, we read, as some learned men have done, *parochus publicus*; for the officers were called *πάροχοι* and *ἐνοπάροχοι*: The ancient Romans called them *copiarii*, but Horace (a) useth the name of *parochus*, which was current in his age:

*Proxima campano ponti quæ villula, tectum
Præbuit; et parochi, quæ debent, ligna, salemque.*

Where, under the names of *ligna et sal*, wood and salt, all necessary provisions are comprehended; these were supplied in all the Roman towns to such as came thither upon any public affair by the *parochi*, who were empowered to levy taxes on the inhabitants for this use (b). In another place of the same poet, *parochus* signifies the master of a feast:

————— *vertere pallor*
*Tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acres
Potores.*—————

Whoever undertook a journey, first implored the divine protection. Before their departure into any foreign country, it was customary to salute, and, as it were, take leave of the deities of their own country, by kissing the earth. Thus the Trojans in Ovid are said to do (c):

————— *dant oscula terræ*
Troades, et patriæ fumantia tecta relinquunt.

The same rite of salutation was commonly practised at their arrival in any country. Thus Ulysses in Phæacia (d):

————— *κίονε δὲ ζείδωρον ἄρεσσαν.*

And Cadmus Bœotia (e):

*Cadmus agit grates peregrinæque oscula terræ
Figit; et ignotos montes agrosque salutat.*

Hereby they paid homage, and invoked the assistance and protection of *ἐπιχόριοι θεοί*, the gods who were patrons of that country. They worshipped the same gods during the time of their residence in that place. This was done by the Samaritans, who the king of Assyria planted in the country of Israel, as we learn from the sacred history; and by Alexander the Great, whilst he staid in Troas, as the writers

3 G 2

(a) Lib. I. Sat. V. v. 45.

(b) Livius, Lib. XLII. Cicero, Lib. I. Epist. XVI. ad Atticum, Acron in Horatii loc. cit. Idem in Lib. II. Sat. VIII. v. 25.

(c) Metam. Lib. XIII. v. 420.

(d) Odyss. ζ' v. 460.

(e) Ovidii Metam. Lib. III. v. 24.



of his life and actions report. Lastly, When they returned home, they saluted the gods of their own country in the same manner, and gave them thanks for their safe return. This was done by Ulysses in Homer at his return to Ithaca (a);

Γηθήσιν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα πολύτλας δῖος Οδυσσεύς
Χαίρων ἢ μαίη, κύσι δὲ ζείδωρον ἄεθραν,
Αὐτίκα δὲ Νύμφης ἡγήσατο, χεῖρας ἀνασχών.

The same rite is practised by Agamemnon in Æschylus (b), when he returns to Mycenæ; and by Hercules in Euripides (c), at his return from the infernal regions.

(a) *Odyss.* v. v. 354.
v. 523.

(b) *Agamemnon*, v. 819.

(c) *Hercul. Furent.*

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